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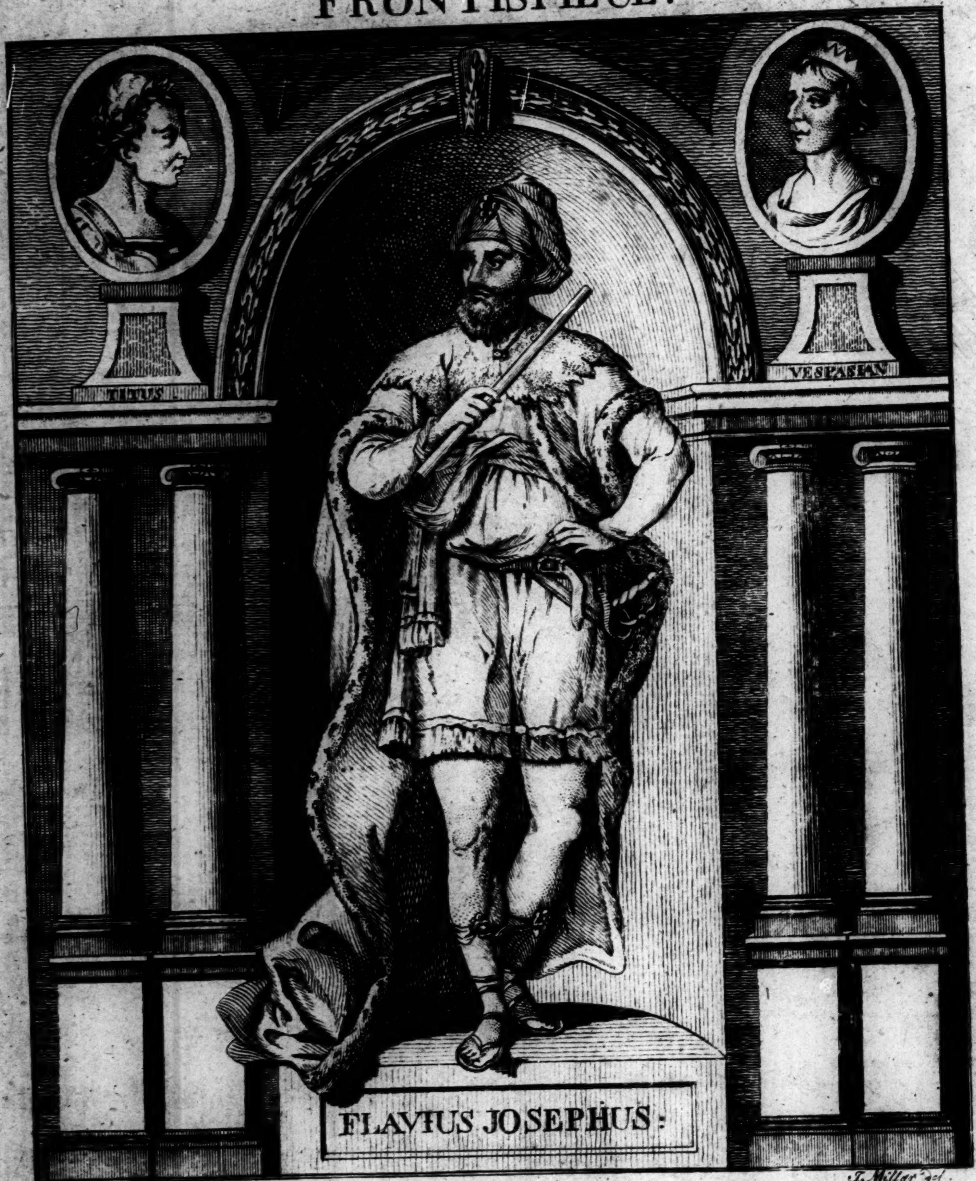
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T. Millar del.

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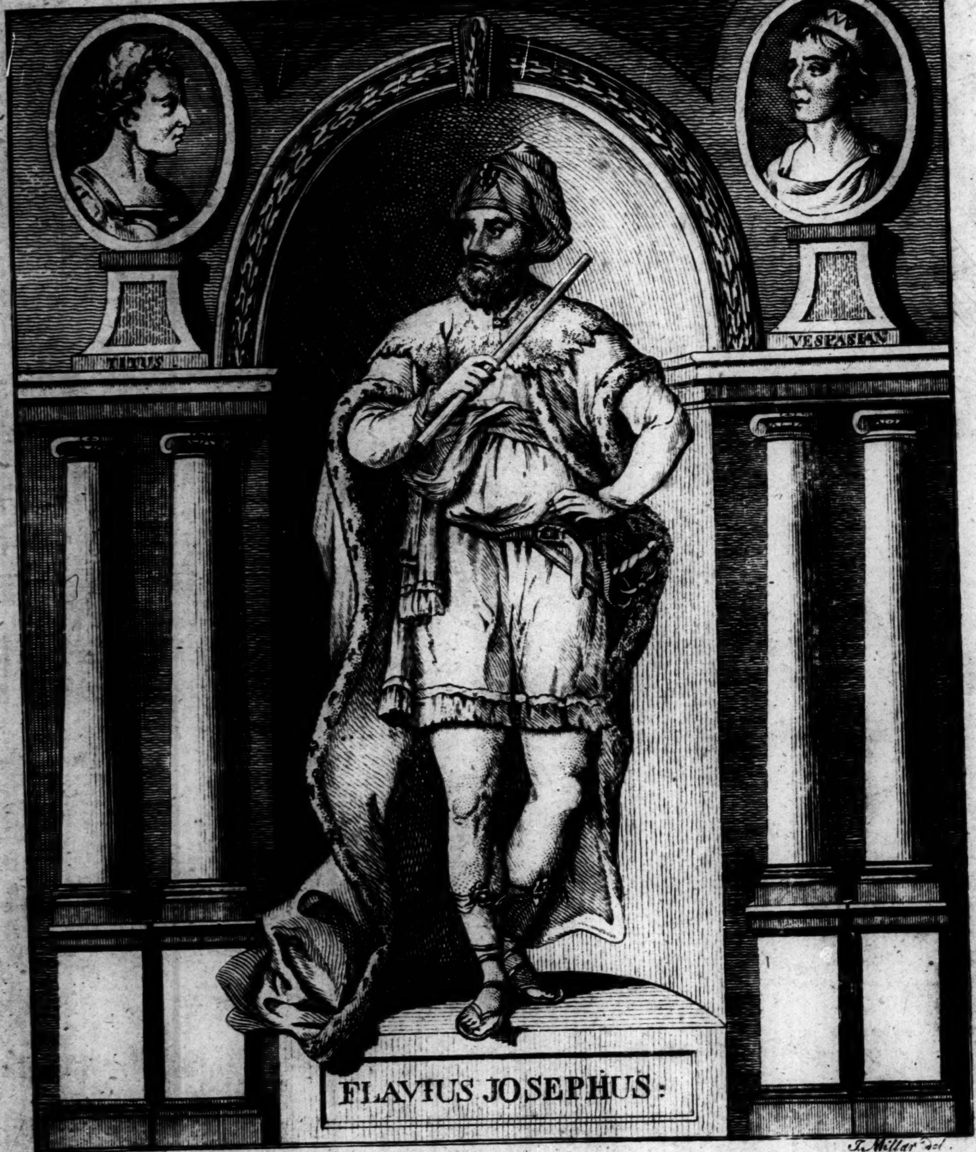
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The GENUINE
WORKS
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

Faithfully Tranſlated from the ORIGINAL GREEK.

R

CONTAINING

I. The Life of *Joſephus*, written by himſelf.
II. The Antiquities of the *Jews*, in twenty Books.
III. The Wars of the *Jews* with the *Romans*.
IV. Defence of the Antiquities of the *Jews* againſt *Appion*.
and
V. The Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*.

With Notes Critical and Explanatory.

The Whole illuſtrated with a beautiful Set of Copper-plates.

BIRMINGHAM:
Printed by CHRISTOPHER EARL, at No. 50, DALE-END,
M,DCC,LXX.

PREFACE.

IT is not from a conceited opinion that we are wiſer than our neighbours, that the following Edition of the Works of *Flavius Joſephus* is offered to the Public; neither do we claim any merit upon the abuſe of former Editors; nor arrogate to ourſelves an affected ſuperiority. The reaſons which induced us to undertake the following Work were chiefly theſe: Firſt, The Largeneſs of it, which rendered it extremely inconvenient for the poorer ſort of people to purchaſe it; And, Secondly, The Scarcity of it in this Country.

Joſephus's Antiquities of the *Jews* contain a Hiſtory of that people from the beginning of the world, till forty-ſeven years after the Birth of *Chriſt*, by which many paſſages in the Sacred Text are elucidated.

His Wars of the *Jews* with the *Romans* give a true Account of the many judgments and calamities which befell that people from the above æra, to their final diſperſion.

His Defence of the antiquity of the *Jewiſh* nation, againſt *Appion*, is plain, convincing, and ſupported by the teſtimony of the *Egyptian*, *Chaldæan*, and *Phœnician* Writers. In this, while he clearly proves the origin of his nation, he gives us a certain evidence of his extenſive erudition.

His Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of the *Maccabees* has been admired by the Learned of all ages, and *Eraſmus* calls the original a maſterpiece of eloquence. He wrote this without any reference to Sacred Writ, but only to prove that Reaſon is miſtreſs of the paſſions.

From this ſhort account of the Work, we hope the Public will find it worth their attention and encouragement, as every number will contain more in quantity than any now publiſhed at the ſame Price.

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,
Written by Himſelf.

AS different nations ſet a value on dignity of birth, and illuſtrious extraction, according to their ſeveral notions of honour; ſo, with us, nothing more ennobles a family than the diſcharge of the ſacerdotal function; upon which account I may look upon myſelf, as (by birth) ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar, as I am deſcended not only from holy progenitors, who bore the ſacred office, but from prieſts of the firſt courſe of the four and twenty *. By my mother's ſide, I ſprung from royal blood; for the *Aſmonæan* family, of which ſhe was a lineal deſcendent, ſucceſſively bore the office of King and Prieſt in our nation for a great many generations. Thus, *Simon*, ſirnamed *Pſellus*, was my great grandfather's grandfather, and lived at the time when *Hyrcanus*, the firſt of that name, was High Prieſt. He had nine ſons; one of whom, (*Matthias*, ſirnamed *Aphlias*,) married the daughter of *Jonathan*, the High Prieſt, by whom, in the firſt year of the reign of *John Hyrcanus*, he had a ſon called *Matthias Curtus*; to whom, in the ninth year of *Alexandra*, was born *Joſeph*; to him *Matthias*, who was my father, in the tenth year of King *Archelaus*; and I was born in the firſt year of the reign of *Caius Cæſar*, and have three ſons, *Hyrcanus*, *Juſtus*, and *Agrippa*.

My father *Matthias* was highly reſpected in our nation, not ſo much on account of his noble birth and extraction, as for his integrity and juſtice. I had a brother of my father's name, with whom I ſtudied, and being endued with a tolerable good underſtanding and memory, by the age of fourteen, I had acquired ſuch a reputation for learning, that the chief prieſts and rulers would frequently conſult me about the more difficult and abſtruſe points of the law.

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* See Antiquities of the *Jews*, *Book* vii. *Chap*. 7.

After I had arrived at ſixteen, I determined to dip into the doctrines of the principle ſects among us, *viz.* the *Phariſees*, the *Sadduces*, and the *Eſſeans*, that, after I had tried them all, I might be the better able able to chuſe the beſt; and hearing of one *Banus*, who lived like an hermit, I became his follower alſo. His cuſtom was to uſe no other cloathing than the leaves of trees; to eat no other food than what the earth naturally produced; to bath often in cold water, the better to reſtrain the irregularities of his appetites, and preſerve his chaſtity. After I had ſtaid with him three years under theſe diſciplines, I returned into the city. And being now nineteen years old, I betook myſelf to a ſecular life, adhering to the ſect of the *Phariſees*, whoſe doctrines are almoſt ſimilar to the opinions of the *Stoicks* among the *Greeks*.

When I was twenty-ſix years old, a very particular affair obliged me to take a voyage to *Rome*: *Felix* being governor of *Judea*, had, for ſome ſlight affront, ſent priſoners to *Rome* ſeveral prieſts of unblameable characters, who were my intimate acquaintance, in order to take their trial before *Cæſar*. Upon the news of my friends misfortunes, I embarked for *Rome*, reſolving to uſe my utmoſt efforts to effect their deliverance, eſpecially when I heard they continued ſtedfaſt to their principles, though reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. In my paſſage thither I went through innumerable dangers at ſea; for our ſhip foundered in the middle of the *Adriatic* Gulf, and out of ſix hundred of us, who were in company, only I, and ſome others, about eighty in all, who could ſwim better than the reſt, were by God's ſpecial providence preſerved, being taken up early next morning by a ſhip of *Cyrene*, after we had been a whole night in the water. After this deliverance I contracted an acquaintance at *Dicearchia*, or *Puteoli*, with one *Alityrus*, a comedian, and favourite of *Nero*, by nation a *Jew*, and by whoſe intereſt I became known to *Nero*'s wife *Poppæa*, of whom I quickly obtained, that thoſe prieſts ſhould be ſet at liberty; and ſo I returned to my own country, being diſmiſſed with conſiderable preſents. At my arrival there, I found the minds of the people ready to revolt from the *Romans*; whereupon I endeavoured to bring the mutineers to better reaſon, by laying before them the power of the enemy they had to do with, a people much their ſuperior in martial diſcipline, policy, and fortune; wherefore I adviſed them not raſhly to hazard the ruin of their country, themſelves, their wives and children upon ſuch unequal terms. Thus I endeavoured to diſſuade them from entering on a war, which I plainly foreſaw would involve them in the moſt diſmal and deſtructive conſequences; yet all to no purpoſe. Fearing, therefore, leaſt I had, by frequent and importunate repetition of the ſame counſels, given them cauſe to ſuſpect I was a favourer of the enemy, to avoid the danger of being ſeized, and put to death, I withdrew into the temple, the faction having already made themſelves maſters of Fort *Antonia*. After *Manahem* and the ringleaders of his faction were cut off, I came out of the temple, and converſed frequently with the chief prieſts and principal men among the *Phariſees*, who were in great fear and perplexity; for we ſaw the people up in arms, and what to do we knew not. To appeaſe the conſpirators was beyond our ſkill, beſides dangerous to attempt; wherefore we pretended to approve their proceedings, but yet adviſed them not to be too raſh, but let the enemy draw off a little, hoping that *Geſſius* would come ſpeedily with a power ſufficient to ſupprеſs the ſedition. *Geſſius* came back indeed to his coſt; for his troops were intirely cut to pieces in the attempt, and himſelf ſlain; and this blow proved the utter ruin of our nation; for the ſucceſs of this action made the conſpirators vain enough to think they were able to conquer the whole *Roman* power with the ſame eaſe. Juſt at this time happened a very tragical occurrence, which was as follows:

The *Syrians* and *Jews* living promiſcuouſly together in ſeveral great towns bordering on *Judea*, the *Syrian* inhabitants took occaſion to murder all the *Jews*, men, women, and children, who lived with them in thoſe cities, without any provocation. But above all, the barbarity of the *Scythopolitans* was moſt tranſcendently wicked and inhuman; for being invaded by *Jews*, who did not live amongſt them, they not only forced the *Jews* of the place, their fellow-citizens, to take up arms againſt thoſe of their own country, which is a thing forbidden by our laws; but after they had with their help diſperſed the enemy, and obtained a complete victory, contrary to gratitude, to juſtice, and common faith, they maſſacred all of that nation amongſt them without diſtinction, to the number of ſeveral thouſand perſons. The *Jews* that inhabited in *Damaſcus* fared no better; but of this I ſhall ſpeak more at large in my Hiſtory of the Wars of the *Jews*.

After the defeat of *Geſſius*, the chief men among the *Jews* finding themſelves left naked and defenceleſs, and the mutineers well furniſhed with arms, apprehended what afterwards proved true enough, that they ſhould be expoſed to their inſults; and underſtanding that but one part of *Galilee* had revolted from the *Romans*, and that the other was peaceably inclined to them, they commiſſioned me and two other prieſts, *Joazar* and *Judas*, men of good repute, to go thither, to intreat the diſaffected party to lay down their arms, and to convince them that it was much better at preſent to ſurrender them into the hands of the governors, who would be ſure to let them have them again whenever there was an occaſion to make uſe of them; and by all means forbear hoſtilities at preſent, till they ſhould know more certainly the real intentions of the *Romans*.

With theſe inſtructions I went into *Galilee*, where I found the *Sepphorites* engaged in defence of their country, that was in great danger of being over-run by the *Galileans*, who had invaded them becauſe they continued firm to the *Romans*, and would not violate their faith with *Senius Gallus*, then governor of *Syria*. But I found an expedient to make the *Sepphorites* eaſy, and to pacify the *Galileans*, by procuring them a licence to ſend as often as they pleaſed to *Pora*, a city of *Phœnicia*, to their hoſtages there, whom they had given to *Geſſius*.

As for the men of *Tiberias*, I found them all in arms, and the quarrel was this: There were three parties in this city; one conſiſting of well-affected people, headed by *Julius Capellus*. Theſe all of them abode by the king and the *Roman* people, and ſo did all the nobility to a man, ſave *Piſtus*, who in compliance with his ſon, *Juſtus*, ſtood out. The ſecond party, conſiſting of the common people, declared for a war. At the head of the third was *Juſtus* the ſon of *Piſtus*, who though he did not give his opinion in expreſs words for a war, yet at the ſame time from the bottom of his heart wiſhed for nothing more than a revolution, in hopes thereby of gaining ſome conſiderable poſt, and advancing his fortune; to which end he made a ſpeech to the people in a full aſſembly.

By which when *Juſtus* perceived he had excited a ſpirit of rebellion in their minds, he marched out with them all in a body, and laid in aſhes the villages of the *Hippenes* and *Gadarenes* adjoining to the country of *Tiberias* and *Scythopolis*.

To paſs over from the ſtate of affairs at *Tiberias* to that of *Giſchala*: *John*, the ſon of *Levi*, obſerving ſeveral of his countrymen grown weary and impatient of bearing the *Roman* yoke any longer, did all he could to keep them in their allegiance and duty; but all to no purpoſe: for their neighbours the *Gadarenes*, *Gabaraganeans*, and *Tyrians*, gathering together in a ſtrong body, aſſaulted and carried by ſtorm *Giſchala*; which after they had burnt and laid level with the ground, they retired. *John* was ſo provoked at this outrage, that he marched with all the troops he could raiſe againſt them, engaged, and vanquiſhed them; and after that rebuilt the city, and for ſecurity environed it with a wall.

But the people of *Gamala* all this while continued firmly attached to the *Roman* intereſt. For *Philip* the ſon of *Jacinus*, *Agrippa's* lieutenant, having unexpectedly got off whilſt the enemy were ſtorming the palace at *Jeruſalem*, had like to have had his throat cut by *Manahem* and his barbarous crew; but was, however, ſaved at the interceſſion of ſome of his *Babylonian* relations, who were then at *Jeruſalem*; and five days afterwards, by diſguiſing himſelf in a cap of falſe hair, he made his eſcape to a certain village near the caſtle of *Gamala*, ſituate in his own dominions; where, when he was arrived, he ſent for ſeveral of his ſubjects to come to him. In this place he happened to be ſeized ſuddenly with a fever, which by a wonderful providence proved the occaſion of ſaving his life; for while he lay ſick he wrote letters to *Agrippa* and *Berenice* by a certain freedman, with orders to deliver them to *Varus*, to whom at that time, by the king and queen's appointment, was committed the care of the palace, they being on their journey to *Berytus* to meet *Geſſius*. When *Varus* upon the receipt of the letters underſtood that *Philip* was got ſafe off, he took it to heart exceedingly, fearing leſt the king and queen ſhould diſmiſs him, as ſoon as *Philip* ſhould return in ſafety. Wherefore *Varus* expoſes the meſſenger to the people as a cheat, and one that had come to him with a lie in his mouth, ſince to his certain knowledge (as he ſaid) *Philip* was then in the *Roman* army at *Jeruſalem*, fighting againſt the *Jews*; and accordingly, upon this accuſation, ſentenced him to be ſeverely puniſhed. The former meſſenger not returning, *Philip* diſpatched a ſecond with another packet, requiring him to bring word what had befallen the firſt that he did not come back; *Varus* dealt by him as he did by the firſt; for the *Syrians* of *Caeſarea* had puffed up *Varus* with an opinion that he ſhould become a great man, perſuading him that the *Romans* would put *Agrippa* to death for this rebellion of the *Jews*, and that they would confer the crown upon him as a near relation of the royal family; being deſcended from *Sohemus* the tetrarch of *Libanus*. Elated with theſe hopes, *Varus* therefore made bold to detain the letters, and took particular care the king ſhould never have them; and leſt any one ſhould eſcape privately, and inform the king of his proceedings, he ſet guards in all the paſſes; moreover to ingratiate himſelf with the *Syrians* of *Cæſarea*, he put great numbers of the *Jews* to death, determining likewiſe, with the aſſiſtance of the *Trachonites* of *Batanæa* to fall upon the *Jews* of *Ecbatana*, who are called *Babylonians*. To which end, calling to him twelve of the chief men among the *Cæſarean Jews*, he ordered them to go immediately and tell their countrymen in his name, that he had received intelligence they were making preparations for war againſt the king, which he was not willing to believe; but notwithſtanding, that he ſtrictly enjoined them to lay down their arms, as the moſt convincing proof they could give of their innocence; adding, that he inſiſted upon their ſending ſeventy of their principal men to clear them of the crime wherewith they were charged. The twelve deputies faithfully executed their orders; but when they came to *Ecbatana* they found their countrymen about no ſuch deſign; however, in conformity to their orders, they prevailed with them to ſend the ſeventy perſons required along with them back to *Cæſarea*. *Varus*, in the mean time, with a party of the king's ſoldiers, intercepted them on their journey, fell upon them, and cut them, and the deputies likewiſe, all off to a man; after which, he advanced upon his deſign againſt the *Jews* at *Ecbatana*; but by a ſtrange providence one of the ſeventy eſcaped the maſſacre, and had the good fortune to get there before him with the news of this moſt treacherous and inhuman action: whereupon the inhabitants immediately armed themſelves, and with their wives and children took refuge in the caſtle of *Gamala*, leaving their effects and cattle to a conſiderable value behind them. So ſoon as *Philip* heard of this adventure he went thither to them, where the people gave him an univerſal and hearty welcome, intreating him that he would by all means undertake the war, and be their commander againſt *Varus* and the *Syrians* of *Cæſarea*; for there was a current report abroad, that they had killed the king. But *Philip* did all that lay in his power to appeaſe their fury, by reminding them of the many and great favours the king had conferred upon them, and of what dangerous conſequence it would be to riſe in rebellion againſt the vaſt and formidable power of the *Romans*; inſomuch that they were brought, at laſt, by his arguments, to a better temper. *Herod* coming at laſt to hear that *Varus* had a deſign to have maſſacred all the *Jews* of *Cæſarea*, he diſcarded him, and ſent *Equius Modius* to ſucceed him, whilſt *Philip* kept *Gamala*, and the adjacent countries, in obedience to the *Romans*.

At my arrival in *Galilee*, having received certain intelligence of theſe things, I wrote to the council at *Jeruſalem* for inſtructions what to do; and the anſwer I received was to continue in *Galilee*, and provide for the ſafety of the place as well as I could, and to retain my colleagues ſtill with me, if they could be prevailed upon to ſtay; for having received ſome conſiderable ſums that were in arrear for prieſts tithes, they had thoughts of returning home; but being intreated to ſtay till we had eſtabliſhed peace and quietneſs in the place, they conſented: ſo we went together from *Sepphoris* to *Bethmaus*, about four furlongs from *Tiberias*; from whence I ſent a meſſenger to ſummon the ſenate of *Tiberias*, and ſome of the heads of the people to come over to me. Upon their arrival, and *Juſtus* among the reſt, I told them I had a commiſſion from the council at *Jeruſalem*, together with my aſſociates, to confer with them about demoliſhing the palace which *Herod* the tetrarch had built there, and adorned with ſeveral curious images and figures of living creatures, a thing expreſsly forbidden by our laws. *Capella*, and the people of his faction, oppoſed it a long time; but at laſt we carried the point. While this debate was on foot, *Jeſus* the ſon of *Sapphia*, at the head of a mob of ſailors and other diſorderly perſons, with the help of a band of ſeditious *Galileans*, ſet fire to the royal palace, in expectation of finding a conſiderable booty; for every thing they ſaw was rich and gilded: and in effect they ſpoiled and carried off a great many things of value, in deſpite of all that could be done to hinder it. So ſoon as this conference with *Capella* and the governor of *Tiberias* was over, we departed from *Bethmaus* into the *Upper Galilee*; at which time the faction of *Jeſus* put all the *Greeks* in *Tiberias* to the ſword, and all others likewiſe that had been enemies to them before the war. Upon this news, I went in a great paſſion to *Tiberias*, to try what I could ſave of the king's goods upon this pillage; for there were ſeveral rich candleſticks of *Corinthian* work, precious tables, and a great deal of ſilver in the maſs; and, in fine, reſolving all this while to depoſite what goods ſoever I laid hold on, for the king's uſe; ſo that ſending for ten of the chief ſenators, and *Capella* the ſon of *Antyllus*, I delivered all the rich veſſels and other things of value into their cuſtody, with an expreſs charge not to part with them to any body but myſelf. I went from thence with my aſſociates to *Giſchala*, to inform myſelf what *John* intended to do; whom I found manifeſtly engaged in the promoting of an inſurrection, and ſetting up for himſelf. The emperor had ſeveral ſtorehouſes filled with corn in ſeveral parts of the *Upper Galilee*, and *John* would fain have had the exporting and vending of it, with an intent to employ the profit in building walls and fortifications. But I told him plainly, that it was a thing I would by no means conſent to; for being obliged by virtue of my commiſſion from *Jeruſalem*, to take care of all things within that juriſdiction, I could not diſpoſe of thoſe ſtores any other way, than either to the ſervice of the emperor, or the good of the province. When he found I was not to be wrought upon, he applied to my colleagues, who, betwixt want of foreſight and the love of money, were brought over by bribes and fair words to comply with his demands, and being two to one they carried it. *John* had no ſooner gained this point, but he thought of another ſtratagem: The inhabitants of *Caeſarea Philippi* had made complaints to him, he ſaid, that they wanted pure virgin oil, the *Greek* oil being forbidden them, and the king's prohibition reſtraining them from going out of town to fetch it. Now he knew that this oil bore forty times the price at *Caeſarea* that it did at *Giſchala*; ſo that he ſent away all the oil from one place to the other, under colour of my licence. Certain it is, I did thus far licence the tranſporting of it: I durſt not preſume to hinder it, for fear of being tore in pieces by the people; and ſo far only I yielded to it. This, in ſhort, was a wicked contrivance that *John* turned greatly to his advantage.

From this place I ſent my aſſociates back again to *Jeruſalem*; and after that, made it my whole buſineſs to provide for the defence of my province. The free-booters, I found, were not to be reduced by force; and ſo I put the people upon trying what might be done by compoſition; whereupon we treated with ſeveral leading men among them to take them off by money; being all convinced, that the expence of the penſion would not amount to near the ſpoil they would make by rapine and pillage. We came to an agreement; and I took their oaths for performance of articles, and ſo we parted. The conditions were, That they ſhould not offer any violence, either to *Romans* or natives, nor ever ſet foot in our country, unleſs when invited, or elſe to receive their pay. But above all it was my particular care to keep *Galilee* quiet; and in order thereto, I made choice of ſeventy of their moſt reputable men to attend me, whom I made uſe of as companions, counſellors, and aſſiſtants: ſo that under the appearance of friends, they ſerved me likewiſe in the quality of hoſtages.

I was now in the thirtieth year of my life; an age wherein all the virtue and precaution in nature is not able to ſecure a man from the laſh of envy and detraction; eſpecially in a poſt of honour and power. But I was never charged with any miſdemeanor, either in relation to incontinency, or corruption. I wanted nothing, and I coveted nothing; nay, I was ſo far from taking any thing I had no legal right to, that I refuſed my very tenths, though properly my dues as a prieſt, even when they were offered to me. As for the ſpoils taken from the *Syrians* upon the defeat I gave them, it is true that I ſent part of that booty to my kindred at *Jeruſalem*; and, after two overthrows given to the *Sepphorites*, four to the people of *Tiberias*, one to the *Gadarenes*, and *John* himſelf, after ſeveral treacherous practices againſt me, made my priſoner, I paſſed it all over, without taking any revenge, either of the one or the other; and God, who ſaw the innocence of my heart in this whole affair, was ſo gracious as to deliver me from the ſnares of my perfidious enemies; not at this time only, but divers times afterwards.

The people of *Galilee* had ſuch a reſpect for me, that though they ſaw their towns deſtroyed, and their wives and children carried into captivity, they yet had a much greater concern for my hazards and ſufferings, than for their own. *John* was ready to burſt all this while with envy at the thought of my being ſo popular; and under the pretext of a preſent indiſpoſition, he wrote to me for leave to go to the hot baths of *Tiberias* for his health; which I not only granted him at the firſt word, but gave him recommendatory letters alſo to the cities then under my adminiſtration, to furniſh him and his train with all conveniencies. I was at this time in a village of *Galilee* called *Cana*. *John* was no ſooner come to *Tiberias*, but he fell preſently to work upon debauching the inhabitants into a ſedition and inveigling them to break off with me, and come over to his party. There were a great many among them forward and factious enough to hearken to any thing that tended towards the promoting a change, and overjoyed too of ſuch an occaſion; as among others, *Juſtus*, and his father *Piſtus*, who immediately cloſed with the propoſition, and joined intereſts with *John* againſt me.

But *Silas*, my deputy-governor of *Tiberias*, diſpatched a meſſenger to me with an account of the whole ſtory, adviſing me by all means to make what haſte I could thither, and prevent the miſchief before it was too late, or elſe the government would quickly be in other hands. Upon this, I poſted away to *Tiberias* with two hundred men, ſent a meſſenger before to inform my friends I was a-coming, and ſo travelled the whole night. The people early in the morning came out of town to meet me upon the way, and *John* himſelf among the reſt; but ſo confounded, that he betrayed his guilt in his face. Being now conſcious to himſelf that his neck was at ſtake, if he was diſcovered, he made a haſty reverence, and that inſtant withdrew to his lodging. In the mean time, I went directly to the public place of exerciſes, where I diſcharged all my own train, except one perſon of note, and ten ſoldiers that I kept about me. After this, being mounted upon an eminence, I harangued the *Tiberians* upon the ſubject of good faith and allegiance, the honour of a generous conſtancy, and the actual baſeneſs, as well as dangerous conſequences of violating their faith; for one treachery, I told them would moſt certainly be avenged upon the head of the traitor by another, and that, after one act of perfidy, their credit would be loſt for ever. The words were hardly out of my mouth, when I heard ſome body call vehemently and earneſtly to me, immediately to come down, and provide for my own ſecurity, for my enemies were juſt upon me. Now the truth was, that having me at an advantage, in a place where I was little better than alone, *John* drew a ſelect number of men out of the thouſand that he commanded, and gave them orders to kill me; and they were already advanced within a very little of executing their deſign; which they had certainly done, if I had not leaped down that very moment, by the help of one of my own guards, who conducted me ſafe to the lake; where, beyond all expectation, I found a veſſel ready that carried me to *Taricheæ*, and out of the reach and power of my enemies. The people of the place were ſo incenſed at the *Tiberians* for their barbarous treachery, that they immediately armed themſelves, and importunately begged of me, in a body, to march at the head of them againſt thoſe perfidious traitors, that they might do me right upon them for ſo horrid a villainy. The report of this outrage was quickly ſpread all over *Galilee*, with an invitation to come in and join them againſt *Tiberias*, and to ſubmit themſelves to the direction and conduct of their governor. The *Galileans* armed themſelves preſently in great numbers, and earneſtly entreated me to attack *Tiberias*, and upon the taking of it, to demoliſh it, and to expoſe the inhabitants with their whole families to ſale for ſlaves. Nor was this the ſenſe of the *Galileans* only, but my friends, who came to me out of *Tiberias*, gave me the ſame advice: but I could by no means reſolve upon ſuch a deſperate enterprize; and therefore urged it as their own intereſt, not to cut one another's throats, for a ſpectacle to the *Romans*. By this means I appeaſed the rage of the *Galileans*.

When *John* found that all his deceitful machinations againſt me ſtill miſcarried, he thought it was high time to look to himſelf; ſo that, taking what armed men he had about him, he left *Tiberias*, and went to *Giſchala*; and from thence he wrote me an apologizing letter, wherein he excuſed himſelf of any ſuch deſign; owning that it was indeed a very baſe action, but done without his knowledge or approbation. He begged I would believe him, ſwearing by all that was good and ſacred, and calling God to witneſs, that what he ſaid was every word of it true. But this did not ſatisfy the *Galileans* at all; for they knew him to be a perfidious man, and would not believe one word he ſaid; ſo that they ſtill importuned me to lead them on to the attack, that they might utterly deſtroy, at once, both him and *Giſchala*, the place of his nativity. I gave them thanks for their good-will, and aſſured them of all the beſt offices I could do them in return; but at the ſame time I adviſed them to be temperate and compoſed, and to give me leave to try if the quarrel could be decided without blood, and in a manner more agreeable to them, before any farther miſchief enſued. The *Galileans* conſented, and we came ſoon after to *Sepphoris*.

The inhabitants being reſolved to continue their allegiance to the *Romans*, were not without ſome apprehenſion upon my approach; and, for their own ſecurity, plotted how they might give me a diverſion ſome other way. *Jeſus*, the captain of the banditti, was at that time on the borders of *Ptolemais*, with a body of eight hundred men under his command; and they could not do better, they thought, than preſently to diſpatch a meſſenger to him with the promiſe of a conſiderable ſum of money to make war upon us. The temptation prevailed; and the way he pitched upon, was to take us at unawares, and unprovided. Upon this he ſent me word, that he ſhould be glad if I would give him leave to make me a viſit. I readily agreed to it; for I had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any treacherous deſign: he took a troop of his robbers, and haſtened his journey with all expedition. But upon his approach within a little of the town, a deſerter gave me intelligence of the whole contrivance. Upon this information, I went directly into the market-place, as if I had known nothing of a plot againſt me, attended with a numerous train of *Galileans* in arms, and ſeveral *Tiberians* among them. I gave orders for the guard of the paſſes, and to the porters of the gates, to let in only *Jeſus* himſelf, with ſome few of his company, and then ſhut the gates upon the reſt; and if they ſhould offer to break in by violence, to repel them by force. They punctually obſerved my orders, and admitted *Jeſus* with a ſmall number of his followers; and then ſhut the gates upon the reſt. So ſoon as he was in, I bad him ſurrender his arms, or expect immediate death, which he did, finding himſelf ſurrounded with a guard of ſoldiers. Upon this, thoſe of his men that were ſhut out, hearing how it was with their leader, betook themſelves immediately to flight: ſo calling *Jeſus* apart, I addreſſed him after this manner: "I have you now in my hands, you ſee; I know all your contrivances, your counſels, and your adviſers; and yet after all theſe provocations, if you will paſs your word now to be an honeſt men, and never engage in any deſign againſt me for the future, all that you have hitherto done I will freely forgive and forget." He promiſed that he would; and I diſmiſſed him, giving him the liberty to rally his diſperſed men again, whom juſt before he had under his conduct. And for the *Sepphorites*, I only charged them to be quiet and peaceable for the future, at their peril.

There came to me, at the ſame time, two noblemen, and ſubjects of the king of *Trachonitis*, with men, horſes, money, and arms. The *Jews* were abſolutely againſt the receiving of them, unleſs they would conſent to be circumciſed; but I told them that every man was to worſhip God according to the dictates of his own conſcience, and not of another man's; and therefore I was utterly againſt the giving of them any trouble on that account; beſides, it would be very inhoſpitable, to make people, who came to them for ſanctuary, retract the good opinion they had conceived of their charity. Upon this all the people came over to my opinion, and I gave them an entertainment ſuitable to the circumſtances and occaſion.

King *Agrippa*, in the mean time, ſent *Equus Modius* with a conſiderable power, to take by force the caſtle of *Magdala*. He was not in a condition to beſiege it in form, but all that he could do, was to poſt guards upon the avenues, and ſo to block up *Gamala*. *Ebutius*, the Decadarch [*], who had the command of the great plain, underſtanding that I was to come to *Simonias*, a village upon the confines of *Galilee*, and ſixty furlongs from the place where he was, drew out an hundred horſe that he had then about him, near two hundred foot, and ſome auxiliary troops from *Gaba*, and marching them by night, came to the village where I was; whereupon I faced him with a very ſtrong body of men, which he obſerving, would fain have drawn me into the open field, relying upon the ſtrength of his horſe; but my ſtrength conſiſting chiefly in foot, I ſtirred not from my ſtation. *Ebutius* did all he could to force me from my poſt; but when he ſaw his deſign impracticable, he ſounded a retreat, and marched off to *Gaba*, having loſt only three men in the action. I followed at his heels, with a body of two thouſand men; and when I came to *Beſara*, a town upon the confines of *Ptolemais*, and about twenty furlongs from *Gaba*, where *Ebutius* at that time was, I poſſeſſed myſelf of all the paſſes about it, to ſecure my quarters from any ſudden attack, and in the mean time carried off the wheat and other grain, to a prodigious quantity, which had been taken from the adjacent villages belonging to queen *Berenice*, and was there laid up in ſtore. This proviſion I ordered to be carried to *Galilee* upon a great number of camels and aſſes which I had brought thither for that purpoſe. So ſoon as this work was over, I offered *Ebutius* battle; but when we ſaw he durſt not venture an engagement, I bent my courſe towards *Scythopolis*, where *Neapolitanus* was then in garriſon with a body of horſe, and committing ravages in the country about *Tiberias*. By this means I delivered *Tiberias* from any farther vexation from this enemy; and my whole care, in the next place, was how to provide for the ſettling of *Galilee*.

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[*] The governor of a tenth part of a country.

Now *John*, the ſon of *Levi*, being at *Giſchala*, was galled to the very ſoul to ſee all my enterprizes ſucceſsful, and to find how much I was reſpected by my people, and feared by my enemies; and projecting how he might turn the hearts of my ſubjects againſt me, he ſolicited the *Tiberians* and the *Sepphorites* to join in his deſign, flattering himſelf that he might gain over to his ſide the *Gabarens* alſo, theſe being the moſt conſiderable people in *Galilee*, repreſenting to them, how much eaſier their condition would be under his government than they found it under mine; and reckoning that juſt ſo much advantage, or reputation as I got, he himſelf loſt. The *Sepphorites* were neither for him nor for me, but for the *Romans*. The *Tiberians* would not be prevailed upon to revolt, but promiſed however to maintain an amicable correſpondence with him; only the *Gabarenes* eſpouſed his intereſt, and came into his meaſures, at the inſtigation of *Simon* an eminent citizen and a particular friend of *John*; and, although they did not appear openly in this new alliance, for fear of the *Galileans*, of whoſe friendſhip and reſpect for me they had ſeen ſo many inſtances, yet they never failed of coming in to any underhand deſign againſt me; and it was very narrowly that I eſcaped them upon a particular occaſion.

There was a party of *Dabarittenians*, a parcel of bold young fellows, who, upon intelligence that the wife of *Ptolemy*, the king's ſteward, was travelling with a pompous train of horſe and other equipage over the great plain, out of the king's juriſdiction, into a province of the *Romans*, way-laid, and ſet upon the company, forced the lady to ſhift for herſelf, and made prize of what ſhe had. This happened while I was at *Taricheæ*, and thither they brought four mules laden with rich cloaths, and other coſtly furniture, a vaſt number of ſilver veſſels, and five hundred pieces of gold. Now theſe being the goods of *Ptolemy*, a man of my own tribe, (and our law not permitting us ſo much as to rob our enemies), I told the people who brought them, that they were by all means to be carefully preſerved, until they could be ſold to the beſt advantage, and the money thereof to be laid out upon repairing the walls of *Jeruſalem*. Theſe ruffians laid it ſo to heart to be diſappointed of a booty, they thought themſelves as good as ſure of, that they currently reported it all about *Tiberias*, that I had a deſign to betray the province to the *Romans*. I pretended indeed, they ſaid, to employ the profit of the purchaſe upon rebuilding the walls of *Jeruſalem*; but upon the whole my real intention was to reſtore it to the former maſter: and they were not much miſtaken in their opinion; for after the departure of the young men, I called two citizens to me of the firſt quality, *Daſſion* and *Jannæus*, both in great favour with the king, and ordered them to make reſtitution of the prize, and upon pain of death not to divulge the ſecret. The rumour was by this time ſpread all over *Galilee*, that I had formed a deſign to deliver up the country to the *Romans*; and all people were tampered with againſt me to take revenge. The men of *Taricheæ* among others, gave ſo much credit to the ſtory, that they enticed ſeveral of my guards, and other ſoldiers, to ſteal away from me when aſleep, and come into the circus to conſult there with other people concerned, how to depoſe me, and diſpoſe of the government.

When they came thither, they found a huge concourſe of people aſſembled together beforehand, all with one voice calling out for juſtice upon the traitor: the ringleader of the tumult was *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Saphias*, who was at that time the chief magiſtrate of *Tiberias*, and one of the falſeſt and moſt ſeditious men in the world. He preſented himſelf, with the two tables of *Moſes* in his hand, and preſſing into the middle of the crowd, addreſſed them after this manner: "If ſo be, you are grown careleſs and forgetful of your own good and ſafety, let it be recommended to you, however, ſtill to preſerve a veneration for theſe Holy Laws, which that ſame *Joſephus*, your governor, has made no ſcruple to betray, and conſequently to render himſelf ſo odious to all good men, that no puniſhment can be too exemplary and ſevere." Theſe words of his were received with acclamations and applauſes; whereupon, taking ſoldiers along with him, he hurried away immediately to my lodging, with a full determination to take away my life; being quite tired, I was faſt aſleep, without ſo much as the leaſt thought or apprehenſion of a tumult. But at laſt, all of a ſudden, *Simon*, one of my body guards, and the only man that ſtaid with me, upon the ſight of a crowd of people preſſing in upon me, rouſed me up, and awakened me, ſhewed me the danger I was in, and adviſed me, in one word, rather, like a man of honour, bravely to ſuffer death from my own hand, than to die ſhamefully and ignominiouſly under the inſults, and at the will and pleaſure of an inſolent enemy. Upon this, I changed my cloaths, diſguiſed myſelf in black, and hanging my ſword round my neck, I went out by a by-way, where I was ſure to meet none of my adverſaries, to the multitude in the circus; where I fell proſtrate on my face, weeping and wailing in ſo moving a manner, that the generality of the people themſelves could not but pity me. When I found them in ſome meaſure wrought upon and ſoftened, I did what I could to divide them in their opinions of me, and of my condition, before the return of the ſoldiers from my lodgings. I told them I did not poſitively deny, but that there was ſomewhat indeed of truth in the matter wherewith I was charged: I deſired only that they would firſt rightly inform themſelves of the fact, and what uſe I intended to make of the booty; and then, if they thought me deſerving of death, let them take away my life. The mulitude were for hearing me, and bade me proceed, only the ſoldiers being juſt now returned, were for cutting me to pieces immediately; but upon the clamour of the common people, were prevailed upon to reſpite the execution, taking it for granted, that after the diſcovery, that I did really intend to reſerve that money for the king, they ſhould have a better excuſe for going through with the work at laſt. Upon this they gave me the hearing; and ſilence being proclaimed, that which I ſaid was to this effect:

"Men and brethren, if it ſhall be your opinion that I have deſerved to die, I freely ſubmit, provided I may but give you a true ſtate of the caſe before I ſuffer; I have ever looked upon this city as a ſanctuary to ſtrangers; and indeed the comforts and conveniencies it affords to mankind, are ſo great and general, and the manners and converſation of the inhabitants ſo taking and agreeable, that multitudes of ſtrangers have been tempted to forſake their native ſoil, and tranſplant themſelves hither, reſolving to take the common fortune of the place, good or bad. And what is my crime now, but only a deſign to devote a ſum of money, out of a zeal to the public good, towards the repairing of your walls? This is, in ſhort, the whole ground of your diſpleaſure." The *Tarichæans* and foreigners, with infinite thanks encouraged me to go on, and fear nothing; but the *Galileans* and *Tiberians* continued ſo untractable and outrageous, that it came to a direct quarrel betwixt them; the one ſide aſſailing me with menaces and hard words, and the other engaging for my ſecurity and protection. But upon promiſing the *Tiberians* to do as much for them too, and ſo for other towns where the ſituation would bear it, they dropped the conteſt, took my word for the performance, and every man withdrew to his own home: after which unexpected deliverance, I returned with ſome friends, and twenty ſoldiers, to my own quarters.

The ruffians and heads of this ſeditious tumult apprehending themſelves now in ſome danger to be called to an account, gathered together about ſix hundred of them, and marched directly to the houſe were I lodged, with a reſolution to ſet fire to it. Being informed of their coming, and of their purpoſe, I thought it would look cowardly to fly before them; ſo that I rather choſe to ſhut the doors againſt them, and make the beſt of a bad game. Upon this I called to them out of my upper chamber-window, that if the money was what they made a rout about, they had no more to do than to appoint any perſon they thought fit to receive it, and never give themſelves any farther trouble about the matter. So they ſent over a party to fetch the money; and upon their entering the houſe, finding one perſon in particular to be more inſolent than the reſt of his companions, I ordered him to be ſeized, whipt, one hand cut off, and hanged about his neck, and ſo turned out again, to tell his ſtory to thoſe who ſent him. The whole company was ſo aſtoniſhed at this treatment, that taking for granted I had a ſtrong guard in my houſe, they all ſcoured off; and by this ſtratagem I brought myſelf off for this time. After this diſappointment, they had recourſe to another invention: they picked a quarrel with the two noblemen that applied themſelves in their diſtreſs to me for ſanctuary; alledging they were ſpies and poiſoners, in the intereſt of the *Romans*, and not to be protected in any place where they refuſed to conform to the cuſtoms of the country. This popular way of inſinuation put the multitude in a ferment again; but upon hearing which way it wrought, I told them plainly it was not either generous or diſcreet to inſult people who caſt themſelves upon us for ſuccour; for we did not know how ſoon their caſe might be our own. And then to fancy their coming hither was with an intent to poiſon us, nothing could be more ridiculous; for why ſhould the *Romans* be at the charge of maintaining ſo many legions in arms, if they thought they could ſubdue their enemies by ſpells or poiſon?

This pacified them for the preſent; but their choler was up again immediately, inſomuch that they went with a band of deſperate ruffians together to *Taricheæ*, to beſet the lodgings of theſe ſtrangers, and take their lives. In the inſtant of hearing what they were about, I got what men I could together, and poſted away to prevent the miſchief; for the tolerating ſo barbarous an inhumanity, would have made me odious to mankind. I made a ſhift to get up time enough to ſecure the door, till I could run a trench from the backſide into a lake there cloſe by, where I took a boat, and croſſed over to the *Hippenians*, with my two noble gueſts, where I allowed them the value of their horſes, which they could not bring off with them; and at parting earneſtly beſought them to bear their preſent lot with conſtancy; for I abhorred the very thoughts of reſigning up any man to the mercy of an enemy, who had caſt himſelf into my arms, in confidence of good faith and protection; but of the two, I rather choſe, how hazardous ſoever, to leave them to providence, and the mercy of the *Romans* one way, than expoſe them to certain deſtruction by the perfidy of my own people, the other. But after all, *Agrippa* pardoned them; and thus was the end of theſe broils.

The *Tiberians* entertaining ſome thoughts of going over to king *Agrippa*, offered him their ſervice by letter, provided he would furniſh them with troops ſufficient to protect them. Upon the firſt notice of this overture, I went to look after them, and upon my arrival they put me in mind of my promiſe for rebuilding their walls, being informed, that I had been as good as my word at *Tarichea* already. I told them it ſhould be done, and gave orders for providing materials and workmen to ſet about it immediately. After three days ſtay, I took a journey to *Tarichea*, about thirty furlongs off; in which time, certain *Roman* troops being upon their march within ſight of *Tiberias*, the inhabitants taking them to be of *Agrippa*'s party, fell preſently into the higheſt commendations imaginable of the king; and at the ſame time reflected upon me as bitterly and contemptuouſly as was poſſible. Soon after news was brought me by a meſſenger in great haſte, that the people were upon the very point of a revolt, which put me to my wit's end what to do; for the Sabbath being at hand, I had diſmiſſed the ſoldiers from *Tarichea*, for the quieter celebration of that feſtival; beſides, I ſeldom kept my life-guards about me in that place, in confidence of the known loyalty and good affection of the people. It would have been to no purpoſe to recal my troops now in the evening, which I could make no uſe of at all the next day; ſuch a thing being forbidden by our laws, though upon ever ſo neceſſary and emergent an occaſion*; and then for the people of *Tarichea*, ſtrangers and all, in caſe I could have engaged them to my aſſiſtance, by the hope and promiſe of pillage and booty, yet their ſtrength would have have been inſufficient to have done my buſineſs; and there was no room for conſideration or delay, for fear of the enemies poſſeſſing themſelves of the city in the interim, and ſhutting me out; ſo that I was obliged to depend upon the following ſtratagem: I gave ſtrict orders to ſome of my truſty friends, to keep a watchful eye upon the gates, and not ſuffer any perſon to paſs out of town: I likewiſe appointed the heads of the chief families in the city, every man to get into his boat, and put out into the lake, with only one mariner to every boat, and ſo to follow me; while I myſelf, with ſeven ſoldiers, and ſome few friends in another boat, ſtood away directly for *Tiberias*, where the people were by this time informed of their miſtake, and that there were no troops of the king's at hand, as they imagined. The inhabitants obſerving the lake covered with veſſels, and ſurmiſing an army aboard, ready to break in upon the city, betook themſelves in this fright, upon ſecond thoughts, to other meaſures; for laying down their arms, they came out with their wives and children, and welcomed me at my arrival, wiſhing me ſucceſs, and inviting me into their city; not in the leaſt ſuſpecting all this while that the plot was diſcovered. Upon drawing near the ſhore, I gave orders for all my followers to come to an anchor ſo far from land, that the people might not diſcern this formidable fleet, at ſuch a diſtance, to be only an amuſement of empty boats. In the mean time I came up myſelf to the very key, and ſeverely rebuked them for the wickedneſs and folly of their breach of faith. However, at laſt, I was content to pardon their miſdemeanor, provided they would promiſe to continue for the future more ſtedfaſt in their duty, and for ſecurity ſend me aboard ten of their firſt quality; which they conſenting to, I directly ſhipped them off for *Tarichea*, with orders for them to be kept there in cuſtody; and thus I got the whole ſenate into my hands, and by degrees a great part of their principal citizens likewiſe, one after another. The remainder of the multitude, reflecting upon the condition they were now in, laid the blame wholly upon one *Clitus*, a bold, hot-headed, young fellow among them, as the chief incendiary, and deſired me that I would command juſtice to be done upon him. I could not in conſcience puniſh with death a man of my own tribe, and yet lying under an abſolute neceſſity of making an example of him ſome way or other, I commanded one *Levi*, a ſoldier in my guards, to cut off one of his hands. The fellow was afraid to venture upon it alone, for fear of the people; and I was as much afraid on the other ſide, leaſt the people ſhould take notice of his boggling at the execution; ſo that without any further ceremony, I called out to *Clitus* myſelf. "Come," ſaid I, "thou vileſt of "miſcreants, I do here condemn thee to the "loſs of both thy hands, for thy ingratitude "and treachery, and as much as in thee "lies, to be thine own executioner; where- "fore be quick and diſpatch, or it ſhall be "worſe for thee." He begged hard to be excuſed for one of them; and after ſome ſeeming difficulty having obtained it, he immediately with a ſword cut off his left hand with his right; and this put an end to the tumult. From hence I returned to *Taricheæ*. The *Tiberians* coming afterwards to know my ſtratagem, were in great admiration at my putting a ſtop to ſo furious an uproar without bloodſhed. Matters being quiet, I ſent for the *Tiberian* priſoners to eat with me, *Juſtus* and his father *Piſtus* among the reſt. I was ſaying, in the freedom of table diſcourſe, that I looked upon the *Romans* as the moſt powerful people under the ſun; but yet, in regard to the preſent faction I had to do with, I reckoned it diſcreeteſt to keep my thoughts to myſelf, and I told them I thought it would be well if they did ſo too, till times ſhould be better; adviſing them, in the mean while, to live quiet under my adminiſtration, for they ſhould never find any governor eaſier to them than myſelf. And the next morning early, I commanded *Juſtus* and his companions to be all diſcharged.

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* The *Jews* were ſo ſuperſtitiouſly ſtrict in the obſervance of their Sabbath, that they ſuffered *Jeruſalem* to be taken twice, rather than fight on that day.

It was a little before this, that *Philip*, the ſon of *Jacimus*, left *Gamala* upon this account. News being brought him of the revolt of *Varus* from *Agrippa*, and that *Modius Equus*, his friend, was put in his place, he informed *Modius* by letter of the preſent ſtate of his affairs, with a packet alſo for the king and queen, who were then at *Berytus*. *Modius* was overjoyed to find him in health, and ſent away the other packet according to the addreſs. So ſoon as the king underſtood by theſe letters, that the ſtory of *Philip's* putting himſelf at the head of the *Jews* againſt the *Romans*, was a falſe report, he ſent for him to the court, by a party of horſe; and taking him into his arms upon his arrival with great honour and kindneſs, told the commanders about him, that this was the perſon they heard was gone off from the *Romans*. Soon after he ſent him with ſome troops of horſe to the fort of *Gamala*, with orders to bring away all his family, reſettle the *Babylonians* in *Batanæa*, and to take all poſſible care to keep the people quiet; and *Philip* went immediately on his commiſſion.

About this time ſtarted up a kind of an itinerant phyſician, called *Joſeph*, with a crew of deſperate young fellows at his heels, and not without ſome conſiderable citizens in the mob, for the better countenancing of the tumult. The buſineſs of this man was to draw off the people from their allegiance to the king, by encouraging them to take up arms, and aſſert their antient rights and liberties. The faction grew quickly to ſuch a head, that they put to death all who durſt oppoſe them; amongſt the reſt, they killed *Chares*, and his kinſman *Jeſus*, with the ſiſter of *Juſtus* of *Tiberias*. They wrote to me after this, to ſend them troops for a garriſon, and workmen to encompaſs the town with a wall, for its better ſecurity; both which I agreed to.

At the ſame time the country of the *Gaulanites* revolted from *Agrippa*, as far as the village of *Solyma*. I walled in *Sogannis* and *Seleucia*,

Seleucia, two places of very great ſtrength by ſituation; and I fortified ſeveral towns in the *Upper Galilee*, as *Jamnia*, *Amerytha*, and *Charabe*, all ſituate among the rocky mountains. In *Galilee* I very ſtrongly fortified the towns alſo of *Taricheæ*, *Tiberias*, and *Sepphoris*; and the villages of *Arbela*, *Beſorbe*, *Selame*, *Jotapata*, *Capharath*, *Comoſogana*, *Næpapha*, and Mount *Itabyr*. In theſe places I had my magazines of corn and arms.

This proſperous courſe of my affairs was ſo diſpleaſing to *John*, that it increaſed his hatred towards me; ſo that he fully determined with himſelf to work my deſtruction. To which end, after the walling in of *Giſchala*, he diſpatched his brother *Simon* with an hundred men to *Simon* the ſon of *Gamaliel* at *Jeruſalem*, to try if he could get the council of the city to remove me from my government of *Galilee*, and to ſubſtitute *John* in my place. Now this *Simon* was a citizen of the firſt rank; by ſect a *Phariſee*, and conſequently a ſtrict obſerver of the laws, a perſon of great prudence, and no man better qualified for the rectifying and compoſing any dangerous diſorders in the ſtate, by the wiſdom of his counſels; and beſides, he had been known, for a long time, to be *John*'s particular friend, and at that juncture my inveterate enemy. He was, in ſhort, ſo far wrought upon by ſolicitation and intreaty, that he ſuggeſted it to *Ananus* the high-prieſt, and *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamala*, with others of the party, to cut me off betimes, whilſt they had it in their power, and to prevent me from arriving at the higheſt pitch of glory, to which I was aſpiring; beſides, it would be highly conducive to their intereſt, he ſaid, to have me turned out of the command of *Galilee* before the deſign could take air; for fear of my preventing the execution of it. The high prieſt likewiſe told him, that I had ſo many of the chief prieſts and heads of the people that could bear witneſs to the conduct and juſtice of my adminiſtration, that it would be difficult to obtain a vote againſt me; and to paſs ſentence upon a man, without being able to aſſign his crime, was unjuſt. So *Simon* deſired them to take no notice of what had paſſed, but leave it to him to lay a project for the diſplacing of me ſome other way. Upon this he applied to the brother of *John*, and propoſed the diſtribution of money and preſents among the friends of *Ananus*, as the moſt likely courſe he could take for obtaining his point. By this method, *Simon* compaſſed his end; for *Ananus* and his companions, upon the receiving of theſe bribes, conſulted together immediately how they might depoſe me, and with ſo much ſecreſy, as not to make any man beſides privy to the counſel. The way they pitched upon was to employ four agents upon the commiſſion; two of them noble, and the other two private perſons; but all four equally celebrated for their learning and ſkill in the laws; there was *Jonathan* and *Ananias*, both *Phariſees*, for two of them; *Joazar*, a man of a ſacerdotal family, and a *Phariſee* alſo, for a third; and then the fourth was *Simon*, of the pontifical line likewiſe, and the youngeſt of the four. Theſe men had their inſtructions to argue the matter at the next meeting of the *Galileans*, and to expoſtulate why they ſhould honour me with their choice before another. If they ſhould alledge, becauſe I am a native of *Jeruſalem*; it might be anſwered, ſo were they; and if for my knowledge of the laws, the ſame thing might be ſaid for them too; or if they ſhould ſay they did it out of reſpect to the prieſthood, they might anſwer that two of their number had the very ſame pretence. With this leſſon, and forty thouſand pieces of ſilver, taken out of the public treaſury, *Jonathan* and his companions went about their buſineſs.

About this time one *Jeſus* a *Galilean*, came to *Jeruſalem*, with a band of ſix hundred ſoldiers; with him the commiſſioners agreed for three months pay advance, to follow *Jonathan* and his colleagues, and to obey their orders. To theſe ſoldiers they joined three hundred citizens, whom they furniſhed with money ſufficient to defray the expence of their own journey, and that of all the reſt likewiſe. Thus provided for a march, the deputies ſet out, and the brother of

John, with his company of an hundred men along with them. Their order was; in caſe I ſhould voluntarily lay down my arms, to take me priſoner, and ſend me alive to *Jeruſalem*; but if I made any oppoſition, they were to kill me. From the ſame hands there were letters diſpatched to *John* alſo to be in readineſs to make war upon me. The *Sepphorites*, the *Gabarenes*, and the *Tiberians*, were likewiſe engaged to fall in with the party.

Now *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Gamala*, who was privy to the whole contrivance, gave my father intelligence, from time to time, of every thing that paſſed; and from him I received a particular account. It very ſenſibly affected me to conſider the ingratitude and malicious practices of a faction in the city againſt me; and my affliction was as great to find the trouble my father was in for my ſake, and with what earneſtneſs he preſſed me to come over to him, upon a ſuggeſtion that it was only to ſee me once before he died.

In this unhappy ſituation of my affairs, I communicated my intentions to my friends, and told them, that I was determined, within the compaſs of three days, to lay down my command, and go back again into my own country. They all fell into tears and lamentations upon the hearing of it; begging me not to leave them to the certainty of periſhing when I was gone. But my life being at ſtake on the one hand, againſt their prayers and importunities on the other, I ſtill perſiſted in my purpoſe. The *Galileans* were poſſeſſed with ſuch a terrible apprehenſion of being expoſed to the inſolence and oppreſſion of thieves and out-laws after my departure, that they immediately ſent notice up and down, through the whole province, that I was upon the point of leaving them. This news brought a multitude of people together with their wives and children, into the great plain of *Aſoch*, where I then was, to try if they could prevail with me to ſtay; not ſo much out of an affection to me, perhaps, as for fear of the danger they were in themſelves; for they reckoned all ſafe ſo long as I was among them.

I had a wonderful dream that very night: As I was in my bed, my head and my heart overwhelmed with ſorrow, being extremely troubled on account of my father's letters, I ſaw, methought, the viſion of a man at my bed-ſide, and a voice ſpeaking to me after this manner: "Ceaſe to diſquiet thy heart, "good man, and fear nothing; for all theſe "calamities will blow over, and only lead "to thy greater advantage and ſatisfaction, "not only for the preſent, but likewiſe for "the time to come; wherefore trouble not "yourſelf, but remember that you are to "have a war with the *Romans*." Upon waking out of this dream, I got up, with an intent to go out into the plain, where I had no ſooner ſhewed myſelf, than a great multitude of the *Galileans*, men, women, and children, caſt themſelves upon their faces at the ſight of me, and, with tears, beſought me not to leave them in this extremity. When they found that prayers and importunities would do no good, they preſſed me with adjurations not to forſake them, caſting many a contumelious reproach upon the people of *Jeruſalem*, who would never let them be quiet. This appeared ſo rueful a ſpectacle to me, that it made my heart bleed with compaſſion, and brought me over, in the end, to a reſolution of running any hazard whatſoever, for the ſervice of ſo vaſt a multitude of forlorn harmleſs people; ſo that, in the concluſion, I was over-perſuaded to ſtay.

Upon this, I made them draw five thouſand men out of their whole number, and furniſh them with arms and victuals for a march, and the reſt inſtantly to depart every man to his own home. So ſoon as the five thouſand men were ready, I joined them with three thouſand more I had of my own, and eighty horſe; and ſo advanced to *Chabolo*, a village near *Ptolemais*, where I took up my ſtation, as if my deſign had been to fall upon *Placidus*, whom *Ceſtius Gallus* had ſent into thoſe parts with a troop of horſe, and two companies of foot, to ſet fire to the villages of the *Galileans* thereabouts. *Placidus* intrenched himſelf not far from the gates of *Ptolemais*, while I lay, at the ſame time, about ſixty furlongs towards *Chabolo*. We drew out our armies ſeveral times on both ſides, as if we were for joining battle immediately, but there only paſſed ſome few ſkirmiſhes; for the more I preſſed to an engagement, the more the other declined it.

While matters were in this poſture, *Jonathan*, with his companions, came into thoſe parts; and the plot was now how to compaſs their ends by treachery, which they durſt not attempt by open force. To this purpoſe, they ſent me the following letter:

" *Jonathan*, and his deputy-colleagues, from
" the council at *Jeruſalem*, to *Joſephus*,
" greeting:

" Whereas our principals at *Jeruſalem* " are given to underſtand, that *John* of " *Giſchala* has been engaged in ſeveral per-" fidious practices againſt your perſon, they " have ſent us, in their name, to give him " a ſevere reprimand, and to require him " for the future, to pay all due reſpect and " obedience to your commands. And, that " we may agree upon ſome better regula-" tion of things hereafter, we requeſt that " you will come to us with all ſpeed. The " village is but ſmall, and therefore we de-" ſire you will not bring any great train of " guards along with you, for fear of being " ſtreightened for room."

This letter was contrived on purpoſe to plunge me into a dangerous and inextricable difficulty: for, if I truſted myſelf without a ſtrong guard, they could take me and uſe me as they pleaſed; and, on the other hand, if I approached them with the formality of military troops, I might be liable to be proſecuted as a rebel. The letter was brought me by a horſeman, a bold young fellow. It was now about the ſecond hour of the night, when being at ſupper with ſome of my friends, and ſeveral *Galileans* of the firſt quality, word was brought me, that a certain *Jew* on horſeback deſired to ſpeak with me: I ordered him to be called in; when, without ſhewing any manner of reſpect to the company, he delivered me the letter, requiring me to return a ſpeedy anſwer. The company were amazed at the confidence of the ſoldier; however I invited him to ſit down and ſup with us, which he refuſed; and ſo, keeping the letter in my hand, without opening it, I took occaſion to paſs away the time with my company in diſcourſes upon indifferent ſubjects, and going now and then out of the door, as in civility to wait on ſome of my gueſts that were going to bed, I took the opportunity to open the letter, ſo as to perceive the contents of it; and then inſtantly folding it up again, I held it ſtill in my hand, without diſcovering I had read it. The company were now all gone but four intimate friends, and a ſervant to fill the wine. I gave the ſoldier twenty drachmas *, to bear his expences, and regale himſelf with, on his way back; for which he was ſo wonderfully thankful, that I found the love of money was his weak ſide. "Come," ſaid I, " if you will drink " with us, and do as we do, you ſhall have " a drachma for every cup you drink." The fellow readily accepted the terms of the more wine the more money, and carouſed ſo immoderately, that he became too drunk to keep the ſecret any longer, that there was a ſnare laid for me, and a ſentence of death pronounced againſt me. Upon which diſcovery, I gave him the following anſwer to his letter:

" *Joſephus* to *Jonathan*, and his fellow-de-
" puties, greeting:

" I am very glad to hear that you are in " health, and that you are come into *Gali-*" *lee*;

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* The drachma was, at this time, very near the ſame with the *Roman* denier, which was about eight pence three farthings, ſeven of them juſt weighing an ounce Troy-weight, in the time of *Tiberias*, and this continued the legal weight in *Veſpaſian*'s time; but, ſome time after that, they became leſs, eight going to an ounce, which reduced them to ſeven pence halfpenny of our money. Vid. *Celſus*, *B.* v. c. 17. and *Plin.* xxxiii. 9.

"*lee*; and the rather becauſe I am preparing myſelf for a journey into my own country, which I have an earneſt deſire to ſee, and have been thinking of a long time; and this will be a fair opportunity for my delivering up the care of the public adminiſtration into your hands. I ſhould think myſelf happy to wait upon you, not only as far as *Xallo*, but a great deal farther, even without any other motive to invite me to it; but hope you will excuſe me at preſent, ſince I am not now at liberty for ſuch a journey, being forced to ſtay at *Chabolo* to obſerve the motions of *Placidus*, and keep him from attacking *Galilee*; and therefore I think it more adviſeable, upon the receipt of this letter, for you to come hither; and ſo I bid you farewel."

This letter I delivered to the ſoldier, and appointed thirty perſons of the beſt quality among the *Galileans* to go along with him, giving them orders only to pay their reſpects to the deputies, without entering into any other diſcourſe. With them I ſent a like number of my own ſoldiers that I could beſt confide in, whom I ſet as ſpies upon each other, to watch them narrowly if they entered into any private converſation with *Jonathan*. After the departure of theſe people, the deputies finding that their plot did not take, wrote a ſecond letter to me, to the following effect.

Jonathan and his Colleagues to *Joſephus*, greeting:

"This is to require you to appear, within three days from the date hereof, before us at *Gabara*, without any guard of ſoldiers to attend you, there to make good the charge, which you have exhibited againſt *John* of *Giſchala*."

After they had wrote this letter, and in a reſpectful manner diſmiſſed the *Galileans* I had ſent, they went to *Japha*, one of the largeſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt populous villages of *Galilee*. They were no ſooner entered, but the people were all up, crying out to them to be gone again, and to let them alone, while they were well; for *Joſeph*, they ſaid, was the beſt governor they could have, and no other would they own. The deputies, finding that it was not a place for their turn, went to *Sepphoris*. Many of the citizens went indeed to receive them, but without ſpeaking one word of me; from thence they went to *Aſoch*, where they met with full as bad entertainment as they had before at *Japha*. Theſe contempts made them ſo outrageous, that they ordered the ſoldiers to quiet them with clubs and cudgels; from thence they went to *Gabara*, where they were joined by *John*, with a body of three thouſand men to ſecond them. Being forewarned by letters, that they intended to practiſe open hoſtilities againſt me, I drew out three thouſand ſoldiers, and took them with me to *Jotopata*. And from thence I wrote the deputies the following letter:

"If you find it ſo abſolutely neceſſary for me to come to you, there are four hundred cities and villages in *Galilee*; name any one out of the four hundred, and I will meet you there, ſaving only in *Gabara* and *Giſchala*; the one being the place of *John*'s nativity, and the other of his alliance."

The deputies gave over writing, upon the receipt of this letter, and entered into a conſultation, *John* being one of the council, how to do my buſineſs ſome other way. *John* was for ſending circular letters to all the towns and villages of *Galilee*, upon a preſumption of finding out of all of them, ſome one or more diſaffected to my intereſt, and eaſily brought over, when appealed to, to give judgment againſt me as a public enemy: now there would need no more toward the gaining of the citizens of *Jeruſalem* over to the opinion of my being an enemy to the *Galileans*, than to ſend them theſe atteſtations well certified. The reſolution being taken, *Sachæus*, a deſerter, about the third hour of the night, brought me a particular account of the whole tranſaction.

I found I had no time to ſpare; ſo I called for *Jacob*, and ſent him away with two hundred men upon the ſcout, betwixt the roads of *Gabra* and *Galilee*, with inſtructions to take up all paſſengers, and ſend them to me in cuſtody; eſpecially ſuch as had any letters about them; and at the ſame time I diſpatched *Jeremy*, (my very particular friend too) with ſix hundred ſoldiers into the confines of *Galilee* leading to *Jeruſalem* to watch the paſſes; ordering him to ſeize all couriers, ſecure their perſons, and to bring me their papers. I ſent my mandates alſo through the whole province of *Galilee*, requiring all perſons to attend me at *Gabra* the next morning, with their arms and three days proviſions. The ſoldiers I had about me I divided into four bodies, the moſt truſty of which I kept near my perſon, with a ſtrict order to the officers not to admit a ſtrange face into their company. About eleven next day, coming to *Gabara*, I found the whole plain before the town, covered with armed troops out of *Galilee*, to my aſſiſtance; beſides a confuſed multitude of country people. Juſt as I was going to addreſs them, my mouth was ſtopped with ſuch acclamations of joy, that there was nothing to be heard but ſhouts, at the ſight of their benefactor and preſerver, as they were pleaſed to call me. I gave them my acknowledgements for this inſtance of their good-will, but deſired them to make an innocent and temperate uſe of their power.

The people I had employed to guard the roads and paſſes, the firſt day they went out, intercepted *Jonathan*'s meſſengers in their way towards *Jeruſalem*; together with their packets. They ſecured the men, and brought me the letters; which I found upon the peruſal to be ſtuffed with ſcurrilous invectives againſt myſelf. I took no notice at all of the matter, but marched on directly againſt them. So ſoon as they underſtood I was marching that way, they retired into the houſe of *Jeſus*; a large and ſtrong place, and built much after the manner of a citadel. They kept a party of ſoldiers privately in the houſe, all the gates ſhut but one, and the guards ordered, that, upon my coming thither, to take me in alone; by which means they made no doubt of getting me abſolutely into their power, with eaſe; but their expectations were fruſtrated; for, having ſome jealouſy and miſtruſt of their deſigns, I went, immediately upon my arrival, to a lodging over againſt the houſe, as if to refreſh myſelf after my fatigue. The deputies, taking it for granted, that I was faſt aſleep, went out into the plain, to try if they could alienate the affections of the people, and poſſeſs them with a hatred both of me and my adminiſtration. But matters turned out quite different from what they imagined, for the *Galileans* had no ſooner fixed their eyes upon them than they fell to extolling me and my conduct up to the ſkies, and, at the ſame time reviling them with clamours and reproaches, for diſturbing their public peace, without any offence given on their ſide, bidding them be gone about their buſineſs, and meddle with their own affairs; for as for their governor, they had a very good one already, they ſaid, and him only were they reſolved to accept.

I thought this a proper juncture to go down among them, to hear what *Jonathan* and his companions had to ſay. The multitude no ſooner ſaw me, than they came thronging about me with all the demonſtrations of joy imaginable, enlarging upon the obligations I had laid them under during my government, to ſuch a degree, that *Jonathan* and his confederates could not think themſelves ſafe under ſo violent a prejudice. They would gladly have gone off, I perceived; but, upon my entreaty, they ſtaid, for indeed there was no poſſibility of getting off, ſo there they ſtood in amaze, ſeemingly without ſenſe or reaſon, and ſtiffened with fear.

Upon this, I quieted the noiſe, ſet guards of the moſt truſty men I had upon all the avenues, for fear of any ſurprize from *John* and his party; and ſo, with the men about me in arms, I addreſſed myſelf to the deputies.

ties. I reminded them of a letter they had ſent me, pretending a commiſſion from *Jeruſalem*, to hear and determine upon certain matters in controverſy betwixt *John* and myſelf, producing the letter at the ſame time, in proof of my aſſertion. "Now, put the "caſe," ſaid I to *Jonathan*, "that you and "your companions had any authority to call "me to an account for the management of "my government, upon *John*'s information or complaint, would not you yourſelves pronounce me innocent, upon the "clear teſtimony of two or three witneſſes "of unqueſtionable probity, in my juſtification; but what will you ſay now, if I "appeal, not only to two or three competent vouchers, but to every ſoul here preſent, whether my behaviour has not been "ſuch as became a perſon of honour and "juſtice?" Then addreſſing myſelf to the multitude, I ſaid, "As for you, good people "of *Galilee*, ſpeak the truth, and the whole "truth, I adjure you, as if you were ſworn "evidences in the cauſe, and theſe men "the judges. Pray tell them, and ſpare "not, the worſt you know of me." The words were ſcarce out of my mouth, when the whole multitude, with one voice and conſent, made a frank and open declaration of the comforts and benefits they had enjoyed under my care and protection, as their benefactor and defender, and that they were ſo well ſatisfied with me for what was paſt, that they wiſhed no more than the continuance of the ſame goodneſs for the time to come; affirming alſo with oaths, that I had been as tender of either offering any violence to, or ſuffering any to be committed upon the perſons of their wives and daughters, as I had been of invading the common freedom and property of the ſubject.

After this, I pulled out, and read, in the hearing of a great many *Galileans*, the two intercepted letters of *Jonathan*, that were brought me by my ſcouts. They were ſtuffed with ſcandalous and impudent calumnies, traducing me to the higheſt degree, and giving me the character of a tyrant rather than a governor, with a great deal of ribaldry beſides. I was not willing to let my enemies know that I had their meſſengers in cuſtody, for fear it ſhould diſcourage them from ſending for the time to come; ſo I pretended they were brought to me voluntarily by the meſſengers themſelves. The inſolence and villainy of theſe two letters put the people into ſuch a violent outrage againſt *Jonathan* and his companions, that they were going to tear them in pieces, and would undoubtedly have done execution upon them, if I had not, in the very height of their rage, prevented it. I then told the deputies, that I would freely forgive what was paſt, upon condition they would repent and mend, and ſpeak no otherwiſe of me and my government when they came home, than as they found it, which they promiſed to do. Hereupon I gave them their diſcharge, although I did not believe they would do as they ſaid.

The people were ſtill ſo implacably bent upon the ruin of theſe men, that all the ſkill and intereſt I had was little enough to prevent it. I did what I could to divert them, but all to no purpoſe, for they took up a reſolution, one and all, to fall upon *Jonathan* in his quarters.

When I ſaw there was no reſtraining them, I took horſe immediately, and bade them follow me to *Sogane*, a village of *Arabia*, at about forty furlongs diſtance; and by this artifice I took care to avoid the ſcandal and imputation of having made myſelf the author of a civil war. When we were advanced within a little of the place, I commanded my troops to halt; and, after a few words of caution to them, not to be intemperate and vindictive, I made choice of an hundred of the beſt men for quality and underſtanding, that I could pick out of the whole number, and ordered them to prepare themſelves for a journey to *Jeruſalem*, with a complaint againſt the ſeditious heads and ringleaders of theſe broils. I gave them likewiſe in charge, that if they found the people well inclined and eaſy to me, they ſhould endeavour to procure me a new commiſſion for my continuance in the government of *Galilee*,

lee, and to get *John* recalled. With theſe orders I diſpatched them away on the third day after this meeting, allowing them five hundred ſoldiers for their convoy. I wrote alſo to my friends at *Samaria*, to endeavour to procure my commiſſioners a ſafe and free paſſage through their country; for the city was at that time under the power of the *Romans*, and this was the ſhorteſt cut to make a three days journey of it to *Jeruſalem*. I conducted them myſelf to the frontiers of *Galilee*, and ſet ſuch diligent watches upon the way, that there was ſcarce any body knew of this expedition: After which I made a ſhort ſtay at *Japha*.

Jonathan and his companions finding themſelves wholly diſappointed, ſent back *John* to *Giſchala*, and they themſelves went in the mean time to *Tiberias*, in hopes of making themſelves maſters of that place; for *Jeſus* being head-magiſtrate there, had undertaken by letters to bring the people over to eſpouſe their intereſt. In confidence of having this made good to them, they undertook the journey; but *Silas*, my lieutenant there, ſent me a full account of all their proceedings, and preſſed me to return with what ſpeed I could. I followed his counſel, and, by ſo doing, fell into a ſtrait that had like to have coſt me my life.

Jonathan and his companions having made a dangerous faction in *Tiberias* againſt me, were not a little ſtartled upon my coming thither, but gave me, however, the compliment of a viſit immediately, wiſhing me joy of the reputation I had gotten by the juſt conduct of my adminiſtration in *Galilee*; and not without aſſuming to themſelves ſome ſhare in the honour of it, both as their fellow-citizen, and, in ſome ſort, their diſciple, profeſſing all along that they entertained a much greater kindneſs for me than for *John*, adviſing me to go back again, and depend upon them for the delivering up of *John* into my hands very ſpeedily; and to convince me of the reality of their intentions, they bound themſelves with the moſt ſolemn and ſacred oaths and proteſtations for the performance of all this, ſo that I muſt have been the greateſt villain in the world not to have believed them. After which they deſired me, by all means, to withdraw to ſome other place, ſuggeſting, for the better countenance of the matter, that next day being the Sabbath, they ſhould be very ſorry to occaſion any diſturbance among the people on that day.

Upon this pretence I went my way to *Tarichea*, not ſuſpecting any thing; but yet, for my better ſecurity, I planted my ſpies and informers in the town, to obſerve what was ſaid and done concerning me, and I had ſo diſpoſed my agents all along the road from *Tarichea* to *Tiberias*, as to be able to hand from one another, with the greateſt expedition, any intelligence ſent me. On the day following the people met together in the oratory, a place of public worſhip, and large enough to hold a vaſt number of perſons; and thither came *Jonathan* among the reſt. "It was a thouſand pities," he ſaid, "that this city has not better governors;" and there he ſtopped, for he durſt not encourage them to a downright rebellion at once; but *Jeſus*, the chief magiſtrate, urged the point cloſer, and told them it was infinitely better for them to put themſelves under the authority of four rulers than one, eſpecially men of honourable extraction, and known prudence, as thoſe perſons were, pointing to *Jonathan* and his companions, who ſtood by. *Juſtus* concurred in the ſame opinion, and brought over a great many more; but the common people ſhewed a great diſlike and diſapprobation of their notions; ſo that, without doubt, their diſſent would have come to a deſperate tumult, if the hour of the day had not parted them; for it was now twelve at noon, which, on Sabbath-days, is the hour for all our people to go to dinner; ſo the deputies adjourned the debate till the day following.

Upon the firſt notice of this proceeding, I immediately reſolved to ſet out the next morning, by break of day, for *Tiberias*. As ſoon as I came there, I found all the people aſſembled in the foreſaid oratory, without ſo much as underſtanding the true reaſon or intent

tent of their meeting. The deputies did ſo little expect to ſee me there at that time, that the ſurprize put them to a ſtand what to do next, till at laſt it came into their heads to raiſe a ſham ſtory of a body of *Roman* horſe, that were ſeen near *Homonœa,* about thirty furlongs from the city. This rumour was ſo induſtriouſly propogated, that *Jonathan* and his adherents, who were the inventors of it themſelves, preſently fell to clamouring what an intolerable ſcandal it was, to have their country burnt and deſtroyed under their noſes, and they to ſtand ſtill all the while looking on. Now the true intent of this ſtratagem was to draw me out of the town to engage the enemy, and, in the mean time, to get poſſeſſion of it themſelves, by turning the hearts of the citizens againſt me. I perceived their aim, and yet, for fear of appearing leſs ſolicitous for the good of the *Tiberians* than I ought to be, I poſted away to look after thoſe troops, according to the intelligence. But diſcovering upon the place, that there was no ſuch troops to be ſeen or heard of, I made what haſte I could back, and there I found the ſenate and the people aſſembled in council, and the deputies virulently inveighing againſt me, as a man who minded his pleaſure more than his buſineſs, taking no care at all of the defence of the public. Upon this occaſion they produced four letters, writ to them, as they pretended, from four of the moſt remote parts of *Galilee,* ſetting forth the danger they were in, and the neceſſity of a preſent and ſpeedy ſuccour; for the *Romans,* with a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, had formed a deſign to enter and lay waſte their country in three days time at the fartheſt. The credulous *Tiberians* ſwallowed the whole ſtory for current, and broke out unanimouſly into exclamations, that it was high time now to look about them, and to ſend a ſeaſonable relief to their countrymen.

Upon this outcry, I told them, that I was ready to make one, which way ſoever the neceſſity of the war ſhould call me; "but, "in regard," ſaid I, "that your advices "come from four ſeveral places, and make "mention of four ſeveral incurſions, I am "of opinion your army ſhould be divided "into ſo many bodies, and the four deputies to command every man his party; "for it is the duty of good patriots and valiant men, to ſerve their country with "their ſwords, and in their perſons, as well "as with their conduct and council; and it "is not for me, upon this diſtribution, to "undertake the command of any more than "one part of the army." The people were ſatisfied with the reaſon of what I ſaid, and the deputies were obliged to take upon them the office of commanders in the expedition, but were enraged, at the ſame time, beyond meaſure, to find all their underhand perfidious practices defeated and countermined.

One of theſe four deputies, *Ananias,* a man of a treacherous and miſchievous temper, propoſed the proclaiming of a public faſt for the next day, with a command that we ſhould all meet at the ſame hour, and at the ſame place, to humble ourſelves before the Almighty, to acknowledge our own weakneſs, and implore his aſſiſtance. Now the real deſign and main drift of this propoſal was, to diſarm me and my ſoldiers, under this pretext of piety; I was fain to comply with this propoſal, that I might not ſeem to diſregard or ſlight ſo religious a motion.

Immediately upon the breaking up of the aſſembly, *Jonathan* and his colleagues wrote in all haſte to *John,* to be ſure to be early with them next morning, with all the force he could poſſibly raiſe; for if they could but get me into their hands once, the buſineſs was done.

The letter came ſafe, and *John* made no difficulty of complying with his orders. On the day following, I called out two of the truſtieſt and ſtouteſt fellows I had in my guards; accoutred myſelf with a corſlet and a good ſword, as ſecretly as I could, and bade the ſoldiers take each of them a ſhort ſword privately too, and follow me. This I did, that we might be in a condition to defend ourſelves in caſe of an aſſault; and ſo we went to the oratory together, where I and my friends were admitted; but *Jeſus*, having a guard at the door, would not ſuffer ſo much as any one of the reſt of my people to enter with me.

Juſt as we were upon the point of beginning our devotions, after our manner of worſhip, *Jeſus* ſtood up and aſked me what was become of the rich furniture, and the maſs of ſilver, which were taken away upon the firing of the royal palace? where it was to be found? and who had it in keeping? Now, theſe were only words to prolong time, till *John* came up with his army. I anſwered him, that it was all depoſited in the hands of *Capella*, and ten of the principal citizens of *Tiberias*; ſo that it was but aſking them whether I ſpoke truth or not; whereupon *Capella* and the reſt acknowledged the having of it all in their cuſtody. They then put it to me what I had done with the twenty pieces of gold that I received for the like value in ſilver bullion? I told them I had given them to my envoys, whom I had ſent to *Jeruſalem*, to defray the expence of their journey. *Jonathan* and his colleagues replied, That it was very ill done to pay my particular agents out of the public treaſure. The common people perceiving them to be wholly actuated by malice and a ſpirit of contradiction, were tranſported to ſuch a degree of impatience and fury, that it fell little ſhort of a violent ſedition; and finding how it wrought, I could not do better, I thought, than help it forward. And ſo I went on, telling him, that if in truth it was ill done, to gratify my meſſengers out of the public ſtock, I deſired him never to give himſelf or me any farther trouble or uneaſineſs on that ſcore, for I myſelf would take care to ſee thoſe twenty pieces of gold repaid.

The fairer matters appeared on my ſide, the more outrageous were the multitude upon it, when they found the whole ſtory, from end to end, to have nothing more in it than ſpite and calumny. This fell out ſo contrary to expectation, that *Jeſus* commanded the place to be cleared of all but the ſenators; for the buſineſs they were about was not to be done, in ſuch a hurry and confuſion. The people cried out on the other ſide, that they were reſolved, whatever came of it, not to leave *Joſeph* alone with them. While they were in the heat of this diſpute, a meſſenger came in, and whiſpered *Jonathan* in the ear, that *John* would be with him immediately with his party; ſo that *Jonathan*, upon this encouragement, breaking out into a moſt providential impatience, (for I had certainly been loſt elſe,) "Good men of *Tiberias*," ſays he, "let all debates concerning the buſineſs of the gold drop; for I would not have you imagine, that I adjudge *Joſeph* worthy of death on that account, but for oppreſſing and impoſing upon the common people of *Galilee*, in the tyrannical affectation and exerciſe of an arbitrary power." At that word certain ruffians ſet upon me, and had deſtroyed me, if my friends had not immediately drawn their ſwords, and kept them off, by threatening to cut them to pieces, if they attempted any manner of violence. The common people alſo offering to ſtone *Jonathan*, I was reſcued from my enemies for this time.

Upon my withdrawing to make my eſcape, whom ſhould I meet upon the way but *John* with his troops, upon their march to the aſſiſtance of *Jonathan*. The ſurprize ſtartled me at firſt, but I made a ſhift, however, to avoid them, by taking a by-way to the lake, where taking boat, I preſently arrived at *Taricheæ*.

The firſt thing I did, after my arrival, was to call a council of the chief men of the province, and give them a narrative of the barbarous treatment I had received from *Jonathan* and the *Tiberians*, and how narrowly I had eſcaped being aſſaſſinated by them, contrary to common faith, humanity, and juſtice. This put the whole multitude of the *Galileans* into ſuch a fury, that nothing would ſerve them, but immediately to declare war againſt *John*, *Jonathan*, and their companions, and utterly to deſtroy them;

which they themſelves, they ſaid, would undertake, if they might but have leave from me to enter upon the work. I did what I could towards compoſing this impetuous humour, adviſing them, for the preſent, rather to reſpite the matter till we might ſee what our deputies had done at *Jeruſalem*; for there was no reſolution to be taken without their approbation. With theſe words they were pacified, and *John*, after another baffle, returned again to *Giſchala*.

Some few days after, our deputies brought us an account from *Jeruſalem*, that the government there was mightily offended with *Ananus*, and *Simon* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, for preſuming, without any public authority, to ſend their agents to remove me from my government of *Galilee*; and that the common people were ſo incenſed at theſe proceedings, that they had like to have ſet fire to their houſes. They brought letters alſo, by which the head men of *Jeruſalem*, with the authority and conſent of the people, confirmed me in my government, and commanded *John* and his aſſociates, inſtantly upon the notice of that order, to depart the place.

Upon the receipt of theſe letters, I went to *Arbela*, where I had appointed an aſſembly of the *Galileans*; at which meeting my deputies made a report of what had paſſed at *Jeruſalem*, how heinouſly they reſented the inſolencies of *Jonathan*, and had thereupon ſent me a commiſſion, ratified, for the government of that province, with a command to *Jonathan* and his companions, immediately to return home. This order was ſent them accordingly, with a ſtrict charge to the bearer of it to obſerve their countenances upon the delivery of it.

The ſurprize of this letter reduced them to ſuch a dilemma, that they preſently called a cabinet-council, to adviſe what was to be done, *John* himſelf, and the chief men of *Tiberias* and *Gabara* being preſent. The *Tiberians* adviſed them to continue the power ſtill in their own hands, at all adventures, and not to abandon the people who had reſigned themſelves up to their protection, eſpecially againſt an enemy who had threatened them with an invaſion, as they falſely and maliciouſly pretended I had done. *John* was of the ſame opinion, and that it would be proper to ſend two of their deputies to *Jeruſalem*, with a charge of mal-adminiſtration againſt me: which, betwixt the credit of the accuſers, and the variable humour of the men they had to do with, could not fail, he ſaid, of making an impreſſion upon the common people, and working the effect they deſired. So they ſent *Jonathan* and *Ananias* ſoon after to *Jeruſalem*, upon the commiſſion, with a guard of an hundred ſoldiers, for their ſafe paſſage, the other two ſtaying behind at *Tiberias*. The *Tiberians* fell to work immediately upon repairing their walls, armed all the men they had in the town, and ſent to *John*, who was then at *Giſchala*, for a conſiderable body of troops, to be in readineſs, if there ſhould be any occaſion, to aſſiſt them againſt me.

Jonathan and his people being now upon their march, and advanced as far as *Dabaritta*, fell about midnight into a party of my out-guards, who took away their arms, and kept them priſoners upon the place, according to my order. *Levi*, who commanded the party, gave me information of the encounter, which, for about two days, I made no words of; but ſent meſſengers to *Tiberias*, to adviſe the people to lay down their arms, who ſent me only ribaldry and foul language back for anſwer, in confidence that *Jonathan* was by this time got to *Jeruſalem*.

This ill uſage did not at all diſcourage me from making any farther attempt upon them by art and ſtratagem; for I would not, for the world, have made myſelf the ringleader of a civil war. It came into my head to try if I could inveigle them out of the town; and ſo I took to the number of about ten thouſand choice men, and divided them into three bodies; part of them I planted privately in *Dora*, one thouſand of them in another village upon the mountains, and ſome about four furlongs from *Tiberias*, with orders upon the firſt ſignal to make a ſally.

Upon this I ſhewed myſelf out of the village, within ſight of the *Tiberians*, who preſently made toward me, with all the ſcoffs and reproaches imaginable; nay, to ſuch an extravagant pitch did their inſolence and vanity carry them, that they had provided a mock-funeral for me, and, with a fantaſtical pomp of ſolemnity, expoſed my body in the field, with my mourners about me, by way of deriſion: But it was my buſineſs to ſee, and ſay nothing.

I had a great deſire, all this while, to get *Simon* and *Joazar* into my hands; and the propereſt method I could think of, for the gaining my point, was to try if I could decoy them and their friends out of town, with what troops they themſelves thought fit for their own ſecurity, under the pretence of an expedient I had thought of for the adjuſting of all differences, by ſharing the adminiſtration among us. *Joazar*, who was crafty and ſuſpicious, kept himſelf at a diſtance, for fear of a trick; but *Simon*, being weak and covetous, ſwallowed the bait, and came over to me at the firſt word, with his friends and guards about him. I received him with all becoming reſpect and acknowledgment for the honour he had done me; and, upon walking and diſcourſing together a pretty while, I contrived to draw him off a little farther from his company, as if it had been only to confer with him about ſomething that required a little more privacy; when, all of a ſudden, I caught him up by the middle, and ſent him away by ſafe hands to the next village. I gave the ſignal at the ſame time for my men to come out to me, and ſo marched away with them directly for *Tiberias*. We had a very ſharp encounter by the way, and the enemy maintained the fight with ſo much reſolution, that they obliged my men at firſt to give ground; till, animated by my encouragement, they renewed the fight, aſſailed the *Tiberians* with freſh ardour, and, at laſt, though with much difficulty and hazard, forced them within the walls of the town. I had now ſent another party by the way of the lake, with orders to ſet the firſt houſe on fire they could come at, which being done juſt in the nick of time, the *Tiberians* taking it for granted that the city was taken by force, threw down their arms, and, with their wives and children, caſt themſelves at my feet, as a conquered people. Upon this ſubmiſſion, I cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and I withdrew to refreſh myſelf. I ſent for *Simon* to ſup with me, with this comfortable aſſurance, that I would take care to ſend him back again to *Jeruſalem*, and provide all neceſſaries and conveniencies for his journey.

On the day following, I marched into *Tiberias*, with ten thouſand men, called the chief of the town together into the public place, examined the buſineſs of the revolt, and commanded them to produce the ringleaders of it, whom I immediately ordered into cuſtody, and ſent them all priſoners to *Jotopata*, ſaving only *Jonathan* and *Ananias*, whom I ſet at liberty, and ordered to be conducted to *Jeruſalem*, together with *Simon* and *Joazar*, their aſſociates, under a convoy of five hundred ſoldiers. The people of *Tiberias* came to me now a ſecond time, to beg my pardon, with the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, that they would make me amends by their future fidelity and ſervices, for what they had hitherto done amiſs; and intreating me, that the pillage, which the ſoldiers had taken might be reſtored to the right owners. Hereupon I gave orders for the whole booty to be forthwith brought in, and laid before me. And every man claiming his own, had it reſtored to him again.

After the quieting of *Tiberias*, I called a council of my friends, to conſult what courſe was to be taken with *John*. They were all of opinion for drawing the whole ſtrength of *Galilee* into a body, and falling upon him, as the principal head and author of the whole broil and confuſion. But my judgment was rather to make trial of ſome way for compoſing the tumult without ſhedding of blood. Accordingly, I gave orders for an exact liſt to be procured of *John's* faction; and having gotten the names of the whole party, I publiſhed an act of grace to all who ſhould come in within twenty days, and return to their duty; but for thoſe who ſhould obſtinately continue in arms beyond that time, they were to expect all the extremities of fire, ſword, and pillage. This invitation and menace together wrought ſo effectually upon *John*'s followers, that four thouſand of them threw down their arms immediately, and came over to me; only his fellow-citizens of *Giſchala* abode by him, and fifteen hundred mercenaries of *Tyre*. This way of proceeding kept *John* under ſuch an awe, that he durſt not ſhew himſelf after it out of his own country.

Sepphoris was a town ſtrongly fortified, and the inhabitants a bold reſolute people; ſo that, betwixt their confidence in the ſtrength of the place, and the thought of my having my hands full elſewhere, they laid hold of this opportunity to take up arms, and ſend to *Ceſtius Gallus*, who was then in *Syria*, either to come preſently, and take poſſeſſion of the city himſelf, or to put in a garriſon ſufficient to protect them. *Gallus* ſent them word back again that he would come, but did not ſay when. Upon the intelligence of what had paſſed betwixt them, I marched directly up to the place, attacked and carried it. The *Galileans* were willing to improve this advantage, and judging the time was now come for the taking a thorough revenge upon the *Sepphorites*, whom they mortally hated, they took up an outrageous reſolution of deſtroying both men and city, in one common ruin. The people had quitted their habitations, and had withdrawn into the caſtle for protection, while the ſoldiers ſet fire to the empty houſes, plundering and rifling whatever they could lay hold on, without any regard or diſtinction, whether friends, kindred, or ſtrangers. It wounded me to the very heart to ſee theſe barbarous violences; inſomuch, that I called out to the ſoldiers to give over, for ſhame, that inhuman way of proceeding againſt men of their own tribe and profeſſion. At this rate I went on, doing all I could, both by intreaty and by authority, to reſtrain them; but, when I found their fury ſo implacable, that neither the one nor the other had any effect upon them, I betook myſelf to this ſtratagem: I gave it in charge to ſome of my particular friends, to get a report ſpread about, as if the *Romans* had entered another quarter of the town with a mighty army. This I did, with an intent, that ſuch a rumour might turn the thoughts of the *Galileans* another way, and ſo preſerve the city. This ſtratagem ſucceeded to my wiſh; for the alarm of an aſſault immediately frighted the *Galileans* from their plunder, to ſhift for themſelves: and their apprehenſion was ſo much the greater, when they ſaw that I myſelf ran away too for company.

By this means the people of *Sepphoris* were delivered, contrary to their hopes and expectations; and *Tiberias* afterward eſcaped being plundered, every jot as narrowly as the other.

Some of the chief ſenators and citizens of that place applied themſelves by letter to the king, that he would do them the honour to come thither in perſon, and take them and the city under his royal protection; who ſent them word in writing, that he would be there out of hand, and ſo diſpatched away one *Criſpus*, a *Jew* by extraction, and a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to the *Tiberians*, with his anſwer. The *Galileans* having the good fortune to meet *Criſpus* upon the way, and knowing the perſon of the man, took him into cuſtody, and brought him over to me to be examined. So ſoon as ever they came to underſtand the contents of his letters, and the buſineſs he was going about, the whole multitude betook themſelves to their arms. I was at that time at *Aſoch*, where, the day following, a prodigious number of people aſſembled from all quarters, exclaiming againſt the *Tiberians* for being traitors, and of the king's faction. They were, in ſhort, ſo furious, that nothing leſs than the deſtruction of the city, and my giving way to it, would quiet them. The *Tiberians*, they ſaid, were as bad, if not worſe than the *Sepphorites*, and full as deſerving of chaſtiſement. The rage of the people, I found, was raiſed to an extravagant

gant pitch; and as there was no good to be done upon them by reaſon, ſo they were too many to be dealt with by force, therefore, how to ſave the city from their fury, I could not deviſe. As for the letters, and the ſubject of them, there was no denying or palliating of any thing; for the king's anſwer gave the moſt demonſtrative proof of the truth of it.

After I had been a good while turning my thoughts from one thing to another, and contriving which way the people might be fairly appeaſed, and the place preſerved, it came into my head at laſt to take a middle courſe betwixt oppoſing and complying with them; and ſo I reaſoned the caſe with them after this manner: "The *Tiberians*," ſaid I, "are highly guilty, and you ſhall have my conſent with all my heart to plunder and deſtroy their city: but then you ought to go about theſe things with judgment and diſcretion; for, upon a further ſcrutiny, we ſhall find a faction among the nobility of the *Galileans*, as deep in this plot upon our liberties as the *Tiberians* themſelves; and therefore I am clearly for a little patience, till we can get a thorough diſcovery of our enemies, and then, when we have them all in the toil together, we may deal with them according to their deſerts." The people were ſo well ſatisfied with the fairneſs of the propoſal, that they diſperſed immediately.

Criſpus, the king's meſſenger, being all this time in priſon, I made a pretence, ſome few days after, of a little buſineſs, which called me out of town; and, in the mean while, I ſent privately for him, and ſuggeſted to him to make his keeper drunk, and to try if he could make his eſcape away to the king. This was the ſecond time that *Tiberias* was ſaved from utter ruin by my policy.

Whilſt affairs were in this poſture, *Juſtus*, the ſon of *Piſtus*, ſtole away to the king, unknown to me, and the true reaſon of his going was this: Upon the breaking out of the *Jewiſh* war, the *Tiberians* had determined to ſtand firm to the king and the *Romans*. *Juſtus*, on the other hand, debauched them into a revolt, hoping, in the hurry of thoſe confuſions, to make himſelf maſter of the government. But the *Galileans* had contracted ſuch an averſion to the *Tiberians*, that they would not let *Juſtus* eſtabliſh himſelf in his pretenſions; and, truly, I myſelf was ſo many times provoked by the wicked practices of this turbulent man, that I had much ado to forbear putting him to extremities. *Juſtus* was ſo well aware of the danger he was in, that he thought it his ſafeſt courſe to withdraw, and betake himſelf to the king.

The late deliverance of the *Sepphorites* was even beyond their expectations, and yet the danger was no ſooner over but they again ſolicit *Ceſtius Gallus*, either to come immediately in perſon, and take poſſeſſion of the town, or elſe to furniſh them with a force ſufficient to ſecure it againſt the inroads of an enemy. Upon their importunities, *Gallus* ſent them a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, which they received into the city by night. The *Roman* horſe made ſuch havock in the adjacent country, that I was fain to encamp near *Garizim*, about twenty furlongs from *Sepphoris*. I, in the dead of the night, gave an aſſault to the walls of the town, which a good many of my men mounted, and took poſſeſſion of; ſo that we were for a while maſters of a conſiderable part of the city; but for want of knowing the ſtreets and paſſages, we were forced to quit what we had got, without purſuing the advantage any farther, than the killing twelve of the *Roman* foot, two of their horſe, and ſome few of the *Sepphorites*, with the loſs only of one man on our ſide. Soon after this, we had a ſharp encounter with the *Roman* horſe, in an open plain, and fought it very bravely for a long time, till coming in the end to be overpowered with numbers, my guards ſurrounded by the enemy, and myſelf in the midſt of them, my ſoldiers, frighted and diſcouraged at the danger I was in, retreated in confuſion. In this action I loſt *Juſtus*, one of my guards, and formerly one of the king's.

About the ſame time came a body of

the king's horſe and foot, under the command of *Silas*, the captain of his guards, who encamped within five furlongs of *Julias*, having poſted ſtrong parties at all the avenues that led to *Cana*, and the caſtle of *Gamala*, to cut off all relief from the inhabitants of thoſe places. Upon this, I ſent out *Jeremiah*, at the head of two thouſand men, to the banks of the river *Jordan*, about a furlong from *Julias*, where there paſſed only ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, till I joined them in perſon, with three thouſand men more.

On the day following, after planting a ſtrong ambuſh in a bottom, at a convenient diſtance from the enemy, I proffered the king's troops battle, with orders to my men, upon the firſt charge, to fly, till they had drawn them within reach of the ambuſcade. This was done accordingly, and *Silas*, taking it for a rout in earneſt, followed us ſo far, that the ambuſh fell upon his rear, and put the king's troops in ſo great a diſorder, that, upon my facing about, and charging them in the front, they were ſo irrecoverably broken, that, had it not been for an unlucky accident, I had got the cleareſt victory under the ſun; but my horſe coming over with me in a bog, the fall put my wriſt out of joint, ſo that I was forced to be carried off to to *Cepharnome*, a village near at hand, for relief. Upon this, my people fearing the matter might be worſe with me than it was, gave over the purſuit, and applied themſelves wholly to provide ſurgeons to take care of my hand. After one day's ſtay there, and falling into a fever, I was removed to *Taricheæ*.

Upon intelligence of this misfortune, *Silas* and the king's friends, hearing that our out-guards were looſe and careleſs, ſent away a troop of horſe by night beyond *Jordan*, to lie in wait there for the opportunity of a ſurprize, daring us early the next morning to come to a battle. My people accepted the challenge; but, upon coming into the plain to fight them, they fell into an ambuſh of the enemy's horſe, by whom they were put to flight, with the loſs only of ſix of our men; for the enemy, upon information that ſome troops were paſſing the lake from *Taricheæ* to *Julias*, ſounded a retreat.

Soon after this, *Veſpaſian*, accompanied by King *Agrippa*, came to *Tyre*, where he was ſaluted with the moſt violent exclamations of the people againſt their king. They ſaid he was an enemy and a traitor, both to the *Tyrians* and the *Romans*, and that it was by his command that his general, *Philip*, betrayed both the *Roman* garriſon and the royal palace at *Jeruſalem*. *Veſpaſian* gave the *Tyrians* a ſevere reprimand, for preſuming to calumniate one who was both a king, and a friend to the *Romans*; but adviſed *Agrippa*, however, to ſend *Philip* to *Rome*, to account for his conduct before the emperor. He was ſent accordingly upon that deſign, but finding *Nero* harraſſed by civil wars, he returned, without ſeeing the emperor.

Not long after this, upon *Veſpaſian*'s coming to *Ptolemais*, the principal people of *Decapolis* came to him with grievous complaints againſt *Juſtus*, for burning their country; who delivered him up to *Agrippa*, to have him ſeverely puniſhed for the injuries done his ſubjects. The king, upon this made him priſoner, without conſulting the emperor.

The *Sepphorites* went likewiſe to pay their compliments to *Veſpaſian*, who, at their requeſt, appointed them a garriſon under the command of *Placidus*, who was the man I had to deal with, till the emperor came into *Galilee* himſelf. But as to what concerns the ſtory, and the manner of his coming; my retreat to *Jotopata*, after the firſt encounter I had at *Taricheæ*; what I did in defence of the place; how, after a long ſiege, I came to be taken priſoner; how afterwards to be ſet at liberty again, and how I behaved myſelf, in fine, throughout the whole courſe of the *Jewiſh* war; theſe are points that I have handled ſo very particularly in that hiſtory, that there remains little more to be added upon this ſubject, than a few particulars of my own life.

Upon the *Romans* reducing *Jotopata*, I was taken priſoner, and kept under a ſtrict guard; notwithſtanding which, I was treated very honourably by *Veſpaſian*; upon whoſe perſuaſion I married a virgin of *Cæſarea*, who was at that time my fellow-priſoner: but we were ſoon ſeparated; for after I was ſet at liberty, I liſted myſelf in the train of *Veſpaſian*, who was then going to *Alexandria*, from whence I was ſent with *Titus* to *Jeruſalem*, where my life was often in danger, both from the malice of my countrymen, who laboured to deſtroy me, and the violence of the *Romans*, who charged all their miſcarriages to my treaſonable practices, and were continually ſoliciting the emperor to put me to death, as a traitor; but *Titus*, who was then declared emperor, was too well acquainted with the humours of men, and the inſtability of fortune, to give ear to the clamorous importunities of an impetuous multitude; and ſuch was his benevolence towards me, that, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, he ordered me to take whatever I thought worthy my acceptance, out of the general ruins of the city: but, alas, I could find nothing worth aſking, but the liberty of my friends, and the poſſeſſion of the Holy Bible, which the emperor immediately granted; my brother, and above fifty of my neareſt relations, being ſoon after ſet at liberty. After this, by the emperor's permiſſion, I entered the temple, where I found a vaſt multitude of women and children, and, among the reſt, to the number of one hundred and ninety of my own friends and familiar acquaintance, who, at my requeſt, were all ſet free, and reſtored to their former condition, without any manner of ranſom.

I was then ſent by *Titus*, with *Cerealis*, and a thouſand horſe, to a village called *Thecoa*, to take a view of the ſituation and diſpoſition of the place for forming of a camp there. On my return, I ſaw a great many priſoners crucified on the way, and, among others, three of my intimate acquaintance. I was ſo affected with this woful ſpectacle, that I went preſently to *Titus*, with tears in my eyes, and told him the ſtory. Upon which he immediately ordered the bodies to be taken down, and all poſſible means uſed for their recovery; but two of them died under the ſurgeons hands, and the third recovered.

When *Titus* had ſettled the affairs of *Judæa*, he appointed me a portion of lands at a diſtance, in exchange for others I had in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*; for he knew it would be very inconvenient for me to have my habitation in the middle of the *Roman* troops, that were of neceſſity to be quartered about *Jeruſalem*, for the ſecurity of the province. The emperor *Veſpaſian*, upon his return to *Rome*, took me into the ſame veſſel with him, for a companion, and upon our arrival there, treated me after a very friendly manner. He made me free of the city, and then lodged me in the ſame palace that he himſelf had lived in before he was emperor. He ſettled upon me an yearly penſion, and continued his bounty to me ſo long as he lived, which expoſed me to no ſmall danger, by drawing upon me the mortal envy and hatred of ſome of my own nation; for there was a certain *Jew*, *Jonathan* by name, who raiſed a ſedition, and got together a body of two thouſand men of the inhabitants of *Cyrene*; but they were all cut off. This *Jonathan* being taken, and ſent to the emperor in chains, by the governor of the province, poſitively affirmed, that I had aſſiſted him toward this tumult, with money and arms; but *Veſpaſian*, giving no credit to the calumny, ordered him to be put to death. After this, there were ſeveral other falſe practices and envious ſubornations advanced againſt me, but by God's providence I eſcaped them all, and had a fair eſtabliſhment allotted me in *Judæa*, by the bounty of *Veſpaſian*.

About this time my wife and I could not agree. I did not like her ways, and ſo I put her away, having had three children by her, two of them dead, and only *Hyrcanus* living. After this divorce I took another wife, by birth a *Candian*, but by profeſſion a *Jew*, a woman of the moſt noble parentage

tage of any in that country, and one whoſe exemplary honour and virtue, as I found by cohabiting with her, exceeded the generality of her ſex. By her I had two ſons, *Juſtus*, the elder, and *Simonides*, ſirnamed *Agrippa*, the younger. Thus it ſtood with me and my family; and I was ſo happy as to be continually in favour with the *Cæſars*. For, after the death of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus*, his ſucceſſor, ſhewed the ſame kindneſs and reſpect to me as his father, and never gave ear to any accuſation againſt me; and *Domitian* ſtill conferred on me greater honours. He put to death ſeveral *Jews*, my accuſers, and ordered an eunuch ſlave, whom I employed for my ſon's tutor, to be ſeverely puniſhed, for a falſe information againſt me. And, which was ſtill a more honourable mark of his ſingular goodneſs towards me, he hath granted me an exemption from all taxes and duties, for the eſtate I am poſſeſſed of in *Judæa*. Neither have my obligations been leſs in proportion to *Domitia*, the wife of *Cæſar*, than to the emperor himſelf.

This, in ſhort, is the hiſtory of my life hitherto, and the world by this may judge of my abilities.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK I.

Containing the Hiſtory of 2230 Years from the Creation of the World.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.

HIſtorians do not all write with one and the ſame thought and deſign; but ſeveral authors have their ſeveral reaſons for the ſame undertaking; and all thoſe motives, at laſt, quite differing from one another. Some write out of an affectation of vain glory, and popular applauſe, and an itch of vanity to ſhew their parts. Some cry up ſuch of the actors in the ſtory they treat of, as they have a mind to oblige. Others, who have been actually engaged in the tranſactions they deliver, reckon themſelves bound, in the very nature of the thing, to communicate what they know. And there are yet others, in fine, that enter upon this province, out of a generous impatience to ſee great and glorious atchievements buried in ſilence that ſo well deſerve to be made public, for the common benefit of mankind.

It is upon the two laſt of theſe four conſiderations, that I have now put pen to paper; for, having been myſelf a party in the war betwixt us and the *Romans*, a witneſs, to to my coſt, of what paſſed on both ſides, and conſequently privy to the main iſſue of that conteſt, I looked upon it as my duty to ſet forth the juſt matter of fact, and vindicate the truth from the falſities and corruptions that had crept into the ſtory. And yet I had a farther encouragement to the enterprize, in a confident aſſurance, that it would prove an acceptable work to the *Greeks*, when they ſhould find the antiquities of our nation, and the form of our government, turned out of *Hebrew* into their own tongue.

At my firſt entry upon the hiſtory of the war *, I propoſed to ſpeak of the original of the *Jews*, their various fortunes, and their excellent lawgiver, who trained them up to the love and practice of ſo much piety and virtue; to give an account of their wars for ſo many ages, and eſpecially of the laſt, which they were forced, how unwillingly ſoever, to maintain againſt the *Romans*: But, upon ſecond thoughts, finding the ſubject too large and copious for my preſent purpoſe, I choſe rather to make another diſpoſition of the matter, and to divide it.

After ſome ſhort time ſpent upon the eſſay, it fared with me in this, as it commonly does with people who have great deſigns in their heads: The proſpect of ſo voluminous a tract of hiſtory, and in a foreign language, made me ſo dull and lifeleſs, as almoſt cauſed me to repent of my purpoſe. But, betwixt the importunities of men, curious to know the particulars of that famous revolution, and the encouragements of *Epaphroditus* above the reſt, who was a paſſionate lover of all ſorts of polite learning, and particularly of hiſtory, I was prevailed upon, partly out of obedience to the advice and authority of ſo illuſtrious a patron, and partly out of ſhame rather to lie at my eaſe than undergo the pains of perfecting ſo glorious a work: Theſe circumſtances, I ſay, at length, prevailed upon me to proſecute my firſt project.

But there is one thing which the reader ought to take particular notice of on the peruſal of this hiſtory, which is, that all things ſucceed happily (even beyond credit) to thoſe who reſign themſelves to the good pleaſure of almighty God, and keep his commandments; whereas the diſobedient, on the other hand, inſtead of proſpering in their ways, however fair and plauſible, fall into all ſorts of miſery and diſtreſs, without end or remedy. Wherefore I do moſt heartily exhort and adviſe the reader of this work, to lead his life in conformity to the will of God, and carefully obſerve and attend to what *Moſes*, our lawgiver, ſays of the divine nature; the agreement of all his works, one with another; and how clear his whole narration is from the levity of thoſe fictions we meet in other relations: altho', conſidering the circumſtances of time and antiquity, he might have impoſed upon us what he would, without danger of contradiction, for our ſtory begins above two thouſand years before the fables of the poets were ever heard of; and the *Pagans* themſelves never had the aſſurance to look ſo far backward, either for the date of their gods, the actions of their heroes, or the ordinances of their lawgivers.

But in regard, however, that the whole credit of the ſtory depends, in a great meaſure, upon the authority of what *Moſes* thought fit to diſcover, ſomewhat ought to be ſaid previouſly of *Moſes* himſelf, to prevent exceptions and cavils; for people will be apt to wonder at the ſight of a book, which pretends only fact and hiſtory in the title, and launches out into ſo many digreſſions upon natural philoſophy in the text. Be it known therefore, that this excellent perſon pronounces it as a thing abſolutely neceſſary for any man that would live virtuouſly himſelf, or preſcribe laws to others, to apply his mind, in the firſt place, to the knowledge of God; and then, upon a due conſideration of his works, ſo far as in him lies, to follow that perfect model. Without this care, it is impoſſible for a lawgiver to anſwer the character of his profeſſion, neither can he make other people the better for his writings, without teaching them, in the firſt place, that God is the Father and Lord of all things; that nothing is hid from his ſight; that he bleſſeth thoſe who ſerve him, and puniſheth thoſe who wander from the right way. This was *Moſes*'s method of training up his people. He did not begin after the manner of other rulers, with proviſion for liberty and property, ſtipulations, contracts, and the like; but with a lecture on the power of God in the creation of the world, and the excellency of man above all other earthly creatures. And, when he had once poſſeſſed them with a reverence for piety, they took all other laudable impreſſions in courſe. As for thoſe lawgivers, who have only fabulous traditions for their pattern and guide, they take the freedom to impute to their gods the lewdneſs of the moſt infamous of men, and ſo to authorize and encourage others in all manner of wickedneſs after their example. But our legiſlator, having firſt ſet forth that God is virtue and purity itſelf, he tells us afterwards, that men ſhould do all they can to make themſelves partakers of the holineſs (in ſome degree at leaſt) of that divine original; concluding the caution with a ſevere ſentence againſt thoſe who will neither believe nor underſtand theſe truths.

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* From this paſſage it clearly appears, that the Wars of the *Jews* were wrote before the Antiquities. See *Book* xx. *chap.* 9.

Whoever examines this work according to theſe meaſures, will find nothing in it unreaſonable, nor derogatory to God's majeſty and goodneſs; he will ſee every thing proportioned to the matters there handled by our lawgiver; ſome things only touched upon, or hinted, as by the bye; others illuſtrated by proper allegories; and for thoſe paſſages, of which we are moſt concerned to have a perfect underſtanding, they are as plain and clear as words can make them. I ſhall now proceed to my hiſtory, beginning with what *Moſes* tells us concerning the creation of the world, as we find it in ſacred writ.

CHAP. II.

The Creation of the World. The Fall of Man, and the Curſe that followed thereupon.

"IN the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth;" but the earth was not as yet viſible, by reaſon of a thick darkneſs that covered it. After this, the ſpirit of God moving over it, God commanded that there ſhould be light; which no ſooner appeared, but, upon a view of the maſs, he ſeparated the light from the darkneſs, and he called the darkneſs *Night*, and the light, *Day*. The beginning of the day he called *Morning*, and the end of it, or the time of reſt, *Evening*; and theſe two terms compleated the firſt day. *Moſes* renders it one day, or a day, and not the firſt day.

On the ſecond day God made the heaven, or the firmament, gave it the higheſt place of the univerſe, divided it from the reſt, encompaſſed it, as it were, with cryſtal, and tempered the air with ſo gentle a mixture of humidity, as might naturally reſolve into ſhowers, for the watering and refreſhing of the earth, to make it fruitful.

On the third day, God ſettled the earth, ſurrounding it with the ſea; and, the ſame day, it brought forth plants, with their ſeeds, and after their reſpective kinds.

On the fourth day he placed the ſun, the moon, and the other ſtars, for an ornament in the heavens, regulating their motions and their courſes, in ſuch a manner, as to mark out times and ſeaſons.

On the fifth day he created the fiſh that ſwim in the water, and the birds that fly in the air, and ſent them forth in couples, that they might increaſe and multiply, every creature according to its kind.

On the ſixth day God created all ſorts of four-footed beaſts, male and female; and the ſame day alſo he made man: ſo that, according to *Moſes*, “in ſix days God made the world, and all that is therein.”

God reſted on the ſeventh day, and ceaſed from all his labours. This is the reaſon that we do not work upon that day, but give it the name of *Sabbath*, which, in the *Hebrew*, ſignifies *Reſt*.

Moſes, after the ſeventh day, employed his thoughts upon the works and offices of nature, beginning with the creation of man, after this manner: “God,” ſaid he, “formed man of the duſt of the ground, and breathed into him the breath of life, ſo that he became a living ſoul.” He ſays further, that his name was called *Adam*, which, in *Hebrew*, is red; becauſe the earth of which he was made, in the virginal perfection of it, is of that colour.

After this, God commanded all living creatures, male and female, to appear before *Adam*, who called them all by their names; and the names he gave them they bear to this day.

Adam was all this while alone, and uneaſy in that condition, for want of a ſuitable companion, there being none as yet provided for him, while all the reſt of the creatures enjoyed themſelves in pairs: But, falling into a ſound ſleep, God took a rib out of him, and made a woman of it, which he no ſooner ſaw afterward, but he knew, and acknowledged her to be part of himſelf. Now in the *Hebrew* they call a woman *Iſſa*, but this woman was called *Eva*, that is to ſay, the mother of all living.

Moſes ſays further alſo, that God planted to the eaſtward a moſt delicious garden, and ſtored it with all ſorts of fruit-trees; and, among the reſt, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

In this garden he placed *Adam* and *Eve*, and he committed the keeping and dreſſing of it to their care. It was watered, and encompaſſed by a large river, which divided itſelf into four branches. The name of the firſt is *Piſon*, (which ſignifies fullneſs or inundation) the *Greeks* call it *Ganges*, and it takes its courſe into *India*, and ſo empties itſelf into the ſea. The ſecond and the third are *Euphrates*, the former, in our tongue, is *Phora*, (that is to ſay diſperſion, or a flower) the other we call *Diglath* (which is as much as narrow and rapid) and theſe two diſcharge themſelves into the red ſea. The name of the fourth is *Gihon*, which divides *Ægypt*. The *Greeks* call it *Nile*, and it ſignifies, in our language, coming from the eaſt.

Now *Adam* and *Eve* had liberty to eat of all the fruits of the garden, ſave only of the tree of knowledge, which God commanded them not to taſte of upon pain of death. There was, as yet, a perfect agreement among all the creatures; and the ſerpent lived in a kind of familiarity with *Adam* and *Eve*; but, out of envy to the bleſſed ſtate of their condition, in caſe of obedience to God's command, and knowing, full well, on the other hand, the miſery that would befal them, in caſe of their diſobedience; he tempted the woman to taſte of the forbidden fruit, and to inflame her curioſity, told her, that it had a ſecret virtue, to endue her, upon the eating of it, with the knowledge of good and evil, and to make her as happy as God himſelf. Thus the ſerpent ſeduced the woman into a violation of God's command, and the woman was ſo well pleaſed with the taſte of the fruit, that ſhe did not only eat of it herſelf, but recommended it to her huſband likewiſe, who yielded to her perſuaſion. By this time they perceived that they both were naked, (the virtue of this fruit having opened their underſtanding) and looking about for a covering, they wove fig-leaves together, to hide their ſhame, accounting themſelves much happier now than before, by this new diſcovery of what they wanted.

After this, God entered into the garden, when *Adam*, who had free acceſs to him before his tranſgreſſion, out of a conſcience of his ſin, withdrew, and hid himſelf. So God called to *Adam*, and aſked him, how it came to paſs, that he, who had taken ſo much delight but lately to preſent himſelf before his maker, ſhould now run away from him in ſuch confuſion? *Adam*'s guilt left him not one word to ſay for himſelf; and ſo God went on ſpeaking to him after this manner: "There was not any thing your "heart could deſire, to make your life free, "eaſy, pleaſant, and happy, that I had not "provided for you ready to your hand, both "for uſe and delight, and without any care "or labour on your part, or the inconve- "niencies of old age, to interrupt your en- "joyment. But, ſince you have deſpiſed "my commands, and that your conſcience "leaves you nothing to ſay for yourſelf, your "days ſhall be ſhortened." *Adam* palliated the matter as well as he could, begged pardone, and laid the blame upon his wife; it was ſhe that miſled him, he ſaid; and the woman caſt it upon the ſerpent. Whereupon, as a puniſhment for *Adam*'s ſuffering his wife to impoſe upon him, God curſed the ground, declaring, that, from that time forward it ſhould never bring forth fruit more, but what men ſhould extort from it by labour, and the ſweat of their brows; and that it ſhould not always anſwer their expectations neither. As for *Eve*'s being firſt corrupted by the ſerpent, her ſentence was, "in ſorrow to bring forth children;" and, for the puniſhment of the ſerpent's malice, God took from him the uſe of ſpeech, put poiſon under his tongue, condemned him to the loſs of his feet, and to crawl upon his belly, declared him the enemy of mankind: and commanded *Eve* alſo to tread upon his head, both as the fountain of all our woes, and as the part where he moſt eaſily receives a mortal wound. After pronouncing theſe penalties, God turned *Adam* and *Eve* out of the garden.

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of Cain *and* Abel, Enoch, Jubal, Tubalcain, *and* Seth.

ADAM and *Eve* had two ſons; the name of the elder was *Cain*, which by interpretation is *poſſeſſion* or *acquiſition*. The ſecond was *Abel*, which ſignifies *affliction* or *mourning**. They had daughters alſo. The two brothers were of quite different humours. *Abel* was a righteous man, and a keeper of ſheep, he led a virtuous life, and had God in his eye, whatever he ſaid and did: *Cain*, on the contrary, was a wicked graceleſs perſon, and the inventor of tillage. He governed himſelf wholly by his intereſt; and, finally, upon the following account, he murdered his own brother. The two brethren being agreed upon a ſacrifice to the Lord, *Cain* brought an offering of the fruits of the ground; and *Abel*'s offering was of the milk and firſtlings of his flock. The latter was the more acceptable to God of the two, being only the pure bounty and production of nature, whereas the other looked more like an oblation extorted by avarice, induſtry and force, than an homage of good will †. *Cain* took it ſo heinouſly ill to have his younger brother preferred before him, that he ſlew him, and buried the body, in hopes of concealing the murder. God came upon this to *Cain*, enquired after his brother, and what was become of him, for he had not been ſeen of ſeveral days laſt paſt, whereas they two uſed to be conſtantly together. This queſtion put *Cain* at firſt to a little ſtand, till, upon recollection, he gave for anſwer, that he had not ſeen his brother of a long time himſelf neither, and could not imagine what ſhould be the reaſon of it. Upon this the matter was ſtill laid cloſer to him; to which he had the inſolence to reply, that he was none of his brother's keeper, nor of his council. Upon this God was pleaſed to charge him downright with his brother's murder, telling him how wonderful a thing it was, that he ſhould not be able to give any account of his brother, when he himſelf had killed him. The fact was not to be denied, but yet, upon *Cain*'s ſacrifice and ſubmiſſion, God was ſo far pacified, as to remit the immediate juſtice of blood for blood; but he however pronounced him and his poſterity accurſed to the ſeventh generation, and baniſhed him and his wife out of the land into the wide world. *Cain* was not a little terrified at this ſentence, for fear of what miſchief might befal him in his wandering; but to ſecure him from any danger that way, either from man [*] or beaſt, God ſet a mark upon him to know him by, and ſo bid him be gone.

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* It would ſeem, that *Abel* did not receive this name at his birth, there being then no apparent reaſon for its ſignification. Several learned authors have ſuppoſed it to have been given him after he was murdered by his brother, on account of the grief and ſorrow it gave his parents.

† St. *John* gives a different reaſon why God accepted the ſacrifice of *Abel*, and rejected that of *Cain*, as alſo why *Cain* ſlew *Abel*, becauſe "*Cain* was of the evil one, and ſlew his brother:" and, "wherefore ſlew he him? "becauſe his own works were evil and his brother's righteous," 1 *John* iii. 12. *Joſephus*'s reaſon ſeems to be only an idle notion imbibed from the doctrines of the *Phariſees*.

Cain and his wife departed accordingly, and, after a tedious travel through ſeveral countries, they took up their reſidence at length at *Nais*, and had divers children; but ſo far was *Cain* from mending upon his affliction, that he went rather from bad to worſe, abandoning himſelf to his luſts, and all manner of outrage, without any regard to common juſtice. He enriched himſelf by rapine and violence, and made choice of the moſt profligate of monſters for his companions, inſtructing them in the very myſtery of their own profeſſion. He corrupted the ſimplicity and plain-dealing of former times, with a novel invention of weights and meaſures, and exchanged the innocence of that primitive generoſity and candour, for the new tricks of policy and craft. He was the firſt who invaded the common liberties of mankind, by bounds and incloſures; the firſt who built a city, fortified and peopled it, which city was called *Enos*, after the name of his eldeſt ſon.

Now *Enos* begot *Jared*, *Jared* begot *Mahalaleel*, *Mahalaleel* begot *Methuſelah*, and *Methuſelah* begot *Lamech*, who had ſeventy-ſeven children by two wives, *Zillah* and *Adah*. By *Adah* he had *Jabal*, the firſt who dwelt in tents, and pleaſed himſelf with a paſtoral life and buſineſs. *Jubal*, his brother, gave up his mind to muſic, inſomuch that the pſaltery and harp were of his invention. By his wife *Zillah* he had *Tubalcain*, a valiant captain, and a great warrior, who, by his military reputation, was enabled to live both in pleaſure and plenty. He was the firſt who wrought in braſs and iron, and had a daughter whoſe name was *Naamah*. As for *Lamech*, who ſaw as far as any man into the courſe and methods of divine juſtice, he could not but find himſelf concerned in the proſpect of that dreadful judgment which threatened the whole family for the murder of *Abel*, and, under that apprehenſion, he brake the matter to his two wives.

While *Adam* was yet living, the curſed race of *Cain* grew every day more and more wicked. Their only delight was in war and ſpoil, and where any of them happened to eſcape the guilt of blood, they took it out in pride, avarice, or ſomething elſe as bad.

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[*] This event, according to the beſt chronologers, happened in the year of the world 128, ſo that, conſidering the longevity of men at that time, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe their number to amount at leaſt to a hundred thouſand men, beſides women and children; which conſideration may effectually put a ſtop to the groundleſs cavils of thoſe, who, becauſe *Moſes* mentions only *Cain* and *Abel*, imagine there were no other people in the world at this time. See *Marchant* on the Bible, *Gen.* iv. 15.

After the murder of *Abel*, and the baniſhment of *Cain*, *Adam*, who was now two hundred and thirty years of age, out of an earneſt deſire of iſſue, applied himſelf to the peopling of the world. He lived ſeven hundred years after this, and then died, leaving many children behind him [*], and one, among the reſt, whom he called *Seth*. This *Seth* was brought up under the tuition of his father, and ſo ſoon as ever he was able to diſtinguiſh betwixt good and evil, he delivered himſelf up wholly to the ſtudy of virtue. He proved a wonderful man, and his children were the lively images of ſo excellent a father. They were all of them well bred, and well diſpoſed: They lived happily and peaceably with reſpect to the public, and in a perfect agreement one with another. They were the firſt who made their obſervations upon the motions of the heavens, the courſes and influences of the ſtars, and having been foretold by *Adam* of an univerſal deluge and conflagration to come, they erected two pillars, one of brick, and the other of ſtone, which they were ſure would be a proof, either the one or the other of them, againſt either fire or water. Upon theſe pillars they engraved the memorials of their diſcoveries and inventions, there to remain, for the benefit of ages to come; and leſt the tradition of the ſcience itſelf ſhould be loſt for want of a record. This they did, did, and their foreſight and providence was not in vain, for the ſtone pillar is yet to be ſeen in *Syria* to this day.

CHAP. IV.

The Wickedneſs of the World. The Deluge. Noah's *Ark. God's Covenant with* Noah.

FOR ſeven generations men lived in the exerciſe of virtue, and in the love and fear of one God, the Lord of all things; but from thenceforward they degenerated from the ways of their fathers, leading their lives without any regard either to religious duties, or human juſtice, and taking twice as much pains to out-ſtrip others in wickedneſs, as they had formerly done to make themſelves eminent for goodneſs. This abominable impiety drew down the wrath of heaven upon them, and the angels of God, mixing with the women, begot an inſolent race, not much unlike that of the giants in the *Greek* fables, overbearing right with power. *Noah* took thoſe impious extravagancies ſo to heart, that, after ſeveral trials, both by his counſel and authority, to bring them to a reformation of their lives, and no good to be done at laſt upon a nation ſo incorrigibly obſtinate, finding himſelf and family in manifeſt danger of ſome mortal violence for his good will, departed out of the land himſelf, and all his people.

This good man was highly in the favour of the Lord, for his integrity; but the corruption and iniquity of the age cried out ſo loud to heaven for vengeance, that God reſolved utterly to deſtroy the preſent generation of mankind, and to ſupply another and a better race of men in their ſtead; but ſo as to ſhorten the term of a man's life, and

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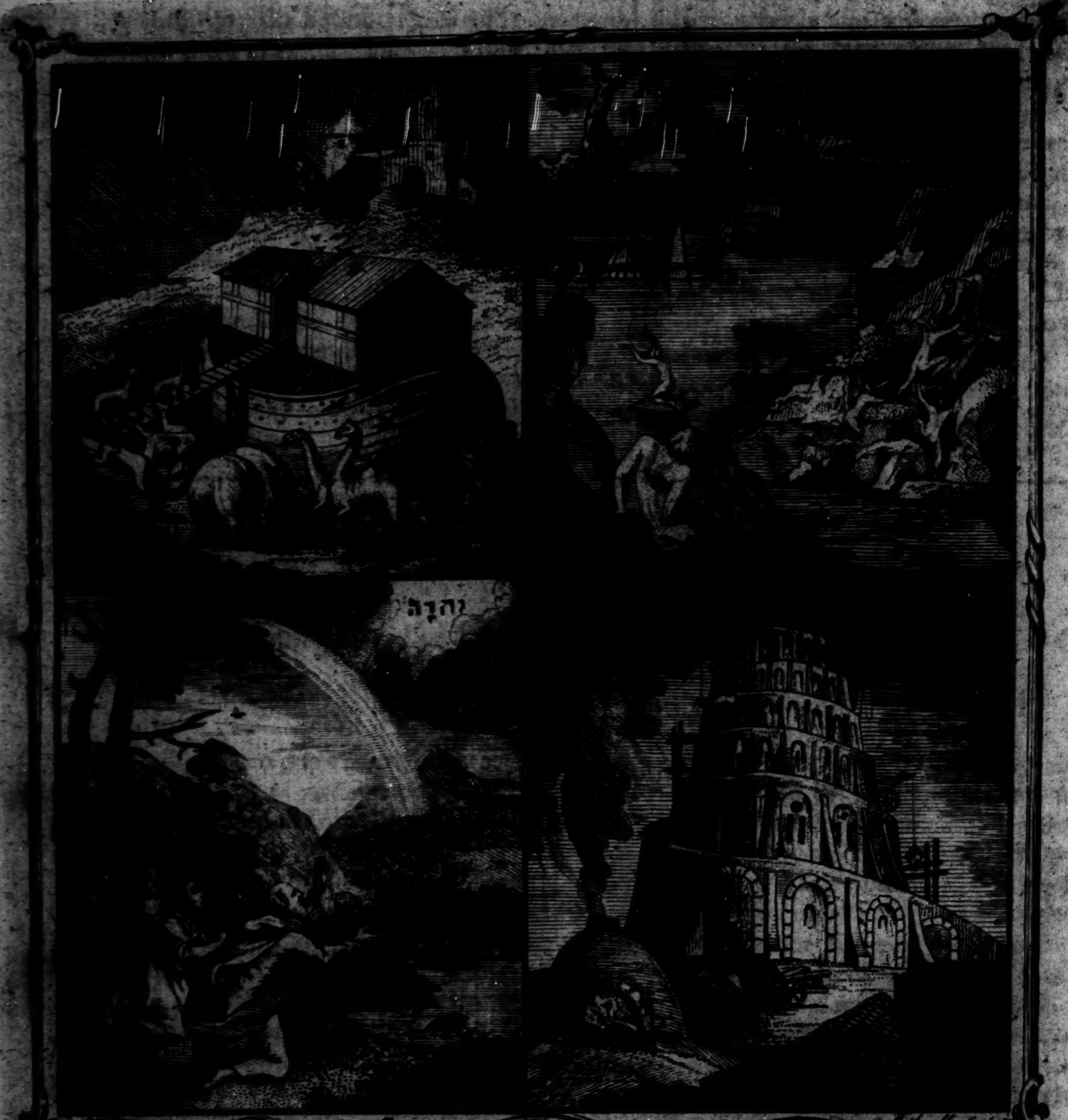
[*] The whole number of *Adam*'s children, according to the old tradition, amounted to thirty-three ſons, and twenty-three daughters.



Rothwell Sculpt

ENG^{D} for EARL'S JOSEPHUS.

to bring it within the compaſs of a hundred and twenty years.

The earth, after this, was covered with water, and the dry land turned effectually into a ſea, which ſwallowed up all fleſh living, *Noah* alone excepted, God having precautioned him of this terrible judgment to come, and ordered him to build an ark of four ſtories, the length of it three hundred cubits, the breadth fifty, and the height of it thirty; which he did accordingly, and ſo went into it with his wives and children, and their wives, taking along with him of all living creatures, by two and two, in pairs, male and female, and of ſome ſeven couples, for the conſervation of the kind, having firſt laid in all neceſſary proviſion for himſelf and them. His order was to take care that the roof and the ſides of it might be tight and firm againſt wind and weather; which was alſo done, and, by this contrivance, he and his family were ſaved. Now *Noah* was the tenth in ſucceſſion, by a direct line, from *Adam*, being the ſon of *Lamech*, *Lamech* of *Methuſelah*, *Methuſelah* of *Enoch*, *Enoch* of *Jared*, *Jared* of *Mahalaleel* (who had divers brothers), *Mahalaleel* of *Cainan*, *Cainan* of *Enos*, *Enos* of *Seth*, and *Seth* of *Adam*.

This deluge happened in the ſecond month, which the *Macedonians* call *Dius*, and the *Hebrews Marſuane*, according to the *Ægyptian* diviſion of the year. *Moſes*, in his computation, makes it *Niſan*, which is *Xanthicus*, the firſt month, becauſe it was in this that he brought the *Iſraelites* out of *Ægypt*, and he obſerves the ſame account in the dating of all things which concern the worſhip of God. But for the matter of fairs and markets, trade, and civil buſineſs, he left the account as he found it, without making any alteration. *Noah* was ſix hundred years of age, at the time of this inundation, *Moſes* reckons that the firſt fall of rain towards drowning of the world, began on the 27th day of the month before ſaid, and in the year of the world 2256. This is according to the calculation of holy writ, which gives a very exact account of the births and deaths of the famous men of thoſe times.

Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old when he died, and two hundred and thirty when he begot *Seth*. *Seth* was one hundred and five, when he begot *Enos*, and he departed this life at the age of nine hundred and five, leaving all to the care of his ſon *Cainan*, whom he had begotten in the ninetieth year of his age, and he lived to the age of nine hundred and ten. *Cainan* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Mahalaleel*, whom he begat at one hundred and ſeventy. This *Mahalaleel* died at eight hundred and ninety-five, and he left his ſon *Jared* to ſucceed him, whom he begot at the age of one hundred and ſixty-two, and at nine hundred and ſixty-two he departed this life. His ſon *Enoch* came next, who was born when his father was a hundred and ſixty-two years old, and after three hundred and ſixty-five years he went to God, and was no more ſeen, which is the reaſon that there is no record extant of what became of him. *Methuſelah* was born to *Enoch* in the one hundred and ſixty-fifth year of his age, and at the age of one hundred and eighty-ſeven *Lamech* was born to *Methuſelah*, to whom he delivered up the government, which he had held for nine hundred and ſixty-nine years. But, when *Lamech* had been ſeven hundred and ſeven years in the exerciſe of that power, he transferred his commiſſion to his ſon *Noah*, who was born to *Lamech* in the one hundred and eighty-ſecond year of his age, and was nine hundred and fifty years in the adminiſtration. So that putting all theſe together, computing upon *Noah's* age of ſix hundred years, at the time of the deluge, it amounts to the juſt number of two thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſix *. But we are not ſo much to conſider the end of theſe men as the births of them; for they lived to ſee many generations that had ſprung out of their own loins.

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* There is a conſiderable variation here from the account given of the ages of the patriarchs by *Moſes*. See the Appendix to the Antiquities.

The time being now come, and the ſignal given, God commanded the clouds to pour forth their waters, which they did in a violent rain, of forty days continuance, till they were fifteen cubits deep above the higheſt parts of the earth, and no place left for any poſſibility of ſafety or retreat. The waters, after this, began by little and little to abate, and in a hundred and fifty days more, on the 27th day of the 7th month, the ark was left aground upon the top of a certain mountain in *Armenia*. *Noah* perceiving this, opened a window, and ſeeing land, found his heart a little more at eaſe. The water ſhrinking more and more, *Noah* ſent out a raven ſome few days after, to learn the ſtate of the deluge in other places, and whether or no he might venture himſelf upon the ground; but the raven finding all in a flood ſtill, returned to the ark. Whereupon *Noah* reſpited his enquiry for ſeven days, and then ſent out a dove for diſcovery what condition things were in abroad, which ſoon after came back to him again all dirty, and with an olive branch in her mouth, giving to underſtand that the danger was now over. So, at the end of ſeven days more, he turned out all the creatures, went forth himſelf, with his wife and children, and, after ſacrificing to the Lord, made merry and rejoiced with his family. The *Armenians* called this place *Apobaterion*, or the place of deſcent.

We read of this deluge and the ark, in all writers of *Barbarian* hiſtories, as in *Beroſus*, the *Chaldæan*, for one, who, ſpeaking of this flood, writes to this effect: "They " ſay there are ſome remainders of this " veſſel to be ſeen upon the mountains of " the *Cordyæans*, in *Armenia*, to this very " day, and that ſeveral people living upon " the place, ſcrape off the pitch from the " planks, as a rarity, and carry it about " them as an amulet." *Hieronymus*, the *Ægyptian*, in his *Phœnician Antiquities*, *Mnaſea*, and a great many others, ſay ſomewhat of this matter likewiſe; But *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus*, *v.* 96, of his hiſtory, ſpeaks to this purpoſe: " In the province of *Minyas*, in " *Armenia*, there is a high mountain called " *Baris*, to which place there fled a great " many people, as the ſtory goes, in the " time of a deluge, for ſanctuary. There " is a tradition alſo, of a certain man in a " veſſel who ſtruck upon the top of this " mountain, and that ſeveral pieces of the " timber were to be ſeen there a long time " after." This perhaps might be the man *Moſes* makes mention of.

Now *Noah*, in a perſuaſion that God had doomed mankind to deſtruction, lay under a mortal dread, for fear of the ſame judgment over again; and effectually that it would end in an aniverſary inundation: ſo he preſented himſelf before the Lord with ſacrifices and prayers, humbly beſeeching God in mercy to preſerve the order of the world in its firſt frame, to puniſh the guilty, and ſpare the lives of the innocent, and not to proceed with rigour for the wickedneſs of ſome particulars, to the deſtruction of the whole; for otherwiſe, the ſurvivors of this calamity would be more wretched than thoſe who were waſhed away in a common ruin, if, after having ſuffered horror of thought, and the terror of ſo diſmal a ſpectacle, they ſhould only be delivered from one calamity to be confounded by another. Wherefore he earneſtly beſought God to receive his prayers and his ſacrifices, and to turn away his wrath from the earth, and the inhabitants thereof, that they might till it, and reap the fruits of his bounty as formerly, build cities, and entertain themſelves with all the comforts and conveniencies they enjoyed before the flood. He prayed alſo for length of days to himſelf and his poſterity; and that the children to come might live up to the age of their anceſtors.

The piety and righteouſneſs of this man prevailed ſo far with almighty God, that he hearkened to his requeſt, and told him that it was the wickedneſs of the world which drew that judgment upon their own heads, and that he himſelf was not in truth the author of it, for he would never have given them life at firſt, with either a deſign or deſire to take it away again; and it were much better not to give it at all, than to give it only to take it away again: "But," ſays he, "they have forced me upon a vengeance, "by a violation of all the holy duties they "owe me; and yet, to ſhew you, that I "am not inexorable, eſpecially upon your "mediation, I promiſe you I will never "deal ſo ſeverely with ſinners again for the "future. And therefore, whatever ſtorms "and tempeſts may be raiſed, ſet your "heart at reſt, for you are out of danger of "another deluge. One thing I poſitively "require and command, keep your hands "clear of human blood, and puniſh murder "with the utmoſt ſeverity, wherever you "find it. As for the other creatures, whether they live upon the earth, or ſwim "in the water, or fly in the air, you are "the lords and maſters of them, and may "diſpoſe of them as you think fit, ſaving "only as to the blood, for in the blood is "the life of the creature; and for your ſecurity now, that the arrows of my diſpleaſure ſhall never ſtrike mankind again in "the like dreadful manner, I will ſet my "bow in the air, for a token of my covenant." Now the rainbow with them is taken for God's bow. After theſe commands and promiſes God departed.

Noah lived happily and at eaſe three hundred and fifty years after the flood, ſo that he was nine hundred and fifty when he died. Let not the vaſt difference betwixt the ordinary term of man's life before the deluge, and the narrow ſcantling we find it reduced to at this day, be made uſe of as an argument to bring the credit of the tradition in queſtion, as if, becauſe we ourſelves are ſhort-lived, our anceſtors muſt needs have been ſo too. In the infancy of the world, when men lived in obedience to their maker, it pleaſed almighty God to beſtow the bleſſing of long life upon the work of his own hands; beſides, that the very way of eating and living did very much conduce to that end: over and above, that providence found it neceſſary for the ſtudy and advancement of virtue, and for the improvement of geometry and aſtronomy, which required at leaſt ſix hundred years (according to the computation of the great year) for the making and perfecting of obſervations. I have for my juſtification all the great antiquaries that ever meddled in hiſtory, either *Greek* or *Barbarian*; as *Manetho*, in his *Ægyptian Chronicle*; *Beroſus*, in his hiſtory of *Chaldæa; Mochus, Heſtiæus*, and *Hieronymus* the *Ægyptian*, who have given us the ſtory of *Phœnicia;* and ſo for *Heſiod, Hecatæus, Hellanicus, Acuſilaus, Ephorus*, and *Nicolaus*, they do all agree, that, in the primitive ſtate of the world, ſome men lived to the age even of a thouſand years. But every man is at liberty to think of this matter as he himſelf pleaſes.

CHAP. V.

Noah's *three Sons*, Shem, Japheth, *and* Ham, *plant in* Sennaar. Nimrod's *Deſign of the Tower of* Babel *ruined by a Confuſion of Tongues.*

NOAH had three ſons, *Shem, Japheth*, and *Ham*, who were born about a hundred years before the flood. Theſe were the firſt who came down from the mountains, to ſettle their habitations in the plains, and drew others after them by their example,

ple, who, till then had not the heart to quit the hills, for fear of being drowned by a ſecond deluge*. They gave the name of *Sennaar* to the firſt place they planted in. But God, in his wiſdom, ordered them to ſpread, and divide themſelves into colonies, as the more proper method both for peopling the world, and preſerving men in peace one with another; and that they might take their poſſeſſions at large, and enjoy more abundantly the fruits of the earth.

Now theſe people being an ignorant and a ſtubborn generation, never heeded the divine appointment, but continued ſtill in the ſame place, till they were overtaken by a judgment from heaven, which gave them a ſight of their fault in their puniſhment. They became in time numerous and ſtrong, and God once again admoniſhed and directed them to diſperſe themſelves into ſeveral plantations, but they went on, nevertheleſs, in their diſobedience, not only forgetting the author of all the bleſſings and good things they were made partakers of, but aſſuming to themſelves the glory of their ſucceſſes in all the greatneſs they had acquired; and, which is worſt of all, interpreting the advice of ſeparating themſelves to be rather a ſnare than a favour, and a mere trick of common policy, firſt to diſunite and weaken them, and then to bring them under the yoke of an oppreſſion.

The chief incendiary who animated the people to this inſolent contempt of God, was *Nimrod*, the nephew of *Ham*, who was the ſon of *Noah*, a man fierce and valiant, but of ſo extravagant a vanity, that he would be often valuing himſelf upon it, that he had no obligation at all to the goodneſs of God for the dignity of his preſent ſtate and reputation, but to the power of his own courage and virtue. This was his way of inſinuating himſelf into a tyranny, not doubting but the people might be eaſily brought to apoſtatize from God, if they could firſt be prevailed upon to chuſe him their governor. And leſt the dread of another inundation ſhould deter them from it, he had an expedient in his head, he ſaid, which would ſecure them from any ſuch calamity. His project was the erecting a tower to ſuch a height, that it ſhould be impoſſible for the waters ever to reach the top of it; beſides the revenge he meditated over and above, for the loſs of thoſe who periſhed in the flood. The multitude were ſo unanimouſly ſatisfied with this huff of *Nimrod*, that they began to look upon it as a matter of high indignity to think of living in ſubjection to God any longer. Upon this they immediately ſet all hands to work, to the carrying on of the deſign. The height of it was to be prodigious; but the infinite number of labourers advanced it even beyond imagination. The breadth and thickneſs of it ſeemed ſo vaſt at hand, that it made the height appear the leſs. The materials were burnt bricks, cemented in the joints with a pitchy matter, to make it proof againſt the waters. The madneſs of theſe people was highly provoking, eſpecially conſidering the warning they had in the example of their forefathers, who were all ſwallowed up in an univerſal flood, for their wickedneſs. But God was graciouſly pleaſed, however, not to proceed to the extremity of extinguiſhing mankind once again, for their contemptuous tranſgreſſions, but choſe rather to puniſh them with ſuch a confuſion of tongues, that they ſhould not be able to underſtand one another. The place where this tower was erected is at this day called *Babylon*, from the confuſion of tongues, as aforeſaid; *Babel*, in *Hebrew*, ſignifying *Confuſion*.

Now as to this tower, and this confuſion, the *Sibyl* makes the following mention of it: " At a certain time," ſays ſhe, " when the " whole world ſpake the ſame language, the " people of thoſe days gathered together, " and raiſed a mighty tower, which they

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* It is to be ſuppoſed, that the people here mentioned were the other poſterity of *Noah*, as his ſons might have children come to mens eſtate; for, without this ſuppoſition, we cannot reconcile this paſſage with the account given of the flood in ſacred writ.

“ carried up to ſo extravagant a height, that it looked as if they had propoſed the ſcaling of heaven from the top of it: but the gods let the winds looſe upon it, which, with a violent blaſt, beat it down to the ground; the builders being alſo judicially ſtruck with an utter forgetfulneſs of their native tongue, and a new unknown language ſubſtituted in ſtead of it, wherein not one man of them underſtood his fellow.” As to *Sennaar* itſelf, *Heſtiæus* gives us this hint: “The prieſts who ſurvived the general deſolation, preſerved the holy things and ornaments which were dedicated to the worſhip and ſervice of *Jupiter* the conqueror, and carried them off to *Sennaar* of *Babylon*.”

CHAP. VI.

The Sons of Noah *diſperſe themſelves all over the Face of the Earth.*

UPON this diverſity of tongues, the people were forced to diſperſe themſelves up and down into colonies, and ſo to plant and inhabit, ſome upon the ſea-coaſts, others in the mid-land, ſome in one place, and ſome in another, according to the lot which God, in his wiſdom and providence, had aſſigned them: but the whole world, in fine, was to be more or leſs peopled. Men came by degrees to the uſe and knowledge of navigation, ſo far, at leaſt, as to make boats, and tranſport themſelves into iſlands. They gave appellations to the places where they lived, many of them retaining to this very day the names of their firſt planters. Some, it is true are altered, others only diſguiſed under *Greek* derivations, to make them more familiar and intelligible to the people thereabouts. For the *Greeks* being poſſeſſed of thoſe countries, drew to themſelves, in ſucceeding ages, as the firſt founders and proprietors, the honour of that primitive greatneſs, impoſing upon them as they thought fit, not only names, but alſo laws, cuſtoms, and manners to their own liking.

CHAP. VII.

Several Nations took their Names from their ſeveral Founders. The Race of Noah *down to* Abraham, *and the Places they inhabited.*

NOW the ſons of *Noah* had children, who, for the honour of their memory, called the people wherever they got poſſeſſion by their own names. As *Japheth*, the ſon of *Noah* had ſeven ſons, who planted themſelves in *Aſia*, from the mountains of *Taurus* and *Amanus*, to the river *Tanais*, in *Europe* to *Gades*; and the places being not as yet peopled, wherever they got footing, as aforeſaid, they called the countries after their own names. *Gomer* was the founder of thoſe called *Gomerites*, (by the *Greeks* at this day *Galatians*, or *Gauls*); *Magog* was the head of the *Magogians* (by the *Greeks*, *Scythians*).

Scythians). *Javan* and *Madæus* were two other ſons of *Japheth:* From the latter came the *Madæans*, or *Medes*; from the other the *Ionians*, and the whole race of *Greeks*. *Thobel* was the ſounder of the *Thobelians*, (at this day the *Iberians* or *Spaniards).* From *Meſches*, the *Meſchinians*, called afterwards *Cappadocians*, but not without ſome footſteps yet of their original in the town of *Mazaca*, which comes near the ancient name. *Thires* was the head and governor of the *Thiræans*, (which the *Greeks* changed afterwards for *Thracians).* Theſe are the nations that were firſt planted by the ſeven ſons of *Japheth*.

Gomer again had three ſons: *Aſchanaxes*, from whom came the *Aſchanaxians*, (the *Greeks* call them *Rheginians)*; *Rhiphates*, the head of the *Rhiphateans*, (now *Paphlagonians)*; and *Thygrammes*, from whom came the *Thygrammeans*, (whom the *Greeks* call *Phrygians).*

Javan, the ſon of *Japheth*, had alſo three ſons: *Aliſas*, the firſt of the *Aliſeans*, (now called *Æolians).* From *Tharſus*, the *Tharſians*, (afterwards called *Cilicians)*, as appears by the celebrating of the city *Tarſus* with a mark of preference above all others. The iſland which we at this day call *Cyprus*, was at firſt called *Cethima*, from *Cethimos*, the firſt poſſeſſor of it. From hence it is, that not only all iſlands, but all places bordering upon the ſea, are called by the *Hebrews Cethim*; and there is a town in the iſle of *Cyprus*, which at this day is called *Citium*, by thoſe who, for the ſound's ſake, will make *Greek* of every thing; and it ſeems to have ſome affinity with *Chethim*. All theſe nations had the deſcendents of *Japheth* for their heads. But the *Greeks* have got a way of changing names to tickle the ear, and carry the word ſmooth off the tongue; but, for our people, they neither allow nor practiſe any ſuch thing. The *Greeks* have turned *Noe* into *Nochos*; but we keep ſteady to the ſame form and ſyllables, without ſo much as varying the very termination.

The ſons of *Ham* ſettled themſelves in *Syria*, and ſo to the foot of the mountains of *Amanus* and *Libanus*, ſtretching the boundaries of their juriſdiction as far as the ſeacoaſt, and calling all places under their dominions by what names they pleaſed; but a great many of them are to us utterly loſt and forgotten; and others ſo corrupted and transformed, that they are no longer to be known. Only the *Ethiopians* have ſtood the ſtreſs of time and accidents without any alteration. *Chus*, one of the ſons of *Ham* was their founder and governor, and they bear the name of *Chuſians* to this inſtant, not only among themſelves, but all *Aſia* over. The *Meſreans* alſo yet keep their old name; for *Ægypt*, quite through the country, is called *Meſrin* ſtill, and the *Ægyptians Meſreans*. *Phutes* governed in *Libya*, and gave the whole nation the name of *Phutians*. And we read in divers *Greek* hiſtorians of a river in *Mauritania* of this name, and of a country bordering upon it, which is called *Phute*; but the name has been ſince changed, on account of *Libys*, one of the ſons of *Meſraim*. How it came to be called *Africa*, we ſhall ſhew hereafter. *Chanaan*, the fourth ſon of *Ham*, gave his name to the country of the *Chanaanites*, which is ſince called *Judæa*.

They had all children, but *Chus*, the eldeſt ſon of *Ham* had ſix ſons: *Sabas*, the head of the *Sabeans*; *Evilas*, the head of the *Evileans*, (now called *Getulians)*; *Sabathes*, of the *Sabathenians*, (with the *Greeks Aſtabarrians)*; *Sabactus*, of the *Sabactenians*; *Ramus* was prince of the *Rameans*, and had two ſons, *Judadas* and *Sabas*. The former gave the name and original to the *Judadeans*, in the weſtern part of *Ethiopia*, and the the other tranſmitted his name to the *Sabeans*. As for *Nimrod*, the ſixth ſon of *Chus*, he ſtaid behind with the *Babylonians*, ſeized the government by force, and moſt tyrannically oppreſſed the people.

Meſraim was the father of eight ſons, who made themſelves maſters of the whole tract of land betwixt *Gaza* and *Ægypt*. *Philiſtim* was one of the eight, and left his name to his country, that part of it at leaſt which the *Greeks* call *Paleſtine*. *Labim* erected a colony, ny, and gave it the name of *Libya*; but, for the other ſix, *viz. Ludim, Anamim, Nedem, Phetroſim, Cheſlem*, and *Chepthorim*, we know little more of them than their names, their cities and plantations having been deſtroyed in the *Ethiopic* war, of which in its proper place.

Chanaan was the father of eleven ſons. *Sidon* built a city in *Phœnicia*, which the *Greeks* call *Sidon*. *Amath* was the founder of *Amathe*, a place yet in being, and called by the inhabitants *Amathine*; though the *Macedonians* have changed it for *Epiphania*, from one of their kings. *Aradeus* took poſſeſſion of the iſland *Aradus*. *Aruceus* had the town of *Arce*, upon mount *Libanus*. As for the other ſeven, *Eueus, Cheteus, Jebuſeus, Eudeus, Sineus, Samareus*, and *Gergeſeus*, we have nothing more of them in the holy ſcriptures than their names, the *Hebrews* having razed all their cities for the reaſons following.

So ſoon as the earth began to come a little to itſelf again after the flood, *Noah* fell to his work of cultivating the ground, planting of vines, gathering and preſſing his grapes in their due ſeaſon, and ſo brought wine into uſe again. But, one day, after an oblation to God of the firſt fruits of his vineyard, he drank ſo liberally of the liquor, that he laid himſelf down quite ſenſeleſs, and fell faſt aſleep, with his nakedneſs uncovered. His youngeſt ſon ſeeing his father thus ſhamefully expoſed, called his brothers to make ſport with the ſpectacle; but they, out of a pious reverence to a parent, caſt a covering over him. *Noah* came quickly to be ſenſible of what had paſſed, and bleſſed his other children for the good office they had done him, but with a bitter imprecation upon the poſterity of *Ham*; and this malediction was followed with a divine vengeance upon them, but of this hereafter, only obſerving, that *Ham*, in his own perſon, eſcaped the curſe, out of *Noah*'s tenderneſs to the nearneſs of his blood.

Shem, another of the three ſons of *Noah*, had five ſons, and the whole tract of *Aſia* was theirs, from *Euphrates* to the *Indian* ſea. From *Elam* came the *Elamites*, and from them the *Perſians*. *Aſſur* was the founder of *Ninive*, and thence came the *Aſſyrians*, a rich and powerful people. From *Arphaxad* came the *Arphaxadeans*, or our *Chaldeans*. From *Aram* came the *Arameans* (the *Greeks* call them *Syrians*). And from *Lud* came the *Luddians*, or our *Lydians*.

Aram had four ſons: *Uz* was the founder of *Trachonitis*, and *Damaſcus*, which lies betwixt *Paleſtine* and *Cœlo-Syria*. *Hull* had *Armenia*. *Gether* was prince of the *Bactrians*; and *Meſas* of the *Meſaneans*, whoſe whole country at preſent bears the name of *the camp of Spaſinus*.

Silas, the ſon of *Arphaxad*, was the father of *Heber*, accordng to whoſe name the *Jews* were called *Hebrews*. *Heber* begot *Jucta* and *Phalec*; the latter was born at the time of dividing the land, (*Phalec* in *Hebrew* ſignifying partition). *Jucta*, the ſon of *Heber* had children, *Elmodad, Saleph, Azermoth, Eiraes, Edoram, Uzal, Declas, Ebal, Abiamel, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilath*, and *Jobab*. Theſe have their habitations from the river *Cophene* in *India*, to the neighbouring part of *Syria*.

Having ſpoken already of the ſons of *Shem*, I ſhall carry my diſcourſe forward to treat of the *Hebrews*. *Phalec* was the ſon of *Heber*, and *Ragaus* the ſon of *Phalec*. *Ragaus* begat *Serug*, *Serug* begat *Nachor*, and *Nachor* begat *Thares*, the father of *Abraham*, the tenth generation from *Noah*. He was born about two hundred and ninety-two years after the flood. *Thares* was ſeventy years of age when he had *Abraham*, *Nachor* a hundred and twenty when he had *Thares*, *Serug* about a hundred and thirty-two when he had *Nachor*, *Ragaus* a hundred and thirty when he had *Serug*, and *Phalec* about the ſame age when he had *Ragaus*, *Heber* a hundred and thirty-four when he had *Phalec*, *Silas* a hundred and thirty when he had *Heber*, *Arphaxad* a hundred and thirty-five when he had *Silas*. And this *Arphaxad*, the ſon of *Shem*, and the grandſon of *Noah*, was born two years after the flood.

Abraham had two brothers, *Nachor* and *Haran*,

Haran, the latter died at *Ur* in *Chaldea*, where there is to be ſeen a ſepulchral monument erected in honour of his memory. He left behind him his ſon *Lot*, and two daughters, *Sarah* and *Melcha*. *Nachor* took the latter to wife, and *Abraham* took *Sarah*.

Thares, the father of *Abraham*, had contracted ſuch an averſion to *Chaldea*, for the loſs of his ſon *Haran*, that he went away, and all his family with him, to *Charan* in *Meſopotamia*, where *Thares* died and was buried, in his hundred and fifth year. The life of man was now ſhortened, and God ſoon after reduced it to the ſcantling of one hundred and twenty years, which was the preciſe age of *Moſes* himſelf.

Nachor had by his wife *Melcha* eight ſons, *Uz*, *Baux*, *Camuel*, *Chazad*, *Azaus*, *Pheldas*, *Jadelphas*, and *Bathuel*. Theſe were all the legitimate ſons of *Nachor*; but *Tabeus* and *Gaham*, *Tavaus* and *Machas*, he had by *Ruma* his concubine. *Bathuel* had a daughter and a ſon, *Rebecca* and *Laban*.

CHAP. VIII.

Abraham *having no Children of his own, adopts his Nephew* Lot, *quits* Chaldea, *and reſides in* Chanaan.

A*Braham* having no legitimate iſſue of his own, adopted *Lot*, the ſon of his brother *Aram*, and the brother of his wife *Sarah*, In the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, he left *Chaldea*, and went away with his family, and all that belonged to him, into the land of *Chanaan*, as God had commanded him, where he took up his habitation, and, in God's good time, left it to his poſterity. He was a man equally wiſe and eloquent, of a piercing judgment, and an univerſal knowledge. He had the reputation of an underſtanding beyond other men; and, as he wanted no ſkill, ſo he had the courage alſo, to attack the moſt daring iniquities of the times, and, by dint of authority, as well as of his reaſon, to tear up falſe opinions in religion, and terrify wicked men into the love and fear of that God they had deſpiſed. *Abraham* was the firſt who adventured to preach up the doctrine of one God, the almighty maker and creator of all things in heaven and earth; and that, for all the comforts we enjoy in this world, it is to his infinite goodneſs, not to any power of ourſelves, that we ſtand indebted for them. This he argued from the orderly courſe of things both by ſea and land, in their times and ſeaſons, and from his obſervation upon the motions and influences of the ſun, moon, and ſtars; inſomuch that, without an overruling providence and adminiſtration, to keep the wheel agoing, the whole frame of the univerſe muſt drop into confuſion; and, conſequently, that all we have to truſt to depends ſingly upon the bounty and good will of the firſt mover; ſo that it is to him alone we are to render all honour and thankſgiving, without aſſuming any merit at all to ourſelves.

The people of *Chaldea* and *Meſopotamia* were ready to fly in the face of him for this doctrine; ſo that, by God's order and aſſiſtance, he conveyed himſelf out of *Chaldea* into the land of *Chanaan*, where he eſtabliſhed his abode, erected an altar to God, worſhipped, and offered ſacrifice. *Beroſus* hath a paſſage concerning our father *Abraham*, though without naming him. "In the tenth generation," ſays he, "after the flood, there was among the *Chaldeans* a certain great and juſt man, and one who

“ was ſamous for his celeſtial obſervations.” *Hecateus* hath gone further yet, in an hiſtorical diſcourſe expreſsly upon his affairs. *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus*, in the fourth book of his hiſtory, alſo mentions him. “ *Abraham*,” ſays he, “ though a ſtranger, commanded in *Damaſcus*, to which place he came, with a great train, from a country beyond *Babylon*, called *Chaldea* ; the people, after a ſhort time, roſe againſt him, whereupon he and his family went to *Chanaan*, now called *Judea*, where he planted himſelf, and had a very numerous offspring, of whom I ſhall ſpeak further in another book.” But at *Damaſcus*, the very name of *Abraham* is to this day had in great veneration ; and there is a village there which yet bears the name of *Abraham's habitation*.

CHAP. IX.

Abraham *removes into* Ægypt, *and takes* Sarah *with him, where he ſtays a while, and then returns.*

THere happened in thoſe days a miſerable famine in *Chanaan* : and *Abraham* underſtanding there was a great plenty in *Ægypt* at the ſame time, reſolved upon a journey thither, partly to get a ſhare of their abundance, and partly to conſult their prieſts about divine matters, with an impartial deſire and diſpoſition to find out the truth, and either to give or receive ſatisfaction, according to the right and reaſon of the ſubject in queſtion. *Abraham* taking *Sarah* along with him, and being informed of the unbridled luſts of the *Ægyptians*, fell into an apprehenſion of what extremities the king might put him to, on account of his wife ; wherefore he bethought himſelf, in caſe of any difficulty, to ſay ſhe was his ſiſter. Upon concerting the point between themſelves, and the preſent neceſſity conſidered, they concluded to agree in the ſame tale.

At his coming into *Ægypt*, it fell out as he foreboded ; for the fame of his handſome wife was preſently ſpread about, till it came to the ear of *Pharaoh*, the king of *Ægypt*, who was immediately inflamed with an impatience to ſee and to enjoy this miracle of a woman, of whom he had heard ſuch wonders, making no doubt of compaſſing his wicked end upon her. But, in the mean while, God put a check to the progreſs of his leud appetite, by viſiting him with a plague and a ſedition both at once.

In this diſtreſs, *Pharaoh* had recourſe to his prieſts, for council and direction, and to know what might be the ſin which brought this judgment upon him, and what the remedy. The prieſts, upon ſacrificing, returned him anſwer, that this calamity had befallen him for the violence and abuſe he deſigned upon the wife of a ſtranger. This ſentence put the king into ſuch a fright, that he forthwith diſcourſed *Sarah* upon it, with all frankneſs and reſpect, what ſhe herſelf was, and what the man was who brought her thither. She told him, in ſhort, the truth of the ſtory ; whereupon *Pharaoh* excuſed himſelf to *Abraham*, that he took her for his ſiſter, not for his wife, and only deſired a fair alliance, without the leaſt thought of any ſcandalous indignity to her perſon. He made *Abraham* a preſent after this, of a conſiderable ſum of money, and gave him a liberty of aſſociating with the moſt learned men of his dominions, by which means he became better known, and conſequently more eſteemed for his excellent qualities and virtue. By this freedom *Abraham* had the means of obſerving all their rites, ceremonies, and opinions; their factions and animoſities; their reciprocal contempt and hatred of one another; and their diſagreement about religion: ſo that, upon the whole, he made no difficulty of pronouncing upon them, as men that acted in contradiction to themſelves, as well as to one another, and without any foundation of truth to build upon. By his diſcourſes, he gained himſelf infinite credit, not only for the ſolidity of his judgment, and an admirable felicity of elocution, but for his inſtructive talent alſo of informing and convincing his auditory both at once. He likewiſe read them lectures of aſtronomy and arithmetic, which ſciences the *Ægyptians* underſtood nothing of, till *Abraham* brought them from *Chaldea* to *Ægypt*, and from thence they paſſed to the *Greeks*.

Abraham, at his return to *Chanaan*, came to a diviſion of lands with *Lot*, the ſhepherds having had ſome wrangle about the bounds of their paſture. *Abraham* gave *Lot* the choice, contenting himſelf with what the other left, and took up his habitation in the city of *Hebron*, which was ſeven years older than *Tanis* in *Ægypt*. *Lot* planted himſelf in the fields and plains which bordered upon the river *Jordan*, not far from *Sodom*; which *Sodom* was at that time a glorious city, but ſince laid in aſhes by divine vengeance, and ſo totally extinguiſhed, that the very memory of it is deſtroyed from off the earth. But of this we ſhall give the reaſons in their proper place.

CHAP. X.

The Sodomites *defeated by the* Aſſyrians. Lot *taken Priſoner.*

WHile the empire of *Aſia* was in the hands of the *Aſſyrians*, and *Sodom* in a condition ſo rich and populous, that five kings (*i. e. Ballas*, *Barſas*, *Senabar*, *Symobar*, and the king of the *Ballinians*,) had the adminiſtration of the government, and every king abſolute in his own territories: In thoſe days the *Aſſyrians* took the field with a mighty army, and marched againſt *Sodom* in four ſtrong bodies, well officered and appointed, gave them battle, and, after a bloody fight, entirely defeated them. Hereupon the kings of *Sodom* became their tributaries, and, for twelve years paid their acknowledgments, but the year following they failed and forfeited. The *Aſſyrians* upon this advanced againſt them a ſecond time, with another army, under the command of *Amraphel*, *Arioch*, *Chodollomor*, and *Thabal*; ravaged all *Syria*, ſubdued the race of the giants, and ſo entered the land of *Sodom*; encamping in the valley, among the brimſtone-pits, which, in thoſe days, were numerous thereabouts; but, ſince the deſtruction of *Sodom*, that valley is turned into a lake called *Aſphaltitis*. This engagement betwixt the *Aſſyrians* and the *Sodomites* was a terrible encounter. There fell of the *Sodomites* great numbers, beſides the priſoners taken, whereof *Lot* was one, who had come with his men to the relief of the place.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Abraham's *Victory.* *Reſcues* Lot. Iſhmael *born.* Iſaac *promiſed.* *Circumciſion inſtituted.*

ABraham had no ſooner heard the news of the *Sodomites* defeat, ſo many of his neighbours and friends killed and taken, and his nephew *Lot* made priſoner, but he poſted away immediately after the *Aſſyrians*, and, the fifth night after his ſetting out, ſuprized them in their quarters near *Dan*, one of the heads of the river *Jordan*, where he found them in all the confuſion imaginable, ſome without their arms, others in bed, without the leaſt thought of an enemy, ſome drunk, ſome drowſy, and moſt of them in ſuch a condition, that they could neither fight nor fly. In this diſorder, they put as many to the ſword as they could, and the next day purſued the reſt as far as *Choba* of *Damaſcus*. This may ſerve for an inſtance, that it is not ſo much the number as the valour of the combatants which gains the victory; for *Abraham* had but barely three hundred and eighteen of his own domeſtics, and three auxiliary friends, when he routed this numerous army: and thoſe few of the enemy who eſcaped were fain to hide their heads with ſhame and confuſion. Thus was *Lot* and the the reſt of the priſoners ſet at liberty, while *Abraham* returned to his people with victory and peace.

As *Abraham* was upon his way home, the king of *Sodom* met him at a place called *the Valley-royal*, to congratulate his ſucceſs, and there he was received by *Melchiſedech*, the king of *Solyma*, now called *Jeruſalem*. *Melchiſedech* is as much as to ſay a righteous king, which certainly this prince was, having been accounted worthy, by common conſent, to ſerve at the altar, as the prieſt of the moſt high God. This *Melchiſedech* treated *Abraham*'s followers and ſoldiers, with great bounty, hoſpitality, and all ſorts of refrſhments, extolling *Abraham* himſelf for ſo noble an atchievement, and glorifying God's holy name, for the bleſſing of ſo ſignal a victory, in a way of thankſgiving, worthy of his ſacred character. *Abraham* alſo, on the other hand, preſented *Melchiſedech* with the tenth of the ſpoils he had taken, which he accepted of. *Abraham* made an offer of part of the booty to the king of *Sodom*, who only deſired to have his own people again, who had been taken priſoners by the *Aſſyrians*, and were now reſcued out of their hands; and, for the reſt, *Abraham* might do as he pleaſed. But *Abraham* declared, that he was abſolutely reſolved to make no advantage of the booty to himſelf, more than to ſupply his men with proviſions, and to reward his three friends, *Eſchol*, *Enner*, and *Mambres*, who had ſtood the ſhock of the battle.

God was ſo well pleaſed with the generous ſincerity of *Abraham*, that he aſſured him theſe good deeds of his ſhould never paſs unrewarded. “And what, good Lord,” ſaid this holy man, “will all thy bounties “and rewards to come avail a perſon who “hath never a child to leave them to, nor “an heir to ſucceed him!” (*Abraham* being as yet childleſs). Upon this, God not only promiſed him a ſon, but the bleſſing alſo of a poſterity which ſhould be as the ſtars of heaven for number. Upon the hearing of theſe words, *Abraham* offered up a ſacrifice, according to the expreſs command and direction of almighty God. He took a hieſer, a goat, and a ram, of three years old each, a turtle-dove, and a pigeon*; the birds he kept whole, dividing the reſt into halves, according to his order. While the altar was making ready, and birds of prey hovering up and down over the place, waiting for the blood of the carcaſſes, a voice was heard from heaven, foretelling the bondage which the poſterity of *Abraham* ſhould ſuffer in *Ægypt* from malicious enemies, for the ſpace of four hundred years, at the end of which term they ſhould over-run the whole territory of the *Canaanites*, from *Ægypt*, as far as *Sidon*, and make themſelves maſters of all their cities and dominions.

Abraham at this time dwelt near the oak of *Ogyge*, not far from *Hebron*, where he paſſed his days very uncomfortably, in the thought of his wife's barenneſs, and the deſpair of iſſue; but ſtill continuing to ply almighty God with daily ſupplications for a male child: Upon theſe importunities God not only continued his former promiſe to him of a child, but repeated an aſſurance to him of all the other good things alſo which he promiſed him upon his quitting *Meſopotamia*.

While things were at this paſs, *Sarah*, by a particular direction from heaven, brought *Hagar*, an *Ægyptian* ſervant in the family, to bed to her huſband, in hopes he might have children by her. This maid proving with child, behaved herſelf inſolently to her miſtreſs, upon a vain preſumption, that the child ſhe had in her would be heir to the government, *Abraham* was no ſooner aware of this ingratitude, but he immediately put her into *Sarah*'s hand, to puniſh her as ſhe thought fit, which was ſo inſupportable a mortification to the wench, that ſhe reſolved to be gone upon it, calling upon God to pity her in that miſerable condition. As ſhe was upon the way in her flight, and paſſing through a deſart, an angel from heaven met her, and ordered her back again; adding, that this affliction had befallen her only as a puniſhment for her arrogance and unthankfulneſs; and that, upon her better behaviour for the future, ſhe might find better uſage, charging her at the ſame time to obey the admonition, and to return, as ſhe loved her life; and, in caſe of her going back again, ſhe ſhould live to be the mother of a child, who, in time, ſhould come to have the dominion of that country. She obeyed the voice of the angel, went back to her miſtreſs, begged her pardon, and obtained it; and, ſome time after this, ſhe was delivered of *Iſhmael*, (which ſignifies prevailed upon,) God having heard and granted the prayers of the mother.

Abraham was eighty-ſix years of age, when he had *Iſhmael*, and, at the age of ninety-nine, God appeared to him, and told him, that his wife *Sarah* ſhould bring him a ſon, with a command to call him *Iſaac*, foretelling alſo, that mighty kings and nations ſhould come out of him, and make themſelves maſters of the whole land of *Canaan*, from *Sidon* to *Ægypt*. And God commanded farther, for diſtinction-ſake, betwixt the race of *Abraham* and other nations, (with whom there was to be no intermixture,) that all his poſterity ſhould be circumciſed at eight days old, not only for the deſtinction aforeſaid, but for ſome other reaſons alſo to be hereafter declared. *Abraham* then conſulted God about the life of *Iſhmael*, and received anſwer that he ſhould live long, and be the father of many famous nations; whereupon *Abraham* gave God thanks, and was immediately circumciſed, with his whole family, and likewiſe *Iſhmael*, who was now thirteen years of age, and *Abraham* about ninety-nine.

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* There were no other ſacrifices required under the law of *Moſes* than what God here required of *Abraham*; neither did the *Jews* feed upon any other domeſtic animals than the three here named.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Deſtruction of Sodom. Lot *commits Inceſt with his two Daughters.*

THE people of *Sodom* were by this time ſo puffed up in the contemplation of their prodigious wealth and plenty, that they had no longer any reſpect or reverence either for God or man. They were ungrateful for benefits received to the higheſt degree, inhoſpitable to ſtrangers, and burning in unnatural luſts one towards another. By theſe provoking and abominable ſins, the wrath of God was ſo highly incenſed againſt them, that he determined to avenge himſelf upon them, for their arrogance and pride, and to deſtroy their cities, and lay their whole country waſte, that, for the time to come, there ſhould be no more graſs upon the ground, nor any plant or fruit for the uſe of man.

This reſolution being taken, and ſentence paſſed upon the *Sodomites*, as *Abraham* was ſitting one day at his tent-door, under the oak of *Mambres*, he ſaw three angels, who to him ſeemed travellers or ſtrangers, coming towards him. He roſe up to meet them, and, after the firſt ſalute, he gave them an invitation to the beſt his roof could afford. They accepted of his civility, and ſo his people were preſently appointed to bake a cake, and a calf was alſo killed and dreſſed, which being made ready, the treat was ſet before the angels under the oak. They gave him thanks, and, in appearance, fed upon it. But, while the meat was yet before them, they enquired of *Abraham* where his wife *Sarah* was, who made anſwer; that ſhe was in the tent. Upon this they ſtood up as to go their way, telling *Abraham*, that it would not be long before they ſhould come that way again, and, by that time they ſhould find *Sarah* a mother. Upon theſe words *Sarah* was called in, and could not forbear ſmiling, to hear them ſpeak of her having a child then, for ſhe was ninety years of age, and her huſband a hundred. When they had proceeded thus far, the angels caſt off their diſguiſe, owned what they were, and gave an account of their commiſſion. One of them, they ſaid, was ſent to bring *Abraham* the tidings of a ſon which was to be born, and the other two were employed for the deſtruction of *Sodom*. The latter ſtruck *Abraham* for the ſake of the *Sodomites* ſo much, that he got up and begged of God, that he would be pleaſed not to take away the innocent with the guilty. God gave him for anſwer, that if there were but ten righteous men in the whole city, he would ſpare all the reſt for the ten's ſake. After this declaration, *Abraham* had not one word to ſay on their behalf.

The two angels departed, and went into *Sodom*, and *Lot* obſerving them, invited them to his houſe. Now *Lot* was naturally humane and courteous to ſtrangers, and the very counterpart of *Abraham*, for piety and good nature. But ſo it fell out, that ſome certain ruffians of the town, taking notice of two graceful perſons, who had entered *Lot*'s houſe, preſſed hard upon *Lot* to force their way into his lodgings, with a deſign of attempting ſome violent act of brutality upon their perſons. *Lot* ſaid all that was poſſible upon the ſubject of continence and hoſpitality to divert them; nay, offered them his two daughters in exchange for the two ſtrangers; but this would not do. Upon this diabolical outrage, God ſtruck them upon the very place with ſo judicial a blindneſs, that they could not find the way into the houſe, the whole people of *Sodom* being at the ſame time doomed to an exemplary perdition.

Now *Lot* who had been forewarned of this calamity, withdrew out of the city, with his wife, and two maiden (but contracted) daughters. Their huſbands elect were earneſtly invited out along with them, but they turned all into ridicule, and, ſtaying behind, took their part in the general conflagration. Then it was, that God diſcharged the fierce arrows of his wrath and vengeance upon this impious generation, conſuming not only the city itſelf, and every living ſoul in it, but deſtroying alſo the whole country thereabouts, with an irreparable deſolation. The wife of *Lot*, who went out with her huſband, whether out of curioſity or tenderneſs, could not forbear looking behind her, though directly contrary to the command of God, and was turned into a pillar of ſalt *. I have ſeen it myſelf, and it remains to this day.

Lot and his daughters, after this terrible judgment, made a ſhift to ſave themſelves in a little corner of the country called *Zoar*, (in *Hebrew Small*) the only place which this devouring fire had ſpared. In this retreat they led a ſolitary uneaſy life, for want both of converſation and proviſion. The daughters looked upon themſelves in that ſolitude, as in effect the only ſurvivors of mankind, and therefore, ſo far conſulted common convenience, in this extremity, as to reckon any thing warrantable which they found neceſſary, eſpecially where the converſation of the whole race of mankind was the queſtion. On this conſideration they contrived the putting a trick upon their father, by ſtealing to bed to him at a time when he knew not what he did: upon which congreſs, they both proved with child. The ſon of the elder was called *Moab* (in *Hebrew of my father*), and that of the younger was *Ammon*, (or *of my race*.) The one was the father of the *Moabites*, a mighty people yet in being; the other of the *Ammonites*, and they both inhabit *Cœlo-Syria*. Thus *Lot* made his eſcape from the fire of *Sodom*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Abimelech, *and* Iſhmael.

AS for *Abraham*, he withdrew himſelf to *Gerar* in *Paleſtine*, and *Sarah* along with him, ſtill under colour of his ſiſter, for fear of *Abimelech*, the king of the place.

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* The opinions of the learned about this event are very various: Some will have the paſſage to be taken metaphorically, that, upon looking back, ſhe was petrified with horror, fear, or ſurprize, and ſo remained inſenſible like a pillar or ſtone:---while others imagine, that loitering too long behind her huſband, ſhe ſtaid within the reach of the ſulphurous and ſaline matter which God ſhowered down upon *Sodom*, like great fleaks of ſnow, and that they falling upon her, encruſted her over, ſo as really to convert her into a pillar of ſalt. The crime for which ſhe ſuffered is as much diſputed: Some affirm it to have been purely on account of her diſobedience to the command of the angel: others ſuppoſe, that it was for expreſſing too much concern for a people who deſerved no compaſſion: while others ſay, that, being anxiouſly ſolicitous for her daughters who were married there, and turning about to ſee whether they followed her or not, ſhe ſaw the divine *Shechinah*, or majeſtic appearance of God, deſcending to deſtroy the place, and that this was the cauſe of her metamorphoſis. See *Univerſal Hiſtory*, *Book* I. *chap.* 4. *Stackhouſe's Hiſtory of the Bible*, and *Marchant in loc.*

This pillar of ſalt, we find, was ſtanding in the days of *Joſephus*, and he had ſeen it; but whether the account given by ſome modern travellers be true, that it is ſtill ſtanding, we will not pretend to ſay. Its remote ſituation, at the moſt ſouthern point of the ſea of *Sodom*, in the wild and dangerous deſarts of *Arabia*, makes it exceeding dangerous for inquiſitive travellers to examine the place; and, as for the common reports of country people at a diſtance, they are generally not very ſatisfactory. See *Bochart's Deſcription of the Holy Land*.

Now this *Abimelech* did afterwards fall in love with her, and would have corrupted her, if God had not taken him off by a deſperate fit of ſickneſs, in the heat of his appetite and deſign. So ill he was, that the phyſicians deſpaired of his life; and, while this diſtemper was upon him, he had a caution given him in a dream, not to offer any violence to *Sarah*, for ſhe was the ſtranger's wife, not his ſiſter. *Abimelech*, ſome ſhort time after, finding himſelf in a way of recovery, called his friends, and told them of his paſſion, and of his dream, and of every thing which had paſſed, with this inference upon the whole, that his preſent ſickneſs was a judgment upon him for an inordinate love. Upon this, by the advice of his people, he ſent for *Abraham*, and aſſured him that his wife's honour was ſafe, for God had ſupported and protected her, and he did now reſtore her to him as unſpotted as he found her, appealing to God and her own conſcience for the truth of what he ſaid, and proteſting, that if he had but known her to have been his wife, he would never have attempted her, deſiring him likewiſe to paſs it all over, and remember him in his prayers to almighty God to forgive him. He told him further, that, if he had a mind to ſtay, he ſhould be welcome, and abundantly provided for; or, if he would rather depart, he ſhould have guides and carriages, to attend him, and all manner of conveniencies along with him, which he might have occaſion for when he came into that country. *Abraham* did in ſome ſort juſtify the calling of *Sarah* his ſiſter, being the daughter of his brother, and ſo of the kindred; beſides, that he thought to cover himſelf in his travels under that appearance. Neither could he charge himſelf, he ſaid, as the cauſe of *Abimelech*'s ſickneſs; but, in concluſion, wiſhed him well, and ſaid he would be glad to continue with him. Upon this accommodation, the king very generouſly gave *Abraham* a portion both of lands and money, contracted an alliance with him, on condition of a fair correſpondence betwixt them, without fraud or guile, and the league was ſtruck and ratified at a certain well called *Berſabe* (or *the well of the oath*), which name it bears to this day.

Soon after *Sarah* brought *Abraham* a ſon, as God had foretold, and they named him *Iſaac* (in *Hebrew laughter*), alluding to *Sarah*'s ſmiling at the improbability of her having a child at thoſe years, as the angel had foretold; ſhe herſelf being ninety, and her huſband a hundred when *Iſaac* was born. The eighth day he was circumciſed, and the *Jews* obſerve the ſame time and ſolemnity of circumciſion unto this day. The *Arabians* indeed are not circumciſed till the thirteenth, as *Iſhmael* was, the ſon of *Abraham* by his concubine, and the perſon from whom they had their original.

Sarah had at firſt as tender an affection for *Iſhmael*, the ſon of *Hagar*, as if he had been her own fleſh and blood; beſides, he was educated with infinite caution and reſpect, as the preſumptive heir of the government: But, when *Iſaac* was born, *Sarah* did not think it reaſonable to have the two children brought up together, for *Iſhmael* was ſo much the elder, that, in caſe of *Abraham*'s death, he might find himſelf under ſome temptation perhaps to ſupplant the other; ſo that *Sarah*, for fear of this, employed all her power with *Abraham*, to have both mother and child ſent away, and diſpoſed of, in ſome remote country. *Abraham*, at the firſt motion was utterly againſt it, as a barbarous cruelty to expoſe an innocent helpleſs child, and a neceſſitous mother, to the wide world, at that inhuman rate: But *Abraham*, at length, being over-ruled by God's command, hearkened to the voice of his wife, and delivered the boy, who was not yet big enough to ſhift for himſelf, into the arms of his mother, gave her a proportion of water and bread for a ſubſiſtence, and ſo turned them out to ſeek their fortunes. They had not travelled far, before their proviſions failed them. The water was all ſpent, the child ready to periſh for want of drink, and the woman, in ſhort, at her wit's end. In this diſtreſs, ſhe laid the boy down at the foot of a fir-tree, and went off herſelf to a good diſtance, that ſhe might not ſee ſo diſmal a ſpectacle as that would have been, of her poor child in his laſt agonies. While *Hagar* was in this anxiety and deſpair, there came an angel, who ſhewed her a fountain, and bade her look carefully to her charge, for it was a matter of great moment, and her own happineſs depended in a high meaſure upon the ſafety of the child. This conſolation put the woman ſomewhat in heart again, ſo that ſhe went wandering on ſtill, till by providence ſhe fell into the company of ſhepherds, who contributed very much to her relief.

When *Iſhmael* was grown up to man's eſtate, his mother married him to an *Ægyptian*, (being her own country-woman) who brought him twelve ſons, *viz. Nabaioth*, *Cedar*, *Abdeel*, *Mabſamas*, *Idumas*, *Maſmaus*, *Maſſaus*, *Chodad*, *Theman*, *Jetur*, *Naphaiſh*, and *Cadmas*; who had in their poſſeſſion all the lands from *Euphrates* to the red ſea. The country is called *Nabathæa*; and theſe were they who gave both reputation and names to the nation and tribes of the *Arabians*, by their own valour and the dignity of *Abraham*.

CHAP. XIV.

God commands Abraham *to ſacrifice* Iſaac. Iſaac'*s Faith and Obedience, and the Bleſſing which followed it.*

ISaac was the only ſon of *Abraham*, the child and the bleſſing of his age, and infinitely dear to him on both thoſe accounts. But, in the mean time, this tender affection of the parent was both anſwered and juſtified by the early piety, virtue, and reverence towards both God and man, of a child who deſerved it. When *Abraham* found himſelf ſecured in the proſpect of ſo excellent a ſucceſſor, he was no longer ſolicitous for his own life, or the things of this world, but ſet up his whole reſt upon the hope of his next heir, with a chearful diſpoſition to reſign his authority and poſſeſſions to his beloved ſon, and his being to God at his good pleaſure, But it pleaſed the Lord, after all this, to put him to ſome further trial of his integrity: So laying before him the great things he had already done for him, the wealth, the happineſs, and the child which he had given him; he demanded, in fine, his dear and only ſon *Iſaac* for a ſacrifice, and to be offered upon a mountain of *Moriah*, upon an altar there, as the utmoſt teſt of his faith and obedience.

Now *Abraham*, who loved and honoured God, without any condition or reſerve, made no difficulty of reſolving to deliver up the life of his ſon to the will of his maker, and the author of life itſelf. So that, without one word to his wife, or any of his people, he took his ſon *Iſaac*, with two of his ſervants, and an aſs laden with neceſſaries for the ſacrifice, and with them ſet forward two days journey toward the mountain. But, on the third day, coming within ſight of it, he left his ſervants below, in the field, and took *Iſaac* alone with him up the mountain, (upon this mountain *David* afterwards erected a temple). *Iſaac* was now twenty-five years of age, and taking notice, as he was preparing for the altar, that all things were ready for the ſacrifice, but no ſacrifice to be ſeen, he aſked his father what offering he intended, for he ſaw none. *Abraham* made anſwer, that God would provide one, in whoſe power it was to give to thoſe who want, and take away from thoſe who have abundance, and all for the beſt to thoſe who put their truſt in God; wherefore he might depend upon it, that God would find the ſacrifice, if he would vouchſafe to accept of an oblation.

So ſoon as the wood was laid, and every thing ready, "My dear ſon," ſays he, "thou "haſt been a child of many prayers to me, "and, ſince thy coming into the world, I "have ſpared for nothing in thy nurture "and education. There is not any happineſs I have more wiſhed for, than to ſee "thee ſettled in a ſtate of age and reaſon, "and whenever God ſhall take me to himſelf, to leave thee in poſſeſſion of my authority and dominions; but ſince it hath "been the will of God firſt to beſtow thee "upon me, and now to call thee back again, "my dear ſon, acquit thyſelf generouſly "under ſo pious a neceſſity. It is to God "that thou art dedicated and delivered up "on this occaſion, and it is the ſame God "who now requires thee of me, in return "for all the bleſſings and favours he hath "ſhowered down upon us, both in war and "peace. It is but according to the law of "nature, for all who are born to die; and "a more glorious end thou canſt never "have, than to fall by the hand of thine "own father, a ſacrifice to the God and father of the univerſe, who hath rather "choſen to receive thy ſoul into a bleſſed "eternity, upon the wing of prayers and "ardent ejaculations, than ſuffer thee to "be taken away by ſickneſs, war, paſſion, "or any other of the common chances of "mankind. Conſider it well, and thou "wilt find, that in the heavenly ſtation to "which thou art now called, thou mayeſt "make thyſelf the true ſupport of thy father, and, inſtead of my ſon *Iſaac*, I ſhall "have God himſelf for my guardian."

Iſaac attended to all which had been ſaid, with a conſtancy and reſignation becoming the ſon of ſo great a father; declaring, that if he ſhould not frankly deliver up that life to God and his father, which they themſelves had given him, he had better never been born; nay, that it was at the devotion even of his father alone, if he ſhould require it. With theſe words *Iſaac* advanced up to the altar, and preſented himſelf to the ſlaughter: But, upon the very point of doing execution, God called to *Abraham*, and prevented it. He bade him hold his hand, "for," ſays he, "I did not require it of you, "out of any delight I take in human blood, "or that I would make a father the aſſaſſin "of that very child which I myſelf had given him, but to ſee how far you would "ſubmit to your God, in a ſelf-denial to "your inclination and nature. But ſince I "find your piety to be proof againſt all "temptations, I do here again confirm "over again to you all my former promiſes. I do accept of your ſacrifice, and for "yourſelf and your poſterity, my providence ſhall never forſake you. I will "bleſs your ſon *Iſaac* with long life, and "make his offspring illuſtrious, by a numerous ſucceſſion of great and virtuous "men. His poſterity ſhall give laws to "many nations. They ſhall ſubdue the "land of *Canaan* by the ſword, and their "wealth and renown ſhall make them the "envy of the reſt of the world."

So ſoon as God had made an end of ſpeaking, there appeared moſt unexpectedly a ram for a ſacrifice. Upon this ſurprize the father and ſon, in a tranſport of joy, exchanged all ſorts of endearments, bleſſing God for his gracious promiſes and infinite goodneſs, and thereupon offered up their ſacrifice. This duty being over, they returned to *Sarah*, and lived happily after it, for God's bleſſing went along with them in whatever they did.

CHAP. XV.

The Death of Sarah.

IT was not long after this when *Sarah* died, being a hundred and twenty-ſeven years of age. She was buried in *Hebron*, and the *Canaanites* would have given her the ſolemnity of an interment, but *Abraham* choſe rather to buy a burying-place for himſelf and his family, which he did, of one *Ephraim*, an inhabitant of *Hebron*, at the price of four hundred ſhekels, where the monuments of himſelf and divers of his poſterity are yet to be ſeen.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Abraham *and* Chetura, *and their Poſterity.* Iſaac *marries* Rebecca.

AFter the death of *Sarah*, *Abraham* took to wife *Chetura*, by whom he had ſix ſons, men of induſtry and wiſdom; their names were, *Zembran*, *Jazur*, *Madan*, *Madian*, *Jozubac*, and *Suus*.

Suus had two ſons, *Sabathan* and *Dadan*, who had *Latuſim*, *Aſſur*, and *Luom*. *Madian* had five ſons, *Epha*, *Opher*, *Enoch*, *Ebidas*, and *Eldas*.

Theſe people, upon *Abraham*'s advice, diſperſed themſelves into colonies, and took poſſeſſion of the country of the *Troglodites*, and that part of *Arabia Felix* which looks towards the red ſea. There is a report that this ſame *Opher* entered *Libya*, with a ſtrong army, and over-ran the country. His ſucceſſors held it after him, and gave it the name of *Aphrica*. *Alexander Polyhiſter* ſpeaks much to this purpoſe, when he ſays, that *Cleodemus* the prophet, (otherwiſe called *Malchus*) in a hiſtory of the *Jews*, which he has written after the manner of *Moſes* their law-giver, makes mention of ſeveral children which *Abraham* had by *Chetura*, and three by name, *i. e. Apheran*, *Surim*, and *Japhran*. The *Syrians* take their names from *Surim*, and the city of *Aphra* or *Aphrica* theirs from *Japhran* or *Apheran*. Theſe are the people who are ſaid to have fought againſt *Libya* and *Antæus*, under the command of *Hercules*. And the ſtory goes, that this *Hercules* married the daughter of *Aphra*, and had by her *Dedor*, the father of *Sophon*, from whence the barbarous *Sophaces* take their names.

Iſaac was now about forty years of age, when his father thought of marrying him to *Rebecca*, the daughter of *Bathuel*, the ſon of his brother *Nachor*. Hereupon he ſends his moſt truſty ſervant on the errand, but firſt gives him his oath in form, to be true to his truſt, which was performed by putting his hand under his thigh, according to the cuſtom of the country. This being done, he gives him his commiſſion and inſtruction, with full power and authority to treat and conclude; furniſhes him with choice and rich preſents, and neceſſaries for his journey, and ſo ſets him forward. His way lay through *Meſopotamia*, which, betwixt dirt in the winter, want of water in the ſummer, and the inevitable danger of robbers, if people be not very wary, is extremely incommodious for travellers. But, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, he came at laſt to *Charran*, where, upon entering the ſuburbs, he ſaw a great many maiden creatures going to the wells for water; upon which ſight he put up a mental prayer to God, deſiring that if heaven approved the match he came about, he might find *Rebecca* in that company; and further, that he might know which was ſhe, by her giving him water upon his deſiring it, and the reſt refuſing. This thought ran in his head, till he came to the well, where he begged of the virgins one by one, to beſtow the charity of a ſup of water upon him. One ſaid, ſhe had taken a great deal of pains to get it, and could not part with it ſo eaſily; another, that ſhe drew water for herſelf, and not for other people; ſome had one excuſe, and ſome another, but all upon the negative, till at laſt one ſingle virgin took up her companions for want of good nature and civility to a ſtranger, and aſked them whether they had been brought up among reaſonable creatures or brutes, that they could deny a ſtranger the common rights of hoſpitality in ſuch a manner; whereupon ſhe herſelf, with great complaiſance, gave the ſtranger to drink.

This was as auſpicious an entrance upon his buſineſs as he could have wiſhed; but yet, for the more certainty, after a declaration how much he was beholden to her for the pains ſhe took to oblige a ſtranger, he came by degrees to the more neceſſary point of enquiring into her family and extraction, bleſſing the happy parents of ſo gracious a daughter, with a thouſand prayers, that they might live to beſtow her where ſhe would enjoy all the comforts of a married eſtate in the love of a kind virtuous huſband, and in a numerous ſtock of obedient children. *Rebecca* ſpoke frankly to his queſtion. "My "father's name," ſays ſhe, "was *Bathuel*, "but he died a long time ſince, and left "my mother and myſelf, with the whole "family and fortune, under the care of a "brother of mine yet living, whoſe name is "*Laban*, and mine *Rebecca*."

The man was overjoyed at what he had heard and ſeen, being now fully aſſured, that God would proſper his journey. Upon this he took out a chain, and ſome other ornamental curioſities, which women of *Rebecca*'s age are commonly well enough pleaſed with, and made the virgin a preſent of them, both as an inſtance of his eſteem for her, and as an acknowledgment of the particular favour ſhe laid him under. He made it his requeſt then, that he might be permitted to lodge with the family of her relations for that night, for it grew late, and would be ill travelling further; beſides that he had a charge of rich jewels with him, which he could not think any where ſo ſafe as in the hands of perſons of ſo approved integrity; for he preſumed to make a judgment of the mother and ſon, by the goodneſs that he had experienced in herſelf; adding further, that he hoped there would be no ſcruple made of entertaining a ſtranger, who would bear his own charge, without any expence or burden to the family. The maid replied, that he was much in the right to think well of the humanity of her relations; but ſhe deſired him, however, to have a better opinion of their genoroſity; for it ſhould coſt him nothing: But ſhe would nevertheleſs, ſhe ſaid, aſk her brother's leave to introduce him; which was ſoon granted, and done accordingly.

He was no ſooner brought in but *Laban*'s ſervants were ordered to look to his camels, and himſelf taken into ſupper with the maſter of the houſe. The gueſt, when that was over, addreſſed himſelf to the ſon and mother of the family after this manner: "I am come hither," ſays he, "from *A*-"*braham*, the ſon of *Thares*, and your kinſ-"man; for *Nachor*," (directing his diſcourſe to the woman,) "the grandfather of "your children, was *Abraham*'s brother by "the ſame father and mother. This *Abra*-"*ham* is my maſter, and from him am I "come now, with a commiſſion to propoſe "a marriage betwixt this virgin here, and

" his only legitimate ſon and heir. He
" could have had his choice of the moſt conſiderable matches in his own country, but
" out of a preference to thoſe of his own
" blood, he has rather made this election.
" Pray do not oppoſe it, for God himſelf
" hath appeared in favour of it; and it was
" a ſtrange direction from heaven which
" brought me both to this maiden and to
" your houſe, over and above ſeveral propitious circumſtances in my journey. As
" I was coming into this town, I ſaw a great
" many maidens going to fetch water, when
" I prayed in my heart that I might find this
" very virgin, and providence directed me
" to her; ſo that this marriage is as good as
" made in heaven already, and wants only
" your authority to confirm it."

This propoſal was ſo advantageous and deſireable in itſelf, and ſo evidently agreeable to the will of God, that *Rebecca* was delivered up to the ſervant, upon the conditions of the treaty, who carried her home with him to *Iſaac*, being now the lord and maſter of *Abraham*'s poſſeſſions; for the children which *Abraham* had by *Chetura* were gone to plant in other provinces.

CHAP. XVII.

The Death of Abraham.

A*Braham* lived but a ſhort time after the marriage of *Iſaac*: A man famous for his piety and virtue, and beloved both of God and man. His age was a hundred and ſeventy-five years when he died. He was buried at *Hebron*, and laid by his wife *Sarah*; *Iſaac* and *Iſhmael* taking upon them the care of his funeral.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Birth of Eſau *and* Jacob. Jacob *ſupplants* Eſau.

SOON after the deceaſe of *Abraham* *, *Iſaac*'s wife was found to be with child, and her bigneſs ſo extraordinary, that *Iſaac* beſought God to reveal unto him the meaning of it. He received for anſwer, that ſhe ſhould bring forth twins, and that from thoſe two twins, two nations ſhould deſcend of their names; and that, in time, the younger ſhould be the greater of the two. This fell out accordingly not long after; for *Rebecca* had twins, the elder of them all hairy from head to foot, and the other catching him by the heel, as he was coming into the world. The elder was the father's darling, and his name *Eſau* or *Seir*, (the word in *Hebrew* ſignifies *Hair*) and the younger, whoſe name was *Jacob*, the mother's favourite.

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* There ſeems to be an error in the chronology here: The birth of *Jacob* and *Eſau* is here ſaid to be after *Abraham*'s death, whereas it ſhould have been after *Sarah*'s death.

There happened in thoſe days to be a terrible famine in the land of *Canaan*, and, at the ſame time, great plenty of every thing in *Ægypt*, whither *Iſaac* would fain have gone; but God diverted him from his purpoſe, and ſo he went to *Gerar*. King *Abimelech* treated him there at firſt with all appearance of reſpect imaginable, upon the ſcore of that ancient league of friendſhip and alliance, which had formerly paſſed betwixt himſelf and *Abraham*. But finding that *Iſaac* was more in God's favour than himſelf, he turned him off. *Iſaac* perceived that this change of humour was only envy, and ſo withdrew to a place called *the Valley*, near *Gerar*. And as he was there digging for water, *Abimelech*'s ſhepherds broke in violently upon him, and ſtopped his proceeding. He had no mind to contend, ſo that the ſhepherds had the better of him. Upon this he went a little further, and digged once again, and was a ſecond time interrupted by *Abimelech*'s ſervants, as before; whereupon he thought it good diſcretion to give over there likewiſe, and wait the providence of a more favourable occaſion. After this he made a third attempt, and the king then gave him leave to dig, and he gave the place the name of *Rooboth*, (as much as to ſay *large* or *ſpacious*). And for the other places before mentioned, the former he called *Eſcon*, (or *Contention*); and the other *Sitenna*, (which ſignifies *Enmity*.)

Iſaac's power, intereſt, and reputation encreaſing daily, *Abimelech* had an eye upon him as a growing adverſary, for he was conſcious of his own inſincerity, and not without ſome apprehenſion, that the countenance he ſhewed at firſt, compared with his unfriendly dealing afterwards, might provoke him to a revenge; beſides, that he would not willingly have ſuch a man his enemy. Theſe things conſidered, *Abimelech* went directly to *Iſaac*, with a motion to make a new friendſhip with him, taking one of his great officers and friends along for a party to the treaty. *Iſaac* was eaſily prevailed upon to lay aſide all old grudges, out of a reverence to the memory of the former friendſhips and good offices which had paſſed betwixt *Abimelech* and his father; and ſo all things were made up.

Eſau, the beloved ſon of his father *Iſaac*, at forty years of age, married two wives, *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon*, and *Alibama*, the daughter of *Eſbion*; perſons of great blood and fame among the *Canaanites*. Now this he did without conſulting his father; for, if he had, he would not have given his conſent, having taken up a firm reſolution never to enter into any ſort of alliance with that people. But however, the thing being done, *Iſaac* thought it his beſt courſe rather to paſs it over in ſilence, than to make him put his women away.

Iſaac was now grown old, and dim-ſighted, if not quite blind. In this condition he called his ſon *Eſau* to him; and prefaceing what he had to ſay, with ſomewhat of reflection upon his age and infirmity, he fell to bemoaning himſelf that he was not able to ſerve God now as he had done formerly; and after this, he ordered his ſon *Eſau* to go out a hunting, and get him ſome good thing for his ſupper, ſaying that he would afterwards give him his prayers and his bleſſing, and beſeech God to be his comforter and protector to his life's end. "My own end," ſays he, "is not far off; the time uncertain, "and I cannot ſpend the little remainder of "my life better than in prayers for thy wel-"fare."

Eſau then went out to ſee what he could catch; and, in the mean while, *Rebecca* bethought herſelf of a way to transfer the bleſſing to *Jacob* which was intended for *Eſau*, out of a partiality of affection to the one rather than the other. So ſhe bade *Jacob* go out and kill a kid, and have it dreſſed ready for ſupper. *Jacob* did what he was commanded, as an obedient ſon to his mother in all caſes; and when ſupper was ready, having put kid's ſkins over his arms and hands, that he might ſeem hairy, (the twins being otherwiſe ſo alike, that there was no diſtinguiſhing betwixt them) he ſet it before his father, but with a thouſand difficulties in his head, for fear of being taken in the impoſture, and drawing a curſe upon himſelf inſtead of a bleſſing. *Iſaac*, it ſeems, taking notice of ſomewhat very particular in his ſon's voice, bade him come to him, and, upon finding his hands all hairy, paſſed this reflection upon it. "The voice," ſays he, "is *Jacob's* voice, but the hands are the "hands of *Eſau*:" and ſo, without any further ſuſpicion, he went to ſupper; and, after that, offered up a prayer ſuitable to the occaſion, in words to this effect. "Eternal "God, the creator of all things that are "made! Thou haſt been ſo gracious and "bountiful to my father, to myſelf, and to "our offspring; promiſing and poſſeſſing "us of all good things, and giving us aſſurances of greater bleſſings to come: Lord, "make thy words good to us by effects, and "do not deſpiſe thy ſervant for his preſent "infirmities, which make him the more "ſenſible of his need of thy ſupport; preſerve this child from all evil, in thy mercy and infinite goodneſs: give him a long "and a happy life; bleſs him with all "worldly enjoyments which may be for his "good; make him a terror to his enemies, "and an honour and a comfort to his "friends."

Iſaac had no ſooner ended his prayer for *Eſau*, as he thought, and meant it, but in comes *Eſau* himſelf from the chace, which gave *Iſaac* to underſtand his miſtake: but he did not think proper to make any words about it. When *Eſau* came to be informed of what had paſſed, he beſought his father only to beſtow the ſame bleſſing upon him, which he had pronounced upon his brother. But *Iſaac* excuſed himſelf, that he could not either transfer or take away the benediction he had already conferred. This diſappointment drew tears from *Eſau*, and his ſorrow ſo far wrought upon the tenderneſs of his father, that he gave him all the bleſſing he had left; that is to ſay, he told him, that he ſhould be a famous hunter, and a great man at arms; and that he himſelf and his poſterity ſhould gain immortal honour by their exploits that way; but, in the concluſion, that he muſt be ſubject to his younger brother.

Jacob was exceedingly afraid of his brother, and *Rebecca* no leſs conſcious of the provoking affront which was put upon him, ſo that to prevent the danger, ſhe prevailed with *Iſaac* to diſpatch *Jacob* away into *Meſopotamia*, to take a wife out of her family there. *Eſau* finding how he had diſobliged his father, by matching with the *Canaanites* (being his mortal enemies), had now taken to wife *Baſſemath* the daughter of *Iſhmael*, whom he loved beſt of all his wives.

CHAP. XIX.

Jacob *ſent into* Meſopotamia, *to treat about a Match with* Rachel, Laban's *Daughter. His Viſion upon the Way. He treats with* Laban, *who impoſes upon him.*

BY the advice of *Rebecca*, and with the conſent of *Iſaac*, *Jacob* was ſent away into *Meſopotamia*, to treat about a match there with the daughter of *Rebecca's* brother *Laban*. But the feud being at that time ſo violent betwixt that family and the *Canaanites*, and *Jacob's* way lying through the land of *Canaan*, he durſt not venture himſelf in any of their houſes upon his journey, but took up his lodging in the open air, making a ſtone, or ſome little hillock of earth, his pillow. As he lay thus one night at reſt, he had this viſion. He dreamed that he ſaw a ladder ſtanding upon the earth, and the upper end of it reaching the heavens, with certain glorious figures, which, to the view, ſeemed more than human, deſcending by the rounds of it; and, from the top, God himſelf appearing, and ſpeaking to *Jacob* by name in theſe words: "It is not for you, *Jacob*, who have in your veins the blood of your father, *Iſaac* and *Abraham*, men famous for their faith and virtue, to deſpond under any diffidence of my care for you in your preſent troubles, but rather to ſupport yourſelf in hope of better things. Depend upon me for your protector, and aſſure yourſelf that your beſt days are yet to come. It was I who brought *Abraham* out of *Meſopotamia* hither, when he was forced away by his relations; it was I who crowned your father with bleſſings; and it is I again who reſolve to do as much for you: Wherefore take courage, and purſue your journey under my conduct and direction. The marriage you are now going about ſhall ſucceed to your wiſh; you ſhall be the father of dutiful children, and your iſſue ſhall encreaſe without number. This land will I give to them and to their poſterity: and they ſhall people the whole earth, and the iſlands as far as the ſun ſhines: Wherefore, let no labour or danger diſcourage you, but commit yourſelf to my care, not only at this preſent, but more hereafter."

Jacob was tranſported with joy at this viſion and prediction, and anointed the ſtone in honour of that divine revelation, making a vow at the ſame time, to erect an altar there, and offer ſacrifice upon it, if ever it ſhould pleaſe God to bring him home again; which vow he performed at his coming back, preſenting to God the tenths of all his goods for an oblation. And further, for a memorial, in reverence of the place, and what befel him there, he gave it the name of *Bethel*, or *the houſe of God*.

Upon this he went forward, and came to *Charran*, where he found ſeveral ſhepherds, young men and maidens, about a well, and drawing water. He joined the company, deſired a little drink of them, aſked if they knew one *Laban*, and if he was yet living? They all ſaid they knew him, and his daughter and they fed their ſheep together, and it was a wonder ſhe was not come yet. While they were talking thus, up comes the daughter herſelf, with the ſhepherds about her. They told *Jacob* which was ſhe, and then acquainted the virgin how that ſtranger had been enquiring about her father. The maiden, upon the ſight of *Jacob*, fell to aſking him queſtions, who he was, whence he came, and what was his buſineſs? and if there was any thing they could ſerve him in? *Jacob* was mightily pleaſed, both with his kinſwoman, and the good grace of her civility, but ſo much more with the charms of her beauty, that at firſt ſight he fell in love with her; and thus accoſted her: "There hath been," ſays he, "a great friendſhip betwixt our two families, of a date long before either you or I were born; for *Abraham*, *Aran*, and *Nachor* were the ſons of *Thares*; and *Bathuel* your grandfather was *Nachor*'s ſon; *Iſaac* is my father, begotten by *Abraham* upon *Sarah*, the daughter of *Aran*: and we are nearer yet ſtill, for *Rebecca* my mother is the ſiſter of your father *Laban*, by the ſame father and mother; ſo that, in the degrees of affinity, you and I are couſin-germans; and I am now come to greet you with all the offices of a friend and a kinſman, towards the renewing of that kind agreement of ancient date." This brought into the mind of the virgin what ſhe had often heard her father ſay of *Rebecca*; and taking for granted how glad her parents would be to hear any tidings of that excellent perſon, the paſſion ſhe had for the pleaſing of her father, tranſported her to ſuch a degree, that ſhe burſt into tears, took *Jacob* about the neck, and kiſſed him, and then holding him in her arms, ſpake to him after this manner. "Thou art," ſays ſhe, "the bearer of the moſt agreeable news to

“ my father and the whole family, that ever “ came under our roof: Wherefore, not to “ deprive him any longer of the joy thou “ art to carry him, follow me immediately.” With theſe words ſhe brought him to her father *Laban*, where he was made known to his uncle.

They had not been many days together when *Laban* made an open profeſſion of the ſatisfaction he had in his converſation. After this declaration, his curioſity made him a little inquiſitive how he came to leave his father and mother in their extream age, and when they could leaſt ſpare him; but aſſuring him at the ſame time, that whatever he could do in the world for him ſhould be at his ſervice.

Jacob, upon this, to ſatisfy his curioſity, gave him in ſhort the whole hiſtory of their family. “ My mother *Rebecca*,” ſays he, “ had two twins, *Eſau* and myſelf. *Eſau* “ being diſappointed of our father's bleſſing, by an invention of my mother's, “ to put me in my brother's place to receive “ it, (my father being blind) he looks upon “ me for this as a ſupplanter of him in his “ right, as well to his father's vows and “ prayers, as to a kingdom and an inheritance which God had aſſigned him; and “ for this circumvention he reſolved to take “ away my life. Now, to avoid this danger, and in obedience to my mother's “ command, I am come hither for ſanctuary, as to the neareſt relation ſhe hath in “ the world; and next under God I depend “ upon yourſelf for my ſecurity.” *Laban* promiſed him all ſort of aſſiſtance, not only for his own ſake, but likewiſe as the ſon of his dear ſiſter, whom he loved tenderly at what diſtance ſoever. *Laban* told him further, that he would at preſent ſet him over his flocks, and give him authority over all the keepers of his ſheep; and that, if at any time hereafter he ſhould have a mind to go back again, he might aſſure himſelf of a reward anſwerable to his merit.

Jacob was well enough content to undergo the labour, provided he might have *Rachel* in marriage for his ſervice, a perſon whom he loved not only for her ſingular worth and virtue, but as the providential inſtrument of bringing him into the family. Upon this proffer, *Laban* ſtruck the bargain immediately, ſolemnly proteſting, that of all men living he was the ſon-in-law he would have choſen; only he muſt have patience to ſtay a while, for he ſhould be loth to ſend his daughter ſo far as *Canaan*. *Jacob* ſubmitted to wait, and ſo bound himſelf to his father-in-law for ſeven years, to ſhew that he had no other ends in what he did than thoſe of love, generoſity, and juſtice.

At the end of the term *Laban* prepares the wedding-feaſt, and late at night, in drink, and in the dark, put the change upon *Jacob*, privately conveying the blear-eyed elder ſiſter to his bed, inſtead of the younger; and ſo they lay together. Whe *Jacob* came to find how he was impoſed upon, he fell to expoſtulating the matter with *Laban*, as a violation of common faith and juſtice. *Laban* excuſed himſelf, by alledging the cuſtom of the country, not to marry the younger ſiſter before the elder: “ But this,” ſays he, “ ſhall be no objection againſt your marrying of *Rachel*; for, after ſeven years more, “ you ſhall have her by day-light, when “ you may ſee and know what you do.” *Jacob*, who could do nothing but what his paſſion gave him leave to do, bound himſelf over once again, for the other ſeven years, and that time being expired, he had *Rachel* for his wife.

Theſe two ſiſters had two maidens put to them by *Laban*: *Zilpah* was with *Leah*, and *Bilhah* with *Rachel*; not in the quality of ſervants, but yet in ſubjection to them. *Leah* was in great affliction to ſee that her ſiſter had a greater ſhare in *Jacob*'s affection than herſelf; but lived in hope ſtill, that the bringing of him children, which was her daily prayer, might gain him over to her; and, in the end, it did ſo: for, being delivered of a ſon, whom ſhe called *Reuben* (or *divine mercy*), it wrought upon her huſband's affections; and after this ſhe had three other ſons, *viz.* *Simeon* (i. e. *God is favourable*), *Levi* (i. e. *the ſupport of ſociety*), and *Judah* (i. e. *thankſgiving*). *Rachel* was mightily in pain leſt the fruitfulneſs of her ſiſter might take off ſomewhat of *Jacob*'s kindneſs to herſelf, and therefore contrived the putting of her woman *Bilhah* in her place, which ſhe did, and *Jacob* had a ſon by her, called *Dan* (i. e. *the judgment of God*). And, a while after this, ſhe brought him *Nephthalim* (which ſignifies *Artificial*), alluding to *Rachel*'s contending with her ſiſter for children by craft. *Leah*, after this, encountered her ſiſter in her own way, and put in *Zilpah* to *Jacob*, by whom he had two ſons; the firſt *Gad* (or *by chance*), and afterwards *Aſer* (which ſignifies *Beautifying*), becauſe they got honour by it.

One time, when the two ſiſters were together, *Reuben*, the eldeſt ſon of *Leah*, brought his mother ſome mandrake apples*, which *Rachel* would fain have had part of; but the other told her in a fret, that it was too much to have her huſband and her apples too; but *Rachel*, to pacify her, made her an offer of having *Jacob* to herſelf for that night. *Leah* accepted it, and they lay together accordingly. *Jacob*, after this, had more children by *Leah*; as *Iſſachar* (*born for hire*), *Zabulun* (*a pledge of love*), and a daughter *Dinah*. *Rachel* ſtaid a long time, and at laſt brought forth a ſon, whoſe name was *Joſeph* (or *an addition*).

It was already full twenty years that *Jacob* had ſerved his father-in-law, in the quality of an overſeer of his ſhepherds and herdſmen; ſo that it was now high time, he thought, to conſider of looking homeward again, and to take his wives along with him. But this was to be privately managed; for *Laban* he was ſure would be againſt it. He was not willing to come to any reſolution however, without conſulting his wives firſt, to ſee how they ſtood affected to the journey. But finding them willing, away they went together, without any delay; the two ſiſters, with their women and children, and all that belonged to them, and *Jacob* alſo, with one half of the flocks. *Rachel* took away with her the images of the gods of the country, not out of any reverence ſhe had for the idols, for her huſband had taught her better things; but ſhe fancied to herſelf that in caſe they ſhould be purſued and overtaken, by their help matters might be brought to a compoſition.

So ſoon as *Laban* had the news next day of *Jacob*'s departure by ſtealth, he called his people together in a fury, and, with a ſtrong body of men, immediately poſted after them. Upon the ſeventh day in the evening, they overtook them ſitting upon a little hillock to reſt themſelves; but being late, *Laban* and his people betook themſelves quietly to their repoſe. That night God appeared to *Laban* in his ſleep, and bade him have a care not to offer any violence or indignity to his fugitive ſon-in-law and daughters, but rather diſpoſe himſelf to an amicable agreement with them: "And do not you deſ-
" piſe them," ſays the apparition, "for the
" ſmallneſs of their number; for, if you
" do, I myſelf will fight their battles."

Laban the next day early ſent for *Jacob*, and told him of the dream he had, paſſing from that diſcourſe to reproaching and upbraiding him. "You cannot forget," ſays he, "that I took you into my houſe a beg-
" gar, and a wretch indigent to the laſt de-
" gree; how generouſly I relieved and en-
" tertained you, married you to my daugh-
" ters, as the higheſt obligation to an in-
" violable friendſhip and reſpect that I could
" lay you under: And pray how comes it
" now, that without any regard to your mo-
" ther and my ſiſter, or to the alliance of
" blood betwixt us, the wives you have mar-
" ried out of my family, and the children
" of thoſe wives who call me grandfather;
" how comes it, I ſay, after all this, that
" you ſhould treat me at the rate of a pro-
" feſſed enemy, to ſeize my goods, force

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* What thoſe apples were, the *Jews* at this day pretend not to underſtand. They appear to have been as rare in thoſe days as they are at preſent, by *Rachel*'s longing for them. See a deſcription of them in *Calmet*'s Dictionary.

" my daughters away from their parents, " carry off the very gods of my country, " which my forefathers have ever had ſo " great a veneration for, as things moſt ſa- " cred; and who is it that hath done all " this now, but my kinſman, my ſon-in-law, " my gueſt, and the man whom I have fed " at my own table!"

Jacob made anſwer, that he was not the only man who had a natural affection for his native country; and that, after ſo long an abſence, it was but reaſonable to bethink himſelf of looking home again. As to his robbery and injuſtice, he was willing to appeal to any other judge than himſelf. "Now," ſays he, " I expected you would have given " me thanks rather, for managing and huſ- " banding your eſtate, than think much of " the ſmall pittance I have taken out of it. " And pray do not call it a violence upon " your daughters, for, as there is no evil " intention in the caſe, ſo that which you " miſtake for force, is only a conjugal duty, " both in my taking them away, and in their " following their huſband and children." This he ſaid in his own defence, and, for the reſt, turned *Laban*'s reproaches upon himſelf; wondering and complaining, that an uncle and a father-in-law, after the hardſhip of twenty years ſervice, beſides what he willingly ſuffered for the ſake of *Rachel*, and more afterwards, ſhould at laſt treat him at the rate of the worſt of enemies.

Jacob had great reaſon to complain of *Laban*'s ill uſage; who, obſerving that God bleſſed *Jacob* in all he did, would be promiſing one while to give him all the white cattle that ſhould be produced, another while all the black, and ſtill as *Jacob*'s part came to be the greater, he went from his word, and put it off to another year, in hopes to find it leſs then; but with a reſolution beforehand, in caſe it ſhould prove otherwiſe, to depart from his promiſe.

As to the images, *Laban* having free liberty to ſearch, *Rachel* conveyed them away into the ſtuffing of the ſaddle ſhe ſat upon, and pretended to have the woman's ſickneſs at that time upon her, *Laban* paſſed her over unviſited, upon a preſumption that ſhe would not come ſo near any thing that was ſacred, while in that condition. Upon this, *Laban* entered into a league with *Jacob*, granted an act of oblivion to his daughters for all that was paſt, promiſing that for the future, they ſhould be as dear to him as ever they were, and all this was confirmed with on oath. The ſolemnity paſſed upon a certain mountain, where a pillar was erected in the form of an altar, and they called it *Galaad*, or the *hill of witneſs*, which name was likewiſe given to the whole country thereabouts. After the ceremony of the league, they feaſted together, and *Laban* returned to his own home.

CHAP. XX.

The Greeting of Jacob *and* Eſau.

JAcob went forward on his way toward *Canaan*, and had ſeveral propitious viſions in his paſſage, which gave him great hope of future ſucceſs, calling the place where he ſaw them *the field of God*. But the old grudge of *Eſau* was not yet out of *Jacob*'s head, which made him ſend meſſengers expreſs to find him out, with a commiſſion in the name of *Jacob* to addreſs him to this effect: That *Jacob* finding himſelf under his brother's diſpleaſure, voluntarily abandoned his country, and in confidence, that after ſo long an abſence, all paſt unkindneſſes are forgotten, he is now returning with his wives, children, goods, and treaſure, to lay himſelf and all that he has at his brother's feet, propoſing to himſelf no greater happineſs than to enjoy all the bounties that God in his goodneſs hath been pleaſed to beſtow upon him, in common with his brother.

Upon the delivery of this meſſage, *Eſau*, in a tranſport of ſatisfaction, advanced preſently with a band of four hundred men, to meet his brother. *Jacob* was not a little ſtartled at the number; but put himſelf in a poſture however, with God's grace and aſſiſtance, to defend himſelf and his people in caſe of the worſt. He diſpoſed his body into two diviſions, the one to advance, and the other to follow, within diſtance of either receiving or ſeconding the van, if it ſhould come to an attack. When he had ordered his people after this manner, he ſent his forerunners to his brother with preſents: ſome for uſe, others for curioſity, as creatures of burden, and ſeveral ſorts of ſtrange beaſts that might be acceptable for their rarity-ſake. Theſe were to march thin one after another, to make them appear more than they were; the meſſengers being charged to behave themſelves to *Eſau* with all poſſible reſpect, not doubting but by this gentleneſs of proceeding to rectify all miſunderſtandings, if they were not already compoſed.

It was a whole days work to put *Jacob*'s troops in order, and at night they marched. When they were got over the torrent of *Jabac*, *Jacob* being a little behind, a ſpectre laid hold of him, and *Jacob* wreſtling with this apparition, had the better of him; whereupon a voice called out to him, and ſaid, "Comfort thyſelf in what thou haſt "done, for it is not a common enemy thou "haſt ſoiled, but an angel of the Lord. "Take it for a preſage, that your poſterity "ſhall never fail, and that you ſhall never "be overcome." Upon this, he gave him the name of *Iſrael* (in *Hebrew ſtruggling*). This was revealed to *Jacob* at his own requeſt, and, when he found it was an angel ſpake to him, he beſought him to ſay ſomething further what was to befal him, which the ſpectre did, and ſo diſappeared. *Jacob* was ſo tranſported with what he had heard, that he gave this place the name of *Phanuel*, (or *the face of God*). He had a ſinew of his thigh ſtrained in this encounter, for which reaſon he would never afterwards eat that part of any creature; and upon that account we do forbear it alſo to this day.

Upon the news of *Eſau*'s being advanced, and drawing near to his brother, *Jacob* ordered his wives to go before with their women, and to march apart from one another, ſo as to ſee the action at a diſtance, if *Eſau* ſhould think fit to put it to a battle. But when *Jacob* ſaw that *Eſau* came towards him with peace and chearfulneſs in his countenance, he went and threw himſelf at the feet of his brother. *Eſau* in the mean while embracing him, aſked him ſeveral queſtions about the women and children, and gave him afterwards an earneſt invitation to his father's houſe. *Jacob* excuſed himſelf, that his horſes and cattle were tired out, and not in a travelling condition: and then *Eſau* departed to his habitation at *Seir*; ſo called from the *hairineſs of Eſau*.

CHAP. XXI.

The Rape of Dinah. *The Children of* Jacob.

JAcob, for his part, went to the place called the *Tabernacles*, which name it bears to this day, and ſo to *Sichem*, a city belonging to the *Canaanites*. There happened to be a great feſtival there, and *Dinah*, the only daughter of *Jacob* went thither to ſee the faſhions of the place. *Sichem*, the ſon of King *Emor*, fell in love with her, took her away, and raviſhed her, and liked her ſo well, that he begged his father's leave to marry her; who not only gave his conſent, but went himſelf to *Jacob* with the ſame requeſt on his ſon's behalf. *Jacob* could not in conſcience marry his daughter to a ſtranger, neither could he refuſe any thing decently to the quality of a royal advocate. But, upon ſecond thoughts, he deſired time to conſider of it; ſo the king went away, little doubting of the ſucceſs. Upon this juncture, *Jacob* having acquainted his ſons with the indignity put upon their ſiſter, and the requeſt of King *Emor*; ſome of them were at their wit's end what to adviſe, others had not one word to ſay; only *Simeon* and *Levi*, the brothers of *Dinah* by the ſame mother, agreed upon a deſign, without ſpeaking one word to their father of it, which the executed as follows. Upon the next feſtival at *Sichem*, late in the night, they fell upon the guards, and eaſily maſtered them, finding them drowſy and ſecure in their drunken revels. They took poſſeſſion of the city, killed all the males they could meet with, the king and his ſon being in the number, ſparing only the women; and, upon the finiſhing of this exploit, fetched home their ſiſter.

Jacob was ſtruck with horror at ſo bloody an action, and highly incenſed againſt his ſons for what they had done; but God comforted him in a viſion and bid him have a good heart, and purge his tents, and not forget the ſacrifice he had promiſed when he firſt went into *Meſopotamia*. While *Jacob* was executing this command, he fell upon *Laban's* goods which *Rachel* had ſtollen, and buried under a certain oak, and he knew nothing of it. From thence he went and ſacrificed at *Bethel*, where he had the divine Revelation upon his going into *Meſopotamia*. He then went to *Ephrata*, where *Rachel* died in labour, and there he buried her, the only perſon of his relations that was not buried at *Hebron*. This loſs much affected him; but the child lived, and he gave him the name of *Benjamin*, from the great grief it brought the mother.

Now the children of *Jacob* were twelve ſons and one daughter. Eight of them legitimate; ſix by *Leah*, and two by *Rachel*; four more by *Zilpah* and *Bilhah*, two by each.

CHAP. XXII.

The Death of Iſaac.

FROM hence *Jacob* went to *Hebron* in *Chanaan*, where *Iſaac* dwelt; but they did not live long together. *Rebecca* died before the arrival of *Jacob*, and *Iſaac* followed her not long after. *Eſau* and *Jacob* buried him, and laid him by his wife in *Hebron*, in the burying place of his family. *Iſaac* was a perſon acceptable in the ſight of God, and attended by ſpecial providences in the courſe of his life, after the deceaſe of *Abraham*. He lived to the age of one hundred and eighty-five years, in a ſteady and eminent purſuit of piety and virtue.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK II.

From the Year of the World 2230, to 2454.

CHAP. I.

Eſau *and* Jacob *divide their Poſſeſſions.*

AFTER the death of *Iſaac*, the two brothers kept no longer to their paternal eſtates, but divided their poſſeſſions; whereupon *Eſau* yielded up the city of *Hebron* to his brother, and went and ſettled himſelf at *Seir*. He was lord and maſter of *Idumæa*, and gave it his own name, *viz. Edom*, which was a kind of a by-name given him upon the following occaſion. He had been out a hunting one day in his youth, and coming home miſerably tired and hungry, he found his brother ordering a ſoup of lentills for his dinner. They looked red, and the very colour of them ſet him a longing, and begging with great importunity for a meſs of this pottage. But *Jacob* would not part with one drop of them to his brother, upon any other terms than the relinquiſhing of his birth-right, which *Eſau*, out of a pure ſtarving neceſſity, ſubmitted to, formally renouncing all the privileges of his ſeniority, with a ſolemn oath. His youthful companions made ſport with him for what he had done, and nick-named him *Edom*, from the colour of the ſoup, (for *Edom* in *Hebrew* ſignifies *red*). This name went alſo to the country under his juriſdiction, though the *Greeks* have diſguiſed and ſoftened it a little, by calling it *Idumæa*.

He had five children by three wives; three of them by his wife *Alibama*, viz. *Jaus*, *Jalum*, and *Core*; *Eliphaz* by *Adah*, and *Raguel* by *Baſſemath*.

Eliphaz had five ſons lawfully begotten; *Theman*, *Omar*, *Saphus*, *Gotham*, and *Canaz*. He had likewiſe a natural ſon by *Thamna*, his concubine. Theſe inhabited that part of *Idumæa* which is called *Gobolitis*, and the country of the *Amalekites*, called ſo from *Amalek*. It was formerly a huge tract of ground which went under the name of *Idumæa*; but the whole, as well as the parts of it, retain the name ſtill of their firſt planters and founders.

CHAP. II.

Joſeph's *Dreams. His Brothers envy him, and conſpire againſt his Life.*

J*Acob* was one of the happieſt men living, either for wealth, command, or virtuous children, who wanted nothing to make them great men, as well for action as counſel; for they were indefatigably induſtrious, valiant even to the ſtricteſt punctilios of generoſity and honour, and, to perfect the character, endued with a talent of underſtanding which crowned all the reſt; nay, ſo wonderful a providence attended them in all the chances and encounters of their lives, that their very ſufferings and afflictions turned to their advantage, in being made the inſtruments of almighty God, toward the bringing of our forefathers out of the bondage of *Ægypt*. The ſtory is this.

Joſeph, the ſon of *Jacob* by his wife *Rachel*, was much the deareſt child to his father of all the offspring, in regard of the excellencies both of his body and mind. This exceeding tenderneſs of the father drew upon the ſon the envy and ill-will of the reſt of the brothers; and this factious malevolence was much embittered by certain dreams *Joſeph* had, which looked like preſages of his future felicity and greatneſs. This he communicated to his brethren, and no wonder if it ſtirred up a dangerous emulation againſt him. The viſions were as follow:

His father ſent him out one day into the field, with his brothers, in harveſt-time, to reap corn, where he had a dream, and put it to them to expound it. The dream was this: "Methought," ſays he, "I ſaw this "night my own ſheaf of wheat ſtanding "upright, and all my brother's ſheaves "come running towards it, and falling down "before it, as ſo many ſervants would do "to their maſter."

There was no great myſtery in the unriddling of this dream; for they ſaw manifeſtly that it pointed at the power and authority which *Joſeph* was to have over them in time to come, even to the degree of their becoming ſubjects to him. But to their brother they pretended ignorance, and ſaid they could make nothing of it, praying however within themſelves, that God would avert the omen; their hatred encreaſing all this while to *Joſeph*.

Soon after this he had another viſion, much more remarkable than the former, which was ſent from God for the confounding of their malice. He ſaw in his ſleep, he thought, the ſun, moon, and eleven ſtars coming down from the heavens to the earth, and doing him reverence. *Joſeph* communicated this viſion alſo to his father, in the hearing of his brothers, (miſtruſting no miſchief from them all this while), telling him that he ſhould be very glad to underſtand what it meant.

Jacob was highly delighted with the dream, as a preſage of happy and glorious days to his ſon *Joſeph*; and that the time by God's providence would come, when both father and brothers ſhould do him reverence. By the ſun and moon he underſtood the father and mother, under the analogy, that the office of the one was to encreaſe and nouriſh, and that of the other to give form and force. By the eleven ſtars were meant the eleven brothers, who likewiſe had their light and virtue from above.

This went to the very heart of the brothers of *Joſeph*, quite contrary to the reaſon and duty of the matter in queſtion; ſo without any more ado, they reſolved to make him away. So ſoon as harveſt was over, they went with their flocks to *Sichem* (an excellent feeding ground), but without one word to their father of their remove. When they had been gone a pretty while, and no news of what was become of them, *Jacob* fell into a terrible apprehenſion leſt ſome miſchief might have befallen them, and ſo ſent *Joſeph* to inform himſelf punctually of the whole matter.

CHAP. III.

Joſeph *ſold by his Brethren into Ægypt.*

JOſeph ſet forward upon his journey, and there was great joy among the brethren at his arrival, not as a brother or a meſſenger from their father, but as an enemy whom God had delivered into their hands; and they were for diſpatching him immediately. *Reuben*, the eldeſt of the brothers, found the conſpiracy to be ſo ſtrong and deſperate, that he employed all his art and ſkill to prevent or at leaſt to divert it, ſetting before them the heinouſneſs of the ſin, and the inſupportable odium they would draw upon themſelves, by an action ſo hateful in the ſight of God and man. "It were an abominable wickedneſs," ſays he, "to take away the life even of a ſtranger; but to deſtroy a brother, and, in that brother, a father and mother too, with grief for the loſs of ſo hopeful a ſon; bethink yourſelves," ſays he, "if any thing can be more diabolical. Conſider that there is an all-ſeeing God, who will be an avenger, as well as the witneſs of this horrid murder; and you muſt not think to go through with this flagitious villainy, and divine vengeance not overtake you."

Reuben uſed all theſe arguments, and more, to deter or diſſuade them from this attempt; but, when he found them ſo abſolutely inexorable, that neither humanity, reſaon, nor religion could take place, and that the peremptory ſentence was pronounced, he bethought himſelf of a middle way of qualifying the matter. "Well," ſays he, "ſince the death of this young man is abſolutely decreed, you have nothing more to do, but to make the ſin and ſcandal of it fall as light as you can; and therefore, my advice is, rather to caſt him into the next pit, and there leave him to periſh, without dipping your hands in his blood." The motion was approved, and *Reuben* tied a rope about the middle of *Joſeph*, by which he let him gently down into the well, and preſently went his way to look after his ſheep.

He had no ſooner turned his back, but they had in ſight a troop of *Arabian* merchants (*Iſhmaelites*), who came from *Galaad* with ſpices and *Syrian* commodities, which they were carrying into *Ægypt*. *Judah*, upon this occaſion, adviſed the taking of *Joſeph* out of the well, and ſelling him to thoſe merchants, by which means they might be quit of him, and in no danger of ever ſeeing him more, and at the ſame time waſh their hands of his blood. This was agreed to; ſo they took up *Joſeph* out of the well, and ſold him to the merchants, he being then ſeventeen years of age, for twenty pieces of ſilver.

Reuben was caſting about all this while how he might ſave his poor brother, and, without a word ſpeaking to any of the reſt, he went late at night to the well, where he called ſeveral times to *Joſeph*; but hearing no anſwer, he preſently concluded that his brothers had murdered him, which afflicted him grievouſly. But when he came to know what had paſſed, he was very well ſatisfied with the proceeding.

The next thing was how to excuſe and palliate the matter to the father, ſo that the brothers might not be ſuſpected. They debated this point a while among themſelves, and came in the end to this concluſion; that they ſhould take *Joſeph*'s travelling coat, which they ſtripped him of when they put him in the well, tear it, and ſtain it with goat's blood, and ſo carry it to *Jacob*, that he might think his ſon was devoured by wild beaſts.

They went accordingly to the old man with this pretence, (who had heard ſomewhat already of his ſon's misfortune) ſhewed him the coat all torn and bloody, (at leaſt, ſaid they, if that was the coat *Joſeph* went out in), and ſo took it for granted that he was deſtroyed by wild beaſts; for they had neither ſeen him, nor could they imagine what was become of him, as they pretended. *Jacob* had comforted himſelf till now, with the hope he might be taken priſoner, or probably that ſome gentler ill hap might have befallen him; but, upon the ſight of the blood and the coat, (for it was *Joſeph*'s coat, he ſaid) *Jacob* immediately cloathed himſelf in ſack-cloth, and fell into ſo inconſolable a paſſion of ſorrow and lamentation, that he would not ſuffer either his ſons, or his own reaſon to comfort him.

CHAP. IV.

Joſeph *tempted to Lewdneſs by* Potiphar'*s Wife. His exemplary Continence.*

WHEN the merchants who bought *Joſeph* came to *Ægypt*, they ſold him to *Potiphar*, one of King *Pharaoh*'s great officers; who treated him not, either in the matter of liberty or diet, like an ordinary ſervant, but with the freedom of a generous education, training him up to letters, and, in a ſhort time, advancing him to be overſeer of the houſe. In this change of condition, his mind and his virtue were ſtill the ſame. He was a ſtripling of ſo graceful a perſon, and ſo agreeable an addreſs, that *Potiphar*'s wife fell in love with him, making no queſtion but upon the firſt opening of her mind to him, the vanity and ambition of ſo great an honour would bring him over to her. But ſhe made this judgment upon *Joſeph*, more upon the conſideration of the narrowneſs of his preſent condition, than upon any reaſon ſhe had to ſuſpect the unchangeable dignity of his ſoul. However, in this confidence and opinion, ſhe gave him to underſtand by broad ſigns, that ſhe had a mind to lie with him. He begged her, upon the very firſt motion, to go no farther upon that ſubject; for he could not be ſo ungrateful as to betray ſo excellent a maſter, and to repay him with treachery and affront for all the obligations he had laid him under. He ſhould account it a glory, he ſaid, to ſerve her in all lawful commands; but for any thing that was diſhoneſt, he could never ſubmit to it.

This refuſal did but ſet her more on fire, for ſhe could not imagine that *Joſeph* would have rejected the offer. But, when ſhe came to find that this would not do, ſhe ſet her wits to work upon another project.

There was a great day of merry-making at hand, which commonly brought all the women of quality together. *Potiphar*'s wife made uſe of this occaſion to feign herſelf ſick in, took her chamber, and laid hold of the opportunity of being alone with *Joſeph*. She got him, in ſhort, into her apartment, and there treated him with wonderful tenderneſs and reſpect, in words to this effect. "It would have been much better for you," ſays ſhe, "to have complied freely with my "former requeſt, if it had been but out of a "regard to the dignity of the petitioner, or "to the exceſs of my paſſion; and it would "have ſaved me the ſhame of condeſcending to ſome words and expreſſions, which "I am yet out of countenance to think of: "But I hope you will now have the wit to "attone for your firſt error. Wherefore "take your choice now, whether you will "improve this opportunity of a preſent ſatisfaction, in the embraces of a creature "who loves you, and from whom you may "yet expect greater things; or ſtand the "ſhock of my hatred and revenge, if you "ſhall preſume to value yourſelf more upon the vain conceit of your own chaſtity "than upon my favour; and, if it once "comes to that, do not you think to eſcape "with a dry oſtentation of your virtue, for "I will certainly accuſe you to my huſband "of an attempt upon my honour; and, "when the word is out once, you will find "more heed given to my charge than to "your juſtification."

This freak was accompanied with prayers, menaces, and tears: But he ſtood firm againſt all her threatenings, in an unalterable determination, rather to abide the worſt of extremities, than to yield to the lewd importunity of a diſhoneſt appetite; being ſatisfied in his own conſcience, that no ſeverity could be too much for a man who ſhould do ſo baſe a thing to pleaſe a woman. He was not wanting to put her in mind of her duty both to herſelf and to her huſband, and of what ſhe owed to piety, honeſty, cuſtom, and common fame. "What ſignifies," ſays he, "a momentary pleaſure, attended with "a certain repentance upon the heel of it, "and perpetual fears of diſcovery and diſgrace? What does all this ſignify, I ſay, "in balance with the moſt ſubſtantial comforts, and the moſt neceſſary duties of "human life? Whereas, in a conjugal ſtate "the ſelf-ſame delights are all free, ſafe, innocent, and warrantable before God and "man. And is it not better to truſt to a "good conſcience that fears no light, than "to commit wickedneſs in the dark, and "ſpend all your days in a reſtleſs dread of "being detected?"

Joſeph ſaid all this, and a great deal more, to try if it were poſſible to reduce his miſtreſs to ſobriety and reaſon. But all this was only adding more fuel to the fire; ſo that what could not be done by words, ſhe attempted by violence; catching hold of his garment, to force him to lewdneſs with her. But *Joſeph* had ſuch an indignation for this ſhameleſs woman, that he broke looſe from her, and ſo got out of the door, leaving his coat in her hand. She was at firſt miſerably diſtracted, but coming in an inſtant to a reſolution of outfacing the whole ſtory, and turning it upon *Joſeph*, by which means ſhe conſulted her ſecurity and revenge both in one, ſhe kept herſelf cloſe to her chamber, all in tears and trouble.

While ſhe was in this diſorder and confuſion, her huſband came in, who, taking notice of ſomewhat very extraordinary, enquired what might be the matter. "Alas, my "dear huſband," ſays ſhe, "you will not "deſerve to live, unleſs you make an example of this perfidious wretch your man. "He has forgotten what he was when you "took him into your houſe; how kindly

" and reſpectfully he has been treated here, " to a degree beyond his very hope as well " as his deſert; the charge of your whole " family is committed to him, the command " of the reſt of your ſervants, and the truſt " of all you have. What will you think of " this fellow now, who, in requital of all " your bounties, and good offices, could have " the impudence to offer at the violation of " your bed; and to take the opportunity of " this day of freedom, when you were out " of the way, to break in upon my privacy, " and preſs the enjoyment of his beaſtly " ends? What a countenance of modeſty " did this wretch put on for a blind to his " maſter, and not one grain of it in his na- " ture and diſpoſition! Nay, further, in " confirmation of all I have ſaid, here is his " garment which I laid hold on, when he " would have forced me, and which he " was fain to leave behind him in the " ſtruggle."

This plauſible ſtory, and the tears which went along with it, wrought ſo effectually upon the eaſy credulity and affection of *Potiphar*, that being thoroughly ſatisfied with the virtue of his wife, and reckoning himſelf as good as a witneſs of it, there was no need of examination, but all taken for granted, and his wife celebrated for a woman of a moſt inviolable unſpotted faith. This was enough to caſt *Joſeph* into the common gaol, among the moſt infamous malefactors.

CHAP. V.

Joſeph *falſely accuſed, is committed to Priſon, where he interprets ſeveral Dreams.*

JOſeph, in this condition, never troubled his head to make defences in his own vindication; but committed his innocence to the protection of the Almighty, and bearing his chains with patience, ſupported himſelf with this comfort, that the power of God, who knew the juſtice of his cauſe, was above that of his enemies, as it ſoon appeared in the following inſtance: for the keeper was ſo charmed with his candour and careful diligence in all he did, together with the comelineſs of his perſon, that he diſcharged him of his irons, and alſo allowed him a better entertainment than the reſt of his companions.

It was with *Joſeph* and his fellow priſoners, as it is commonly with other people in their condition. They had their times of talking and ſorting themſelves together, and would be naturally enquiring of one another what this and the other was in for. Upon this occaſion *Joſeph* contracted a familiarity with *Pharaoh*'s butler, a man much in the king's eſteem, though at that time, upon ſome unlucky diſſatisfaction, he was a priſoner there. This butler had a high opinion of *Joſeph*'s parts and underſtanding, and took the liberty to tell him of a dream he had, and to conſult him about the unriddling of it. "Methought I ſaw," ſays he, "three branches of a vine, and a bunch " of grapes upon every branch, all ripe and " ready to be gathered. I preſſed them " myſelf, methought, into a cup the king " had in his hand; after which I preſented " his majeſty with the wine, and he found " it excellent." This was his dream, and he deſired *Joſeph*, if he had any ſkill that way, to endeavour to give him an explication of it.

Joſeph ſpake a word of comfort to him, and bade him have a good heart, for, in three days time he ſhould be at liberty. The king had occaſion for him, and he ſhould have his place again. "The fruit of the "vine," ſays *Joſeph*, "is a gift of God, for "the uſe and comfort of mankind. God "accepts it himſelf in his ſacrifices; it cre-"ates friendſhips, compoſes differences, "diſſolves cares and melancholy, and turns "ſadneſs into joy. The king, you ſay, re-"ceived the cup and the wine from your "hand; this imports great good to you, "and intimates, that within as many days "as you ſaw branches, you may aſſure your-"ſelf of your deliverance. Now, when you "find this to be true, think of me, when "you yourſelf ſhall be in proſperity, and "do not forget thoſe you have left behind "you. I am not here a criminal, but on-"ly puniſhed for preferring the duty and "honour of my maſter before a brutal plea-"ſure." This interpretation could not but pleaſe the butler, and he waited chearfully for the event.

Pharaoh's chief baker was at that time in the ſame priſon; and finding ſo favourable an expoſition given of the butler's dream, he pleaſed himſelf in the hope of as fair an interpretation of a dream of his own, by conſulting *Joſeph*, as the butler had done before, for the unfolding of it. "Laſt "night," ſays he, "methought I had upon "my head three baſkets, two of bread, and "a third of fleſh and other delicacies for "the king's table; and the birds of the air "fell violently upon them, and devoured "them, notwithſtanding all I could do to "fright them away." *Joſeph* told him that he could not ſpeak ſo comfortable things to him as he wiſhed to do. "The two baſ-"kets," ſays he, "ſignify that you have "only two days to live; and that upon the "third your body is to be hanged up, and "expoſed to the fowls of the air, and there "is no poſſibility of avoiding it."

Every thing came to paſs as *Joſeph* had foretold; for, upon the preciſe day according to his prediction, the feſtival of *Pharaoh*'s birth-day, the king ordered the baker to be hanged up, and the butler to be reſtored to his office. When *Joſeph* had been two years a priſoner, and as a man utterly forgotten by the ungrateful butler, providence made uſe of this means for his deliverance. *Pharaoh* had two dreams in one night, and the viſion was expounded to him. He remembered the dreams, but forgot the interpretation of them any further than that they boded him no good. This ran ſo much in *Pharaoh*'s head, that he ſummoned a convocation of the moſt learned doctors of the *Ægyptians* to attend him early next morning, and to expound his viſions. They met and conſulted, but finding themſelves extremely puzzled, *Pharaoh* grew more out of humour than before. This affair brought the butler to bethink himſelf of *Joſeph* and of his ſkill in that way of conjecture. Upon this he went to the king, and told him of *Joſeph*, and a viſion of his own which he had expounded to him, while they were together in priſon; and for the greater authority of his predictions, that he himſelf was reſtored to his office, and the baker hanged, upon the very day he foretold; and that he was a *Hebrew*, and of no obſcure family. "You may be pleaſed," ſays the butler, "to ſend for him, without any ex-"ception to the preſent meanneſs of his "condition, for he will certainly inform "your majeſty in what you deſire to know." The king ordered him to be called immediately, and ſo the ſervants went and brought him.

Pharaoh treated the young man very reſpectfully, and, taking him by the hand, ſpake to him after this manner. "There "is a ſervant of mine," ſays he, "who "hath given you the character of a wiſe "man. He tells me you have a ſingular "talent in expounding dreams, and that "you unriddled one for him. Pray do as "much for me, and I ſhall take it very "kindly; but be ſure you make things nei-"ther more nor leſs than what they really "are, either for fear or favour, but ſpeak "the truth freely, whether it makes for me "or againſt me. I was walking, methought, "along the river, and I ſaw ſeven large "and well-fed cattle come out of it, and go towards a paſture; after which I ſaw ſeven lean ill-favoured beaſts coming from the paſture to the river; they met, methought, and the ſeven lean ones devoured the fat, and were never the fuller for it. After this viſion I waked; and while my thoughts were at work upon the nature of dreams, I doſed upon it, and dropping aſleep inſenſibly, had a more wonderful apparition than the former, which put me into great trouble. Methought I ſaw ſeven ears of corn ſprung from one root. They were ripe and ready to cut, and ſo heavy laden, that their heads bowed under their burden. Not far from this I ſaw ſeven ears, thin and blaſted; and theſe ſtarved ears, to my aſtoniſhment, devoured the other."

Joſeph upon this told the king, that theſe two dreams, how different ſoever in appearance, had but one and the ſame meaning. "The ox," ſays he, "is a creature deſigned by providence for labour and tillage. By the ſeven fat oxen, and the ſeven lean ones, and ſo by the ſeven plump ears of corn, and the ſeven blaſted ones, is intimated ſeven years of plenty to come in *Ægypt*; and after that ſeven more of famine: and by the lean oxen devouring the fat, and the blaſted ears of corn the full and plump ones, is given to underſtand, that the firſt ſeven years will not be ſufficient to ſupply the ſcarcity of ſeven more to come; which I take to be demonſtrated in this, that when the lean oxen had devoured the fat, they were not yet ſatisfied. So that moſt certainly the extremity will be very great. Now God doth not reveal his ſecret purpoſes to mankind, only to terrify and afflict them, but for a timely warning to them, that they may either provide againſt or prevent the worſt. So that if your majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to order the laying up of ſtores out of your abundance in the years of plenty, for a reſerve againſt the time of need, the following ſcarcity will be the leſs grievous."

The king ſtood in admiration at the ſagacity and wiſdom of *Joſeph*, and ſo demanded of him what courſe he would adviſe in the preſent caſe, for the obviating of thoſe difficulties to come. *Joſeph* propoſed a regulation of expences; for parſimony and the retrenching of ſuperfluities would go a great way in the work. He was of opinion alſo, for laying up magazines of corn in barns and elſewhere, to be delivered out by allowance, and no more to be diſtributed than what was abſolutely neceſſary both for bread and ſeed.

Pharaoh was as much delighted with *Joſeph*'s oeconomy, as with his ſkill in dreams; and, with great honour to his judgment and counſel, gave him full power and authority, as ſupervisor of all his ſtores, to put his project in execution, in ſuch ſort and manner as he himſelf ſhould judge meet for the ſervice of his maſter, and the good of the public. Upon the conferring of this commiſſion, the king delivered him his ſignet, and granted him the privileges of wearing purple, and riding in a chariot through all his dominions. *Joſeph* went now about his buſineſs, ſtoring up the corn wherever he came, and diſtributing among the huſbandmen only ſuch a proportion as might be barely ſufficient for their ſuſtenance, and to ſow their grounds, without telling any creature the reaſon of all this.

CHAP. VI.

The Adventures of Joſeph *and his Brethren, upon their coming into* Ægypt.

JOſeph was now thirty years of age, and ſo remarkably great in the king's favour, for his admirable wiſdom, that he gave him the name of *Pſonthomphanec*, which, in the *Ægyptian* tongue, ſignifies *the finder out of hidden things*.

He took to wife *Aſaneth*, the daughter of *Potiphar* *, high prieſt of *Heliopolis*, which was a match of the king's making, and a very great honour. He had two children by her before the famine. The elder *Manaſſes*, or *oblivion*, becouſe *Joſeph's* better fortune made him forget the worſe; and the younger *Ephraim*, or *reſtitution*, becauſe he was reinſtated in the freedom of his anceſtors.

Joſeph's ſeven years of plenty were now paſt, and in the eighth began the famine, according to his prediction. The calamity was a ſurprize, and brought huge multitudes of people into diſtreſs, flocking from all quarters about the king's gates. Whereupon *Joſeph* was preſently called, who took ſuch care for their relief, that, with one voice, they celebrated him as the ſaviour of the nation. The ſtores were not only open to the people of the country, but to foreigners alſo; *Joſeph* reckoning upon it that the univerſality of mankind are in truth all of a blood, and that it is the duty of every man in proſperity to aſſiſt his brethren in diſtreſs.

Now this miſery did not fall upon *Ægypt* alone, but ſeveral other provinces ſuffered under the like ſcarcity, and *Chanaan* in particular: ſo that *Jacob* being informed that ſtrangers were admitted to deal for corn in *Ægypt*, ſent all his ſons thither to buy proviſions, ſave only *Benjamin* the ſon of *Rachel*, and of the blood of *Joſeph*.

So ſoon as the ten brothers were come into *Ægypt*, they made their application to *Joſeph*, only for leave that they might have corn for their money. *Joſeph* knew his brothers at firſt ſight, though they knew not him; for alas! he was taken away young, and had now upon him the air and faſhion of quite another perſon; beſides, no body could have expected *Joſeph* either in that country, or in that poſt of authority.

Finding himſelf not known, and not ſo much as any ſuſpicion of him, *Joſeph* reſolved within himſelf, to make ſome trial of his brothers, to ſee how they ſtood inclined; and ſo he not only denied them corn, but charged them as ſpies, and criminals of ſtate. "My friends," ſays he, "you ſay you are "brothers, whereas, in truth, you are no "better than a cabal of conſpirators, and of "ſeveral nations too. How can any body "believe ſo many extraordinary perſons as "you undoubtedly are, to be only the ſons "of one private man, when hardly any "prince can boaſt of ſuch an iſſue."

Joſeph put this upon them to try if he could pump any thing concerning his father, and how affairs had gone in the family ſince his time, and what was become of his brother *Benjamin*, for he was greatly afraid they might have ſerved him as they would have done himſelf.

This put them all into a conſternation,

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* This *Potiphar*, who is here called a prieſt of *Heliopolis*, ſeems to have been the ſame perſon to whom *Joſeph* was ſold.

but ſomething muſt be ſaid however, and *Reuben*, in the name of the company, was the ſpeaker. "We are not come hither," ſays he, "to pry into matters of ſtate, or "attempt any thing upon the perſon of the "king, or the peace of his government. "It is pure want of bread which hath dri- "ven us hither; or I might ſay that your "humanity hath invited us, in granting the "freedom of your markets for corn to ſtran- "gers, as well as to your own people. "That we are one man's children may in "ſome meaſure be collected from the very "reſemblance of our faces, and it is true "we are ſo. Our father's name is *Jacob*, "by birth an *Hebrew*. There were twelve "ſons of us, whom he had by four women, "and ſo long as they all lived, things went "well enough with us; but one of the "number, whoſe name was *Joſeph*, being "taken away, we fell into misfortunes. "Our father lives ſtill a mourner for that "loſs, and his inconſolable ſorrows are no "leſs an affliction to us at this day than was "the untimely death of our deareſt brother. "We come hither, under your favour, to "buy corn, and in our abſence the care "of our good father is committed to our "youngeſt brother *Benjamin*. If it be ſtill "doubted whether we ſpeak truth or not, "it is but ſending a meſſenger to our father "to learn the certainty."

This was *Reuben*'s ſpeech for the ſatisfaction of *Joſeph*, and on the behalf of himſelf and his brothers. Now *Joſeph* finding that his father and brother were ſafe and well, commanded the brethren to be all taken into cuſtody, under pretence of calling them to a ſtricter account at better leiſure.

At three days end they were brought to him again. "Well," ſays *Joſeph*, "here "you affirm to me, that you are come hi- "ther without any malicious deſign upon "the government, and that you are all the "ſons of the ſame father *Jacob*. Now, for "the truth of all you ſay, you ſhall leave "one of your brethren with me as an ho- "ſtage, that when you ſhall have delivered "the corn to your father, you ſhall come "back again, and bring along with you the "other brother, whom you ſay you have "left behind. In the mean time your ho- "ſtage ſhall be well uſed. This, and no- "thing elſe, will convince me that you are "honeſt men."

Theſe words went to their hearts, for they fancied themſelves upon the very brink of ruin. They deplored their ill-hap, and were ſtill harping upon it, that all this was only a divine vengeance which purſued them for their barbarity to their poor brother. *Reuben* took them up ſhort for the vanity and folly of an unprofitable repentance; telling them frankly, that there was no remedy but patience under the judgment of a juſt God againſt a wicked brood of brothers. Theſe diſcourſes paſſed among themſelves, in confidence that no body there underſtood *Hebrew*. *Reuben* with this cutting liberty wounded them to the ſoul, lamenting one to another why they could not think of this in time, and their conſciences ſtill minding them that the wrath of God was fallen juſtly upon them. Theſe reflections put the brothers into ſuch a horror of deſperation and confuſion, that *Joſeph* was fain to withdraw, being no longer able to forbear weeping. After a little ſtay, he came in again, took *Simeon* for a pledge of their return, and gave them a licenſe for their corn; but a ſervant was ordered to convey the money they paid for it into their baggage privately, which being done, they departed.

Upon the return of *Jacob*'s ſons into *Chanaan*, they told their father the whole ſtory of their adventure in *Ægypt*, how they were taken up for ſpies, and could not be believed, either that they were all brethren, or that they had left another brother behind them, ſo that they were obliged to leave *Simeon* for a pledge that they ſhould come back again, and bring *Benjamin* with them to vouch what they ſaid; begging earneſtly of their father to let him go, without any further ſcruple. *Jacob* was not at all pleaſed with what they had done in leaving *Simeon*; but it went to the heart of him to think of parting with *Benjamin*, though *Reuben* offered to anſwer with the lives of his own children for the other's ſafety and return.

They were in a dreadful perplexity what to do, and nothing ſtumbled them more, than to find their money in their ſacks. But their proviſions waſting all this while, and their wants encreaſing, *Jacob* was half in the mind ſometimes to venture his ſon *Benjamin* with the reſt; for there was no thought of their ever returning to *Ægypt*, without keeping their conditions. Their neceſſities preſſed harder and harder upon them, and the brothers importunities were not wanting neither; but nothing could move *Jacob* yet, till, in the concluſion, *Judah*, a man of a bold and free ſpirit, took his father to taſk after another manner. "Methinks," ſays he, "you are a " little too ſolicitous for *Benjamin*. He muſt " ſubmit to the will of God, whether he be " at home or abroad; and we are all to be " delivered to a certain deſtruction in the " loſs of *Pharaoh*'s friendſhip, for fear of I " know not what that may befal our little " brother. But what will you ſay now if " the *Ægyptians* ſhould deſtroy *Simeon*, while " you are trifling away time about *Benjamin*. " Truſt God, and reſt aſſured, that I will " either periſh myſelf, or bring him ſafe " home again."

Jacob was at length prevailed upon, and delivered up the child, gave them double the price of the corn with them, and preſents of the fruits of the land of *Canaan* for the perſon they treated with, as balm, myrrh, turpentine, *&c.* and ſo with a flood of tears on both ſides, they tenderly parted; the father in a deſperate anxiety for fear he ſhould never ſee his ſons again, and the ſons in as miſerable diſtreſs for fear this very ſeparation ſhould be the death of the father. In the end *Jacob* betook himſelf to his ſolitude, and his eleven ſons proſecuted their journey.

So ſoon as they came into *Ægypt*, they addreſſed themſelves to *Joſeph*, not a little in pain for fear the money they found in their ſacks ſhould be charged upon them as a cheat. But upon laying the affair before *Joſeph*'s ſteward, and telling him how that finding their money in their ſacks, without knowing how it came there, they had now brought it back again to reſtore it, the ſteward anſwered them boldly, that he knew nothing of the buſineſs. Their hearts upon this were a little more at eaſe, eſpecially when they ſaw their brother *Simeon* at liberty.

Joſeph by this time was come from waiting upon the king, and while they were making their preſents, he fell to aſking them queſtions, as how their father did, and the like: They told him well. His fears for *Benjamin* were now over, for he ſaw him in the company, and aſked them again if that was the youngeſt of the brothers, and they told him yes; whereupon he ſaid no more than this, "God's providence is over all " things," and ſo went out, for the tears ſtood in his eyes. That evening he invited them to ſup with him, where he ranged them in the ſame order they uſed in their father's houſe, treating them all with exceeding courteſy, but *Benjamin*'s portion was double to any of the reſt.

After ſupper, when the company was retired, *Joſeph* ordered the meaſuring of their corn, and bade his ſteward put the money in their ſacks, as before, and to convey into *Benjamin*'s ſack a certain ſilver cup, which he himſelf had a particular fancy for. This he did to try whether they would ſtand by *Benjamin*, in caſe he ſhould be charged with the theft, or leave him in the lurch, and ſo return to their father without him. This was all done privately, and according to order.

By break of day the next morning, they ſet forward on their journey, not dreaming of any trick to be put upon them, and mightily pleaſed at the thought that they had got *Simeon* ſafe, and *Benjamin* ſo far on his way back again, according to their engagement. As they were travelling on, they found themſelves all on a ſudden ſurrounded by troops of horſe, and the ſervant among them who put the cup into the ſack. This ſurprize tranſported them into clamours and exclamations againſt the inhumanity of ſuch a practice from the ſame people who had but juſt now treated them with ſo much hoſpitality and honour. The *Ægyptians*, on the other hand, called them a pack of raſcals, for returning only injuries, where they had received ſo many civilities and benefits; but they ſhould pay for their thieving and roguery in time convenient. They might put ſhuffling tricks, they ſaid, upon the butler, but there was an all-ſeeing eye above, who would certainly find them out. They had brought matters now to ſuch a paſs that there was nothing to be expected but immediately to receive the juſt reward of their treachery.

At this inſolent rate they bluſtered and ſwaggered, but the ſervant above all the reſt; inſomuch that the poor wretches who were ignorant of the plot, took him to be no better than a madman. They were likely men indeed to pilfer, they cried, that, when ſomebody had put the corn-money into their ſacks again, had the honeſty to reſtore it, and nothing but their own conſciences to witneſs againſt them: but ſearching, they ſaid, would be more convincing than their denial, and ſo, without any more words, they offered up themſelves, bag and baggage, to the ſcrutiny, and, if any of them ſhould be found guilty, they were all willing to ſuffer for it; ſo ſecure did they reckon themſelves, in the confidence of their own innocence.

The *Ægyptians* took them at their words, and fell to ſearching: but heaven forbid, they cried, if any one of them ſhould be detected, the innocent ſhould ſuffer for the guilty. They took them in order, and ſo paſſed from one to another till they came at laſt to *Benjamin*. All the reſt were now ſafe and clear, and they made no doubt of finding him ſo too; only they grumbled at the importunity of theſe impertinent people who had now been ſuch a hindrance to them in their journey. Being come at laſt to *Benjamin*'s ſack, out came the ſilver cup. Upon this diſcovery they all brake into tears, extravagant actions, and paſſionate lamentations, tearing their garments, and crying out like men diſtracted their brother was undone. How ſhould they anſwer for him to his father! and then to miſcarry now, when they thought all was over! "It was "not for nothing," they ſaid, "that the "old man was ſo unwilling to part with "him, and we muſt be preſſing him to let "him go; ſo by this our father is ruined, "and the blame of it all muſt be laid at our "door."

The officers carried *Benjamin* away to *Joſeph*, and his companions went along with him. *Benjamin* being now a priſoner, and his brethren in ſo ſorrowful a plight, *Joſeph* looking upon them, reproached them in words to this purpoſe: "And is it ſo "then, you vileſt of men, that, without "any regard either to the good offices of "hoſpitality, or to the diſpenſations of divine providence, you ſhould put ſo ungrateful an affront upon your patron and "benefactor?" The brothers interpoſed their requeſts, that their lives might be accepted of in exchange for that of their unfortunate brother. They made frequent mention of *Joſeph*'s name, how happy it was for him that he was out of this miſerable life; or, if yet living, how much it was to his honour, that the ſevere vengeance of God ſhould be inflicted upon them for his ſake. They took the blame upon themſelves, as the authors and inſtruments of their father's afflictions, in reviving his old ſorrows with this new one; *Reuben* at every turn reproaching them with the execrable murder of their brother. *Joſeph*, as upon conſideration, told them at length, that truly for the innocent, as he did not think it fair to make one man bear the puniſhment of another man's tranſgreſſions, ſo neither did he find it reaſonable to diſcharge the offender at the inſtance of the guiltleſs, or to puniſh them all alike; "wherefore," ſays *Joſeph*, "you may return when you pleaſe, "and it ſhall be my care to provide you a "ſafe paſſage; and for your brother I ſhall

“ content myſelf with him alone for an example.”

Theſe words ſtruck them all dumb ſave only *Judah*, who was a man of wit and courage, and the only perſon who brought over *Jacob* to part with his ſon. This *Judah* took up a generous reſolution, upon this occaſion, of running any riſk to ſave him, as he had promiſed his father; and hereupon applied himſelf to *Joſeph* in theſe words: “We cannot but confeſs, moſt excellent governor, that the fact now in queſtion is a heinous tranſgreſſion, and a crime which deſerves puniſhment. The guilt, it is true, falls only upon one of us, and the youngeſt; but though we are not all in fault, we are all ready to ſuffer for it. As to the poor young man, we ſhould give him for loſt, if it were not for the confidence we have in your clemency and goodneſs. We muſt therefore appeal from the ſtrict conſideration of the fact, to the benignity of your own nature; and to your native tenderneſs from the heat of your indignation, anger being a paſſion only for narrow ſouls: and therefore we make no doubt but your virtue and moderation will ſet bounds to your diſpleaſure.

“You are now but to ſave thoſe whom you have fed for the very end of ſaving them; which end is loſt if you do not preſerve the lives you have given; and, in ſo doing we ſhall become your debtors not only for the neceſſaries of life, but for life itſelf. This occaſion looks as if God himſelf, for your greater glory, had furniſhed matter expreſly for your virtue to work upon; and that the world may ſee you are as merciful as liberal, and take more delight in doing good offices to others, than in revenging injuries done to yourſelf.

“It is not for the ſake of our own ſafety that I am thus ſolicitous, but from a ſenſe of the anxious tenderneſs of a father for a child, which I am the more ſenſible of, by the experience I have had of the violence of my father's paſſion upon the loſs of our dear brother *Joſeph*. We ſhould not think our own lives worth the ſtruggling for, were it not for the deplorable conſequences that our ruin would have upon our aged father when we are gone; ſaving that we have ſome ſort of ambition likewiſe to become indebted to your virtue, and to declare ourſelves the monuments of your fame and goodneſs. We do not beg for ourſelves, but for an ancient father, a perſon waſted with time and cares; and in his name only we implore your compaſſion upon his children, who have all forfeited their lives by this day's miſ-doing. He himſelf is undoubtedly a good man, and it is none of his fault if we are not ſo too. He has a thouſand griefs and terrors upon him at this day, for fear of us, and it were great pity ſo worthy a perſon ſhould ſuffer under ſo mortal a calamity. When he ſhall hear that we are dead, and upon what account, he muſt infallibly die likewiſe. The ſingle thought of the infamy, nay, the very rumour of it will kill him. We cannot deny, but that the crime is great, and your diſpleaſure juſt; but we may yet petition that the vengeance of it may not fall upon our innocent father, and that for his ſake you will be merciful to us. Conſider but our father in your own, and then in ours the common caſe of all fathers. There is ſomething ſacred in the very name of father, as being an appellation which God himſelf vouchſafes to aſſume; and God, the father of all, will certainly bleſs you and your poſterity for all the good you ſhall do under the honour of that common name, and on the behalf of a father, who otherwiſe muſt be left childleſs. Our lives are in your hand, and it is at your choice either to give or take; the one you may do with juſtice, and the other will be an act of grace; and, having both indifferently in your power, you may grant the latter, in imitation of God himſelf, without putting the other to the ſtreſs; and employ your prerogative for the good and preſervation of mankind. In preſerving our brother you preſerve us all; for upon his ſafety depends ours, and we are never to ſee our father again without him; ſo that whatever he ſuffers we muſt ſuffer likewiſe. Neither have we, moſt illuſtrious governor, any thing more to crave, if we cannot obtain this, than that we may all be joined in the ſame puniſhment, as if we had been accomplices in the fact; which will be much eaſier to us than to be forced by an inſupportable deſpair to lay violent hands upon ourſelves.

"But, to come to a concluſion, if we are condemned for want of a competent defence, the blame muſt lie at my door; if acquitted, we ſhall aſcribe it wholly to your generoſity and goodneſs; adding this further to your honour, that in ſaving of us you give us a new life, and conſult better for us than we could do for ourſelves: But if it ſhall yet be found abſolutely neceſſary that ſomewhat be done for the ſatisfaction of a rigorous juſtice, I moſt earneſtly beſeech you to accept of me in place of my brother, that I may abide his puniſhment, and the young man be ſent away to his father: or if the ſentence ſhould be ſlavery, my body may be able to do you the better ſervice of the two; and I am equally ready to ſubmit either to the one or the other.*"

When *Judah* had ſaid and offered all that was poſſible toward the pacifying of the governor, and the eaſing of his brother, he threw himſelf at *Joſeph*'s feet, and all the reſt after him, in a joint ſupplication for *Benjamin*.

Joſeph, by this time, found himſelf in ſuch a confuſion betwixt tenderneſs and natural affection, that he could no longer act the part of an angry judge, but ordered his people to withdraw, that he might make himſelf known to his brethren, without any witneſſes to the greeting. When he had them by themſelves, he made a diſcourſe to them to this effect: "I cannot," ſays he, "but be exceedingly delighted to find you ſo friendly and compaſſionate to your brother, which I was a little doubtful of, conſidering ſome paſt circumſtances in my own caſe which were not ſo good-natured. It was my end in what I have now done, to make ſome trial of your brotherly love upon this occaſion. which I have now received ſo fair a proof of, that I cannot impute any thing you ever did againſt me to malice; but the hand of God was in it, whoſe providence hath now made uſe of that action as the means of a preſent comfort to you, in giving us the hope of greater bleſſings yet to come, by the continuance of God's favour and protection. But ſince I am now come to underſtand that my father is in ſuch a ſtate as I could better wiſh than expect, and my brothers the tender men which they ought to be, all paſt injuries are as if they had never been; and I am rather to give you my thanks, as the inſtrument of divine providence for our common advantage, than to put you in mind of any thing of old date, which at that time perhaps carried a countenance of evil; and pray let thoſe things be forgotten on your part likewiſe, and ſet your hearts at reſt, without diſcompoſing yourſelves for errors not to be recalled, ſince it hath pleaſed God to bring good out of evil. Go your ways back therefore to your father, with all joy and comfort, and tell him the wonderful things God hath done for you. Go, and diſpatch, for fear of any ill accident his grief and apprehenſion may bring upon him before you ſee him, which would utterly blaſt all the hopes I have of happineſs, both in the ſight of him, and in an enjoyment with him of all the bleſſings which I am poſſeſſed of. Wherefore be gone, and make haſte back again, and

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* It would appear from this ſpeech, that death was the puniſhment of theft in *Ægypt*, in the days of *Joſeph*, though it never was ſo among the *Jews*.

“ bring my father, your wives, children, and all your kindred along with you, for I ſhould be loth to have my deareſt friends at ſuch a diſtance from me when there are five years of famine yet to come.”

With theſe words *Joſeph* embraced his brothers, who burſt out into tears and lamentations, reflecting upon their wicked practices againſt him; but nothing went nearer to their hearts than to conſider how baſely they had dealt with ſo worthy a brother.

When the king came to underſtand that *Joſeph's* brothers were come, the news was as welcome to him as if ſome great good fortune had befallen him, inſomuch that he ordered waggons with corn, gold, and ſilver to be ſent, and preſents for their father, beſides what *Joſeph* gave them, ſome for the father, ſome for the brothers themſelves, but the beſt of all for *Benjamin*, and ſo they returned.

CHAP. VII.

Jacob *hearing how* Joſeph *lived in* Ægypt, *gives him a Viſit there with his whole Family.*

UPON the arrival of *Jacob's* ſons with their father, they told him the whole hiſtory of *Joſeph's* adventures, how he was not only living, but in great power and ſplendor, *Pharaoh's* firſt miniſter, and, next to the king himſelf, the moſt eminent perſon in his dominions. *Jacob* made no difficulty of believing what was told him, but entered into a contemplation of God's infinite grace and favour to him, (the late dark interval only excepted) and ſo without any delay, he and his people haſtened away to *Joſeph*.

When *Jacob* came to the well called *the well of the oath*, he offered up a ſacrifice, but ſomewhat uneaſy within himſelf, for fear the plenty of *Ægypt* ſhould debauch his ſons, and tempt them to plant there, and ſo divert his poſterity from returning to *Canaan*, and the land which God had promiſed him. He had ſome ſcruple too, leſt God ſhould ſtrike him and his people with ſome judicial calamity, even for undertaking the preſent journey, without imploring counſel and direction from above; or what if he himſelf ſhould die before he came to *Joſeph?* As he lay drouſing with theſe thoughts in his head he fell faſt aſleep; and God appeared to him in a viſion, calling him twice by his name. *Jacob* aſked who was there, and the viſion made him this anſwer. “Haſt thou forgotten thy God then *Jacob*, the God of thy forefathers who never failed either them or their poſterity in a time of need? that God who made you the head of your family, againſt your father's liking; and, when you went into *Meſopotamia*, bleſſed you with an advantageous match, and brought you back again full of wealth and children? that God who hath ſtill been the protector and guardian of your family, and advanced your ſon *Joſeph*, whom you gave for loſt, to a degree of honour next to the king in *Ægypt?* I am now coming to be your guide in your preſent journey, and to foretell you that you ſhall end your days in the arms of *Joſeph*; that your poſterity ſhall be powerful and famous for many ages, and come at laſt to the land promiſed them.”

Jacob, in the ſtrength of this viſion, marched chearfully on toward *Ægypt* himſelf, and his people, to the number of ſeventy perſons. Their names are a little uncouth, and I ſhould have paſſed them over, but for the ſatisfaction of thoſe people who will have us to be *Ægyptians*, and not *Meſopotamians*.

Jacob had twelve ſons. *Joſeph* being gone away before, we ſhall only give an account now of the reſt ſeverally, and of their iſſue.

Reuben had four ſons; *Hanoch*, *Phallu*, *Aſſaron*, and *Charmi*.

Simeon had ſix ſons; *Jamuel*, *Jamin*, *Ohad*, *Jachin*, *Zoar*, and *Shaul*.

Levi had three ſons; *Gerſhon*, *Chaath*, and *Merari*.

Judah had three ſons; *Salah*, *Phares*, and *Zarah*.

Phares had two ſons; *Eſron* and *Amyr*.

Iſſachar had four ſons; *Thulas*, *Phuas*, *Jaſob*, and *Samaran*.

Zabulun had three ſons; *Sarad*, *Elon*, and *Jalel*.

Jacob had theſe children by *Leah*, who carried with her her daughter *Dinah*; and all theſe together amount to the number of thirty-three perſons.

Jacob had over and above by *Rachel*, *Joſeph* and *Benjamin*.

Joſeph had two ſons; *Manaſſes* and *Ephraim*.

Benjamin had ten ſons; *Bolau*, *Baccharis*, *Aſabel*, *Gera*, *Naaman*, *Ies*, *Ros*, *Momphis*, *Opphis*, and *Arad*.

Theſe fourteen perſons added to the other thirty-three, make the number of forty-ſeven.

Theſe were all *Jacob*'s legitimate ſons, beſides *Dan* and *Nephthali*, which he had by *Bilhah*.

Dan had but one ſon, and he called him *Uſis*.

Nephthali had four ſons; *Jeſel*, *Guni*, *Iſſares*, and *Sellim*.

Theſe added to thoſe above make the number up fifty-four.

Jacob had alſo two ſons by *Zilpah*; *Gad* and *Aſſer*.

Gad had ſeven ſons; *Saphonias*, *Augis*, *Sunis*, *Azabon*, *Aerin*, *Eroed*, and *Ariel*.

Aſſer had one daughter, *Sarah*, and ſix ſons; *Jomnes*, *Iſus*, *Iſuis*, *Baris*, *Abar*, and *Melchiel*.

Now theſe fifteen, added to the other fifty-four, make the preciſe number of ſeventy, as is ſaid before, without compriſing *Jacob*.

As they were advancing upon the way, *Judah* went before with the intelligence to *Joſeph*, that *Jacob* was coming, who preſently ſet out to receive him, and they met at a place called *Heropolis*. *Jacob*, with pure joy, fell into ſuch a rapture, that they had much ado to keep him alive; and *Joſeph*'s ſurprize was not much leſs: But this did not hinder him from taking care of his father, being the weaker of the two.

After this he took five of his brethren along with him, and poſted away to the king with the tidings of their arrival, ordering the reſt to advance by eaſy journeys. The king was very glad of the news, and enquired of *Joſeph* what buſineſs or profeſſion they chiefly applied themſelves to. *Joſeph* anſwered, that their employment was wholly paſtoral, and that they minded little elſe. He gave this anſwer for two reaſons: firſt, to keep them together, that they might be within diſtance of helping their father; and ſecondly, to prevent ſtrife and emulation with the *Ægyptians*, by interfering with any of their commiſſions; for theſe people were not allowed to concern themſelves in flocks and paſtures.

Jacob, upon his arrival, was carried to the king, who aſking him his age, he told him a hundred and thirty; and he ſaid further, ſeeing him in ſome wonder at it, that his anceſtors commonly lived a great while longer; ſo the king appointed *Jacob* and his ſons to go and live in *Heliopolis*, where the king had his own flocks and ſhepherds.

Te famine at this time encreaſed grievouſly in *Ægypt*. The courſe of the *Nile* was ſtopped, which uſed to water the country and make it fruitful; no rain at all; and the generality of the people, for want of foreſight, utterly without ſtores, and no grain to be had but for ready money; and when that failed, they dealt with land, cattle, and ſlaves, in exchange for corn. By this means all came into the king's hands, while the miſerable multitude went ſome one way and ſome another, ſubmitting to any miſery rather than ſtarving. Only the prieſts preſerved their freedom entire, and likewiſe their eſtates.

Upon the return of the *Nile* to its uſual ſtate, and the clouds to their proper office of watering and refreſhing the earth, the famine began by degrees to abate, and every thing to return to the condition it was in before. *Joſeph* hereupon viſited all the cities and towns, called the people together, and put them into poſſeſſion of their lands again, which they had parted with to the king, reſerving a fifth part of the profits of them as a duty to his majeſty [*]; charging them to be as good huſbands for the king as they would for themſelves, if the grounds were entirely their own. The men were ſo ſurpriſed with joy at this unlooked for reſtitution, that they fell preſently to work upon tillage and improvement. This magnanimous piece of juſtice did mightily advance *Joſeph*'s intereſt and authority both with king and people. And, after this conceſſion, the aforeſaid fifth part was ſettled by an act of ſtate upon the crown forever.

CHAP. VIII.

The Death of Jacob *and of* Joſeph.

WHEN *Jacob* had been ſeventeen years in *Ægypt*, he departed this life in the arms of his children, wiſhing them plenty and proſperity, and foretelling them that their iſſue ſhould in time to come poſſeſs part of the land of *Canaan*, which came afterwards to paſs. He mightily recommended to them the generoſity of *Joſeph*, in returning only friendſhip and benefits, for the moſt provoking of injuries; and expreſſing more tenderneſs for his mortal enemies, than was uſual with others to the beſt of friends. Wherefore he laid his commands upon them to receive *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*, *Joſeph*'s children, into their number, when they ſhould come to ſhare the land of *Canaan*; but of this hereafter: deſiring them at laſt, that his body might be buried in *Hebron*. He died at the age of a hundred and forty-ſeven, not inferior for piety and virtue to any of his predeceſſors, and, by the goodneſs of God, he was crowned with all ſorts of bleſſings.

Joſeph, with the king's leave, cauſed his body to be tranſported to *Hebron*, where it was magnificently buried. But the ſolemnity being over, the brothers made a great difficulty of going back again, for fear of a revenge from *Joſeph*, now the father was dead, and none left who could interpoſe to hinder miſchief; but *Joſeph* quieted that ſcruple, and ſo got them back with him again, beſtowing upon them large poſſeſſions, and upon all occaſions treating them with the moſt generous and brotherly affection imaginable.

After this *Joſeph* alſo died, aged a hundred and ten years, a man of an exact and punctual virtue, of a wonderful practical prudence, and one who made ſo modeſt a uſe of his power, that no calumny would ſtick to him, no, not ſo much as that of *Potiphar*'s wiſe. In fine, he maſtered all difficulties, and was advanced to the higheſt ſtation in the government, and no man either to envy or beſpatter him.

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[*] It would rather ſeem that the land was now conſidered as *Pharaoh*'s and this fifth part as its rent, to be paid to him as their landlord.

The reſt of the brethren lived and died happily in *Ægypt*, and their bodies were afterwards tranſported by their poſterity to *Hebron*, and there interred. The bones of *Joſeph* were carried laſt of all out of *Ægypt* into *Canaan*, according to his own appointment, at the time when the *Hebrews* went away out of the country into the land which God had promiſed them.

CHAP. IX.

The Slavery of the Hebrews. *The Birth and Preſervation of* Moſes, *by the means of* Pharaoh'*s Daughter*.

THE *Ægyptians* are naturally a peeviſh lazy ſort of people, abandoned to their pleaſures, and their very ſouls ſet upon their profit, let it come which way it will; ſo that it was no wonder they ſhould caſt an envious eye upon the *Hebrews*, whom they found juſt their reverſe, a laborious induſtrious people, abounding in men and treaſure; a people, in ſhort, whoſe happineſs they were not able to bear; beſides a jealouſy they had, that their encreaſe in wealth and number might make them dangerous.

Joſeph's old ſervices being now forgotten, and the government of *Ægypt* tranſlated into other hands, the *Iſraelites* were no longer treated as friends, but as ſlaves; for all ſervile and coarſe offices of drudgery fell to their ſhare, even to the degree of putting their wits to work, to find out new ways of vexation and oppreſſion. They put them to the draining of rivers into channels, walling of towns, caſting up of dikes and banks to keep off inundations; nay, the erecting of phantaſtical pyramids; forcing them upon learning ſeveral painful trades, and tying them up to a perpetual reſtleſsneſs of labour. This was their life for four hundred years. The *Ægyptians*, on the one hand, making it their deſign to work the generality to death, and totally to deſtroy them; while the *Iſraelites*, on the other hand, patiently made the beſt of their misfortunes in all difficulties.

While the *Ægyptians* were thus intent upon the deſtroying of them, there went a diſcourſe about, which made their malice ſo implacable againſt them, that they reſolved to root them out from off the face of the earth. There was a certain ſcribe, as they called him, a man in great credit for his predictions, who told the king that there was a *Hebrew* child to be born about that time, who would be a ſcourge to the *Ægyptians*, and advance the glory of his own nation; and, if he lived to grow up, he would be a man eminent for virtue and courage, and make his name famous to poſterity. This ſo ſtartled the king, that, by the counſel of the ſcribe, he ordered the *Ægyptian* midwives carefully and ſtrictly to attend the labours of all the *Hebrew* women, preſerving the females, and caſting the males into the river. He committed this truſt to the *Ægyptians*, as the leaſt likely to be partial, upon pain of death to thoſe who ſhould preſume to conceal any child, or act contrary to this command.

The barbarity of this bloody decree appeared ſeveral ways: Firſt, as it deprived ſo many parents of their children; Secondly, as it made thoſe very parents acceſſary to the murder of their own iſſue: And then again, as they had in proſpect an utter extinction of the whole race, for want of males to continue it. They were now brought to the laſt extremity: But there is no oppoſing craft and violence to God's will and providence; for this child which the ſcribe had foretold of was brought up privately and ſafe, in deſpite of all precautions, and lived to make good the ſcribe's predictions. The affair was carried thus:

There was one *Amram*, a *Hebrew*, a man of eminent quality and credit, who found himſelf in a great ſtreight upon this decree, both public and private; one way, out of a reſpect to the whole nation, which was to be exterminated by it; the other, in regard to his own particular concern, for his wife was then with child. In this diſtreſs of ſorrow, he offered up a prayer to almighty God, that he would look down in pity upon a people who had never departed from his worſhip; that he would guide and protect them, and, in his good time, put an end to a calamity which ſtruck at no leſs than the rooting out of the whole ſtock.

His prayer was heard, and God appeared to him in a dream, telling him, that, as he had not forgotten the piety of his predeceſſors, ſo neither would he fail to reward them at he had done their anceſtors; encouraging *Amram* to hope for better things. "It was I," ſaid the viſion, "who made " you ſo mighty a nation from ſo ſmall a " beginning; who brought *Abraham*, in his " own ſingle perſon, out of *Meſopotamia* into *Canaan*, and, beſides other bleſſings, " gave him children by a woman, who, " according to the courſe of nature, was paſt " child-bearing, and left vaſt poſſeſſions to " thoſe who came after him; to *Iſhmael* the " country of *Arabia*, *Troglodytis* to the children of *Cheturah*, and to *Iſaac* the land " of *Canaan*. You cannot, without extreme " wickedneſs and ingratitude, forget the " glory and ſucceſſes of all your exploits, " when I fought your battles; and my bleſſings upon *Jacob* and his poſterity, who, " of ſeventy perſons only who came into " *Ægypt*, are at preſent multiplied to ſix " hundred thouſand."

The viſion alſo aſſured him that he would provide for the common good of them all, and for himſelf in particular; for the child which the *Ægyptians* ſtood ſo much in dread of, and for whoſe ſake all the *Hebrew* males were to be put to death; that child, the viſion ſaid, ſhould be born to him, come happily into the world, eſcape all ſpies, have an education provided for him, beyond what could be expected, and in good time deliver the *Iſraelites* from their *Ægyptian* bondage, and make his name glorious to poſterity. "This, and more," ſays the viſion, "will I do for you and yours; and he " ſhall have a brother, whom I will honour " with the high-prieſthood, and it ſhall deſcend from him to his heirs for ever."

Amram, upon waking, gave his wife *Jochabel* the hiſtory of this viſion, and the diſcourſe put them both in great perplexity what to think of it: for they were now not only ſolicitous for the preſervation of the child, but to the higheſt degree incredulous of the wonderful good things which were to come to paſs. But after a while *Jochabel* fell in labour, and her pains ſo ſhort and eaſy, that all was over before the *Ægyptian* midwives could take notice of it, by which providence they were brought to have more faith in the viſion.

After the child had been kept cloſe three months, *Amram*, at laſt, for fear of a diſcovery, which would deſtroy father, mother, and child all at once, and likewiſe diſappoint the prediction, determined to leave all to providence; reaſoning upon it after this manner. If the child could be concealed, as it was very difficult to do it, and very hazardous to attempt it, they muſt lie in danger every moment; but as to the power and veracity of God, they made no doubt of it, or of his ability to ſave them; ſo that whatever he had promiſed, he would certainly make good.

Upon this diſcourſe they came to a reſolution, and framed a little baſket of bulruſhes, large enough for their purpoſe, twiſted them together, pitched the joints, and when they had made it tight, and dreſſed it to hold out water, they put in the child, and ſo committed it to God's merciful protection. In this manner it was ſet afloat, and the ſtream carried it along. *Mariam*, the child's ſiſter, was ſent by her mother's order to watch it on the other ſide of the river, and ſee what became of it.

This may ſerve to convince the world, that it is not for human wiſdom to think of defeating the will and pleaſure of the Almighty; and to inſtruct us, that they who, for their own intereſt or ſecurity, meditate miſchief to other men, though with never ſo much art and addreſs, ſhall probably meet with many diſappointments in the end: As they, on the other hand, who chearfully reſign up themſelves to the good pleaſure of God, ſhall find relief even by a miracle, where ordinary means fail; as in the caſe of this innocent child.

Thermuthis, the king's daughter, was at this time taking the air upon the bank of the *Nile*, and happening to ſee ſomewhat paſs floating along the current, ſhe ſent out ſome ſwimmers to bring it aſhore; and what ſhould it be, but a fair goodly child, expoſed in a kind of cradle or baſket, which the princeſs was exceedingly delighted with. Such was the grace of God to *Moſes*, that he was preſerved, brought up, and provided for, by thoſe very perſons who were in the deſign of cutting off the whole race of the *Hebrews* for his ſake. *Thermuthis* ordered ſome woman to be called to give it ſuck; but ſeveral being brought and tried, one after another, the child turned away with ſuch an averſion, that they could not make it take the breaſt. *Mariam* being there preſent, ſeemingly more out of curioſity or by chance than any thing of buſineſs, ſhe told the princeſs that this would never do; "for," ſays ſhe, "if this child be of one country, "and the nurſe of another, it is poſſible the "milk of a ſtranger will not agree with it; "but if there was ever a *Hebrew* woman, "the child would perhaps allow her to ſuckle it." That which *Mariam* ſaid ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that the princeſs ordered her to try if ſhe could get ſuch a nurſe herſelf.

She went away preſently to look after one, and in a ſhort time brought the mother herſelf (whom no body there knew) to make the experiment. She had no ſooner offered it the pap, but the child fell to drawing it as greedily as could be; and the princeſs obſerving it, deſired *Jochabel* to take charge of the infant, which ſhe accepted of. The child had a name given him according to the event of the providence; and it was called *Mo-Yſes; Mo*, in *Ægyptian*, ſignifying *water*, and *Yſes* as much as *preſerved;* ſo that putting them together, *Mo Yſes* is as much as *preſerved out of the water.* This *Moſes* was the ſixth generation from *Abraham; Amram* his father being the ſon of *Chaath*, the ſon of *Levi*, the ſon of *Jacob*, the ſon of *Iſaac*, who was the ſon of *Abraham.*

As he grew up he ſhewed a pregnancy of underſtanding much above thoſe of his years. Nay, the very gravity of his ſports and plays was not without ſomewhat ſerious and inſtructive in it; doing every thing with ſuch a grace, that, in his very childhood he gave the world to underſtand what might be expected from him in time to come. After three years of age, he came to be ſuch a miracle of a child for beauty and comelineſs, that people would ſtand gazing at him with delight and admiration, and his way was ſo charming, that it wrought upon the moſt unſociable of men.

In fine, *Thermuthis*, out of a pure affection to the child, and wanting iſſue of her own, took a reſolution of adopting him for her ſon, carried him to her father, and told him that ſhe came to preſent him with a ſucceſſor, in caſe he ſhould want one. "This," ſays ſhe, "is the ſweeteſt towardly child that ever was born. I have "brought it up myſelf, and it was the "bounty of the river *Nile* which delivered

“ it into my arms. This child I intend to “ adopt, and make you a preſent of it for “ your ſucceſſor.” With theſe words ſhe gave the child into the hands of her father.

The king received him, and, with an affectionate tenderneſs, preſſed him to his boſom; took off his crown, to gratify his daughter, and placed it upon the child's head, who wantonly turning it up and down, the crown fell the ground, the child, after that, trampling upon it with his feet. This paſſage was looked upon as an ill omen to the king and his government; inſomuch that the ſcribe, who was then at hand, bawled out to have the boy killed; “ for “ this is the child I foretold you would be “ the deſtruction of *Ægypt*, and he has now “ confirmed the prophecy, by the affront “ he has now put upon your government, “ in treading your crown under his feet. “ This is he, in fine, by whoſe death alone “ you can promiſe yourſelves to be ſecure. “ Take him but away once, and the *Hebrews* “ have nothing more to hope for, nor the “ *Ægyptians* to fear.”

Thermuthis, upon this outcry, took him inſtantly away, without any oppoſition from the king, it being God's will, for the good of *Moſes*, that he ſhould not heed it. The princeſs gave him all the advantages of a generous and polite education, which put the *Hebrews* in hope of ſome great good which was to betide them. The *Ægyptians* on the other hand were as jealous of miſchief; but having no proſpect of any ſucceſſor to the crown whom they could hope to be much better for, the bloody deſign fell to the ground.

CHAP. X.

The War of Moſes *with the* Ethiopians *.

THUS was *Moſes* born and brought up; and ſtill as he advanced farther into the world, he gave every day more and more proofs of his character and courage, and of what conſequence his valour and conduct might be, either to his friends or his enemies. As for example:

The *Ethiopians* made an inroad upon the borders of *Ægypt*, rifling and ſpoiling that part of the country. The *Ægyptians* marched out againſt them, with an army, to take their revenge. It came to a battle, and the *Ægyptians* were routed. The *Ethiopians* followed the blow ſo cloſe, that they were in hopes of over-running the whole country. They burnt and ravaged without controul, took booty in abundance, and carried all before them without reſiſtance; inſomuch, that they marched to *Memphis* itſelf, and ſo to the ſea, without oppoſition. The *Ægyptians* were hard preſſed; and, in this extremity, had recourſe to their divines and oracles what they had beſt do. The anſwer was, that they ſhould call in a certain *Hebrew* to their aſſiſtance.

Upon this the king tells his daughter, that he was reſolved to levy an army againſt the *Ethiopians* upon this occaſion, and to have *Moſes* in the head of it. The princeſs promiſed to do her part toward engaging him, as a thing of great importance to her father's ſervice; but binding him under a ſacred oath before-hand, that no malicious practice ſhould be attempted upon the perſon of *Moſes*; caſting it in the teeth of the prieſts, how great a ſhame it was, firſt to contrive and adviſe the death of him, and then moſt wretchedly to implore his friendſhip.

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* We have no account of this war in Sacred Writ; though it may be ſuppoſed that St. *Stephen* refers to this, when he ſays that *Moſes* was not only “ learned in all the wiſdom of the *Ægyptians*,” but alſo “ mighty in words “ and in deeds.” *Acts* vii. 22.

Moſes was eaſily prevailed upon, both by *Thermuthis* and the king, to undertake this commiſſion, which was highly pleaſing to the holy men of both ſides likewiſe. The *Ægyptians* flattered themſelves firſt with the hope of victory under his conduct, and then with the likelihood of an opportunity, when their work was done, to deſtroy *Moſes*. The *Hebrews*, on the other hand, delighted themſelves with the thought, that under the command of ſo great a general, they might one day find themſelves in a condition to ſhake off the *Ægyptian* yoke. *Moſes* bethought himſelf upon this expedition how he might come to attack the enemy at unawares. The paſſage over land was horribly infeſted with ſerpents, many of them fierce and venomous, terrible to the very ſight, and ſeveral ſorts among them which are not to be found any where elſe; ſome with wings, who lie upon the catch, and are as dangerous in the air as upon the ground.

This way was ſo deadly hazardous, that all people were againſt the venturing of an army through it; ſo for that very reaſon, he rather choſe the inland paſſage than by the *Nile*; and this he did upon a true judgment of the reaſon of the thing. *Moſes* was only in the firſt place to provide againſt the perils of this deſperate paſſage, which he did by this wonderful ſtratagem. The bird *Ibis* is a mortal enemy to all ſorts of ſerpents, and they fly from the purſuit of it, but are frequently overtaken and devoured. This bird is only fierce to thoſe ſerpents, and gentle to all other creatures. Now *Moſes*'s invention, to ſecure his army againſt thoſe creatures, was to carry with him ſo many of theſe birds in cages of bulruſhes to clear the way for him.

Moſes was no ſooner advanced to this dangerous quarter, but he let looſe his birds upon the ſerpents, as againſt ſo many enemies, and, under their protection, went forward, without any harm or interruption. By puſhing hard to overtake the *Ethiopians*, he came up with them before they were aware, fought, and defeated them; and having cut off their retreat into *Ægypt*, he forced them back again to their own home, deſtroying a great many of their towns and cities, and committing terrible ſlaughter among their people.

This victory of *Moſes* put new life into the *Ægyptians*, while the *Ethiopians*, on the other hand, had nothing but death, deſtruction, and ſlavery before their eyes. They were at laſt driven into *Saba*, the metropolis of *Ethiopia*, which *Cambyſes* afterwards called by the name of *Meroe*, having a ſiſter of that name. *Moſes* ſat down before this place, though in all appearance impregnable, being ſurrounded by the *Nile*, and two other rivers, *Aſtapus* and *Aſtabora*, falling in to ſtrengthen it, which made the paſſage ſo much the more difficult; beſides ſtanding in an iſland, and being encompaſſed about with a ſtrong wall, it was likewiſe fortified with ramparts, and other works of defence, to ſecure it from any attacks or inundations.

Moſes was not at all pleaſed with the ſiege, for the army lay idle, and there was no forcing the enemy to blows: But while this paſſed, there happened a very extraordinary encounter. The King of *Ethiopia* had a daughter called *Tharbis*, who had the fortune once to ſee and obſerve *Moſes* with his ſword in his hand, behaving himſelf with great bravery under the walls of the town. She was ſo infinitely taken with the courage and action of the man, looking upon him alſo as the balance of the two kingdoms, having recovered the *Ægyptians* when they were at the loweſt, and, at the ſame time, humbled the *Ethiopians* in the very height of their victories; that upon all this together, the princeſs fell violently in love with him; and her affection ſtill growing upon her more and more, ſhe broke her mind at laſt to ſome particular confidents ſhe had, and ſent them over to *Moſes* to offer herſelf in marriage to him. *Moſes* agreed to it, but upon this condition, which was ratified with an oath, that upon delivering up the city the marriage ſhould be conſummated, and it was ſcarce ſooner ſaid than done: But there was great ſlaughter made however of the enemy. They had now only to give God thanks, and celebrate the nuptials, which being done, the army of the *Ægyptians* went home victorious.

CHAP. XI.

The ungrateful Ægyptians *practiſe againſt the Life of* Moſes, *who flies from* Ægypt *to* Madian.

BUT ſo far were theſe ungrateful wretches from acknowledging the benefits they had received from their deliverer and preſerver, that they returned him only a mortal jealouſy and hatred, extending even to foul practices againſt his perſon. They were afraid the reputation and intereſt he had acquired by his mighty atchievements, might perhaps put him in a condition to ſet up for himſelf; and ſo to give a ſtop to his career, they exhibited an information of murder againſt him, which the king himſelf was well enough content to entertain, partly out of envy at the fame of his valour and wiſdom, and partly for fear of that deſtruction, which the prieſts and ſcribes were ſtill buzzing in his ears; for they never left ſpurring him on to miſchief, till, in concluſion, they brought the king himſelf into the plot.

Moſes, in fine, was certainly deſigned for death, and he eſcaped it ſo narrowly, that if by providence he had not got ſome inkling of the deſign juſt when he did, and in that inſtant ſlipped out of the way, he had undoubtedly periſhed. He heard the ways were laid, and therefore he was forced to take his flight through a deſart, where he might reaſonably preſume no body would look after him. He went his way, without finding any thing to eat upon his journey, ſo there was no remedy for hunger but patience.

In this condition he paſſed travelling forward, till he came about noon within a little of *Madian*, a city upon the coaſt of the red ſea, which took its name from one of the ſons of *Abraham* by *Chetura*. He was now come within ſight of the town, and he ſat down by a fountain, there to refreſh and reſt himſelf. In this place there happened an accident which took its riſe from ſomewhat of the cuſtom of the country, and it gave *Moſes* an occaſion not only of ſhewing his reſolution and juſtice, but, as it fell out, of making his fortune alſo.

Water is ſo ſcarce in that country, that happy is the ſhepherd who can get firſt in the morning to the fountain, before it be drawn dry, and not enough left for his cattle. At this time there ſtood by the fountain ſeven maiden ſiſters, the daughters of *Raguel*, a prieſt, and a perſon of great reputation in that quarter. Theſe maids had their father's flocks under their care, (which is commonly the womens buſineſs among the *Troglodites*), and when they had taken their proportion, they emptied it into troughs, the better to divide it among their ſheep; but ſome ſhepherds coming up at the ſame time, they forced the virgins away from their ſtation, and went to take the water to themſelves. This was ſo brutal and ſo unmanly an indignity to be put upon women, that *Moſes* had no patience either for the men who offered the injury, or for the injuſtice itſelf: ſo he drove the ſhepherds away, and helped the virgins, as it well became him to do.

The daughters had ſo generous a ſenſe of this civility, that, upon returning to their father, they gave him the whole ſtory, both of the ſhepherds rudeneſs, and of the ſtranger's courteſy, and requeſted their father, that he would be pleaſed to take ſome notice of the favour they had received. The good nature of the daughters was ſo highly approved by the father, that he commanded them to bring the ſtranger to his houſe, that he might make him ſome acknowledgment ſuitable to his deſert. *Moſes* being brought accordingly, the father told him what a character his daughters had given of him, and how much they were all indebted to him for his aſſiſtance and protection. Hereupon he took him for his adopted ſon, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and made him head and maſter of all his cattle, which, at that time, was all one with the entire poſſeſſions of thoſe people, their whole eſtate conſiſting in cattle.

CHAP. XII.

Of the fiery Buſh, and of Moſes's *Rod.*

UPON this advance of *Moſes* in his fortune, under the favour of *Jethegleth*, otherwiſe *Raguel*, he lived with his father-in-law, and had the charge of his flocks, which he drove ſome time afterwards up to mount *Sinai*, where there was excellent graſs and feeding, and the higheſt mountain in the whole country. The people had an old tradition that God dwelt there; ſo that, in ancient time, out of pure reverence to this tradition, people forbore either feeding or walking there.

Upon this mountain there appeared a wonderful prodigy; a buſh burning, the flame fierce and violent, and yet neither leaves, flowers, nor branches waſted or conſumed. The very ſpectacle itſelf, and the ſurprize of it, ſtruck *Moſes* with aſtoniſhment; but he was much more amazed, when he heard a voice out of the fire calling him by his name, and ſpeaking to him: "How durſt you preſume," ſays the voice, "to ſet foot upon this ground, where never any man living trod before you, out "of a veneration to the very holineſs of "the place?" commanding *Moſes* to withdraw himſelf from the fire, and to reſt content with what he had ſeen, and what he was thought worthy of, as the righteous offſpring of ſo many glorious anceſtors; charging him over again to carry his curioſity no further.

The voice then foretold him, that, thro' God's aſſiſtance, his name ſhould be great and honourable among men; bidding him fear nothing, but go to *Ægypt*, where he ſhould have the abſolute command of all the *Hebrews*, and deliver his countrymen from their preſent tyranny and oppreſſion; "for," ſays the voice, "they ſhall come to inhabit "the lands, and enjoy all the good things "which their firſt father *Abraham* was poſ"ſeſſed of, and, by your wiſdom, be put "into the full enjoyment of all thoſe bleſ"ſings. But be ſure to remember, ſo ſoon "as you ſhall have brought the *Hebrews* out "of *Ægypt*, you offer up a ſacrifice of thankſ"giving in this very place."

The prodigy of the viſion gave *Moſes* a frightful amazement, but the voice much greater. "Lord," ſays he, "I know and "I adore thy power, and ſo have all "my predeceſſors done before me; ſo that "I muſt be worſe than mad to make any "doubt of obeying it: But how ſhall I, a "weak private man, find either words or "credit to prevail with ſuch a number of "people, firſt to forſake a place where they "are at preſent ſettled, and then to follow "me upon uncertainties, whitherſoever I "ſhall think fit to lead them? Or other"wiſe, ſuppoſing I had intereſt enough to "draw them after me, who ſhall compel "*Pharaoh* to let them go, when ſo much "of the *Ægyptians* happineſs and revenue "depends upon their labour."

The voice commanded him again to reſt ſatisfied, promiſing to be with him upon all occaſions; and, if there were need of words, the faculty of perſuaſion ſhould be put into his mouth; or if of works or actions, he ſhould be ſtrengthened and ſupported. But for his fuller confirmation and conviction, the voice commanded him to throw his rod which he had in his hand on the ground. He did ſo, and it was preſently turned into a ſerpent, rolling itſelf into folds, and menacing with the head, as if it threatened an aſſault; and then this ſerpent, in a little time, became a rod again.

The voice, after this, bade *Moſes* put his hand into his boſom, which he did, and it came out again as white as chalk; returning, in a very little time, to its native colour.

Moſes was again commanded to take fair water, and throw it upon the ground, where it ſeemed to be turned into blood.

Moſes ſtanding aghaſt at theſe miraculous operations, God commanded him to caſt himſelf wholly upon him, and to depend upon the aſſiſtance of an almighty power, which ſhould enable him alſo to work the ſame miracles, and give him the credit of a perſon acting by divine commiſſion, and in obedience to the will of God.

Upon this deliberation, God commanded *Moſes* away immediately for *Ægypt*, and to purſue his journey without intermiſſion; for the longer he ſtaid, the longer would the *Hebrews* remain in affliction and ſlavery. It was not for *Moſes*, after what he had ſeen and heard, to doubt of God's power or juſtice; for nothing could be clearer than the certainty of the grounds he went upon. He made it his petition, that he might have the ſame power of working miracles continued to him in *Ægypt*, which he had exerciſed here; with this further ſupplication, that God would reveal unto him the name of that infinite power which he had ſeen and heard, to the end that, in his ſacrifices and invocations, he might know more explicitly under what appellation to offer up his addreſs. God was pleaſed to grant him his requeſt, but it is a name which was never known nor heard of before, and I dare not ſo much as mention it.

Moſes had the gift of working miracles not only for this particular time, but ſo often as there ſhould be occaſion for it; ſo that, without any doubt at all of the certainty of the revelations and predictions from the buſh, or of the aſſurances of a divine aſſiſtance to go along with him, he ſettled his thoughts, in a firm confidence of living to ſee the happy deliverance of the *Hebrews*, and the utter confuſion of their *Ægyptian* enemies and perſecutors.

CHAP. XIII.

On the News of Pharaoh's *Death,* Moſes *and* Aaron *return into* Ægypt.

MOſes had news by this time of the death of that *Pharaoh*, who hunted him out of the country, ſo he prayed *Raguel's* leave to return to his friends and relations in *Ægypt*, for their common good. His deſire being granted, he took his wife *Zipporah*, the daughter of *Raguel*, and his children by her, *Gerſhom* and *Eleazar*, and diſpatched away with them into *Ægypt*. Now *Gerſhom* ſignifies *a foreigner*, and the other *the help of God*; becauſe it was by the aid of divine providence that *Moſes* eſcaped the ſnare the *Ægyptians* had laid for him.

By the time he was got near the borders, his brother *Aaron*, by God's direction, met him. Upon their meeting, *Moſes* gave him an account at large of the wonders upon the mount, and of all the commands, inſtructions, and revelations which he had received from God. He was met upon the way a little farther, by great numbers of the principal men among the *Hebrews*, who, upon notice of his approach, came out to bid him welcome. They had ſome diſcourſe together, but *Moſes* finding that bare words would not do, he had recourſe to his gift of miracles, in proof of his authority, power, and commiſſion; appealing alſo to their own eyes and certain knowledge upon the wonders which he wrought. This evidence did ſo abſolutely confirm, as well as it amazed them, that they made no longer any doubt but it was a token of aſſurance from heaven, that God would provide for the relief and ſecurity of his people, by ſome extraordinary means.

Moſes having brought the *Hebrews* over to him ſo far, as to promiſe him all reſpect and obedience for the future, (beſides what the love and hope of their liberty might draw from them), he went directly to the new king, minded him of the ſervice he had done the *Ægyptians* againſt the *Ethiopians*, in that ravaging inroad they made upon his country; the toils and hazards he had undergone, and the care he had taken to manage the war for the advantage of the *Ægyptians*, as if they had been his own countrymen; and ſo he paſſed on to the unſuitable returns they made him for theſe good offices. He told him likewiſe of the viſion upon mount *Sinai*, and very particularly what God had ſaid to him, and what ſigns he had given him by miracles and revelations, to fix him in a firm belief of all his promiſes, beſeeching *Pharaoh* not to oppoſe God's will by a fruitleſs infidelity.

Pharaoh turned all theſe things to ridicule. *Moſes*, for his better ſatisfaction, did all thoſe miracles over again before him, which he wrought upon mount *Sinai*. This put *Pharaoh* into a violent outrage of paſſion and ill language. "You," ſays *Pharaoh*, "a ſcandalous runagate! Firſt you ſhewed *Ægypt* a fair pair of heels to ſave yourſelf; and you are now come back again to juggle the people out of their wits with your exploits of ſlight of hand and magic. You take upon you as if you alone were ſkilled in this divine myſtery, and value your reputation upon that idle pretence at ſuch a rate as if the people were to fall down and worſhip. But, after all this vanity and oſtentation, my prieſts can do all your feats after you." So the prieſts were called, and bid throw down their rods, and they were immediately turned into ſerpents.

“ This does not move me,” ſays *Moſes*, “ for I am neither a ſtranger to the addreſs “ of the *Ægyptians*, nor a deſpiſer of them; “ but I may well affirm, that the operations “ I perform are as much more excellent “ than theirs, as the power of God is above “ that of their magic, or things divine “ more illuſtrious than human; and I ſhall “ make it inſtantly appear that what I do is “ not a fancy of impoſing deluſions upon a “ credulous multitude, under the reſemblance “ of truth, but the very power of an “ omnipotent God, who will riſe in judgment “ againſt thoſe unbelievers, who ſhall “ ſhut their eyes againſt ſo clear an evidence.” With theſe words he threw his rod upon the ground, and commanded it to become a ſerpent: it did ſo, and while the magicians ſerpents were winding themſelves upon the earth, *Moſes*'s ſerpent devoured their ſerpents, one after another; and then, when it was returned to its former ſhape, *Moſes* took it up again.

The king, inſtead of admiring the power by which this miracle was wrought, burſt out into indignation at the fact; checked *Moſes*, and ſtill went on ſiding with the *Ægyptians;* and at the ſame time, ordering the officers to keep the *Hebrews* to their work, and encreaſe their taſk, which was forthwith done, by withdrawing their former allowance of ſtraw toward the making of brick, ſo that they were fain to work all day, and in the night fetch ſtraw, which doubled their labour.

Moſes was not one jot diſcouraged at theſe hard words and oppreſſions, but ſtood firm both againſt the king's diſpleaſure and the grumblings of his own people, who would needs perſuade him to be quiet; for ſtirring, they ſaid, did but make things worſe. But the heart of *Moſes* was ſet upon the liberty of his country-men. Wherefore he went again to the king to beg leave for the *Hebrews* to go to mount *Sinai*, and offer ſacrifice to God, as he had commanded them; telling *Pharaoh* alſo, that there was no oppoſing God's will; wherefore he would do well not to ſeem to deſpiſe his favour, but rather let the people go, for fear of drawing thoſe judgments upon his own head another day, which do certainly attend unbelievers and the diſobedient. In ſuch a caſe, the very earth and the air, he ſaid, would fight againſt him: His women would be barren, and all the elements would conſpire to avenge God's cauſe upon him: All things would go croſs with him, and no avoiding it, even though the *Hebrews* ſhould leave him, unleſs it were with *Pharaoh*'s licenſe and friendſhip: And, rather than fail, God himſelf would bring it about at laſt, if *Pharaoh* would not.

CHAP. XIV.

The Ten Plagues of Ægypt.

THE king gave no heed to what *Moſes* ſaid, and, upon his hardneſs and contempt, the *Ægyptians* fell into many calamities.

In the firſt place, the water of the river *Nile* was turned to blood, which was the only water they had to drink; and it was not ſo in colour only, but it took thoſe with gripes immediately that were forced to make uſe of it. Thus it was only to the *Ægyptians;* but to the *Hebrews*, ſweet and potable, as at other times. This miracle put the king to his wit's end; ſo that, for fear of a total deſtruction, he gave the *Hebrews*

brews leave to be gone. But ſo ſoon as the preſent evil was over, he repented him of what he had promiſed, and recalled his word.

God was ſo incenſed againſt him for his falſeneſs and ingratitude after the plague was removed from him, that he preſently viſited *Ægypt* with another judgment; which was ſuch ſwarms and ſhoals of frogs amongſt them, that they covered the earth, choaked up the river, and ſo corrupted the water, that it was almoſt death to drink it; the dead frogs being turned to mud, and others produced out of that putrefaction. They crawled into their bed-chambers, cups, diſhes, meat, and drink; nothing eſcaped them, and wherever they came, a poiſonous ſtink went along with them. This fell ſo heavy upon the *Ægyptians*, that *Pharaoh* ſent for *Moſes* a ſecond time, and told him that he might now take away his *Hebrews*, and be gone with them whither he pleaſed. The word was no ſooner paſſed but both land and water were all cleared of the frogs, and every thing immediately returned to its former ſtate.

This viſitation was no ſooner taken off than forgotten; for *Pharaoh* detained the people ſtill, pretending, that what he promiſed was from fear, and conſequently not binding. This unkingly breach of faith was followed by a judgment of lice. The bodies of the people bred them, and they were all covered with them, gnawing and tearing intolerably; for baths and ointments did no good. *Pharaoh* was ſo confounded at this new plague, what with the danger, the ſcandal, and the naſtineſs of it, that he was half ſorry for what he had done; ſo he gave the *Hebrews* permiſſion to go their way: But, ſo ſoon as the rod was off again, he demanded their wives and children, as hoſtages for their return.

This practice exaſperated God more than all the reſt; for it looked as if they thought to have over-reached providence, and as if *Moſes*, not God, had puniſhed the *Ægyptians* for oppreſſing the *Hebrews*. Wherefore God ſent numberleſs ſwarms of flies and inſects, and ſuch varieties of them, as had never been ſeen before. They filled the whole country, deſtroyed the people, and covered the ground, ſo that there was no tilling of it, and they who eſcaped preſent deſtruction, were in danger of being taken away by diſeaſes which were bred out of a poiſonous corruption; but all this was not yet enough to bring him to a ſenſe of his ſin, and a compliance with the will of God; for he was now for allowing only the women and their huſbands to go, but keeping their children.

The wiſdom of God did not want variety of plagues in abundance, and worſe than the former, to inflict upon the whole nation, for the wickedneſs and obſtinacy of an incorrigible prince. So he viſited the *Ægyptians* with a plague of inward ulcers, which carried the people off in great numbers.

When God ſaw that *Pharaoh* ſtill perſiſted in the defiance of a divine power, he ſent upon the *Ægyptians* a judgment of hail, in the prime of the ſpring, which deſtroyed all their fruits and plants which were in the bud.

This was not only a prodigy in *Ægypt*, where they had never ſeen hail before, but beyond any other that ever had been heard of, in the coldeſt climates; and what the hail left was devoured by a following plague of locuſts; ſo that the whole product of the earth was loſt for that year.

One would have thought, if this king had not been beſotted, as well as abandoned, theſe judgments would have convinced him of the vanity of contending with almighty God, and have brought him to bethink himſelf of ſome way in time to prevent his final ruin; but *Pharvoh* was ſo mad all this time, as to ſeem ignorant of the true cauſe of all his afflictions, and took a pride in the haughtineſs of a contumacious malice, contending with God almighty for the ſuperiority; and in this height of arrogance, he reſolved to ſacrifice himſelf and his people to his preſumption.

He came at length by degrees to conſent

to the departure of the *Hebrews*, with their wives and children, only leaving their goods behind them, in conſideration for what the *Ægyptians* had loſt. *Moſes* did not think that condition reaſonable; becauſe, if ſo, they ſhould not have any thing left for a ſacrifice.

This diſpute held ſo long, that the *Ægyptians* were all wrapt up in a profound thick darkneſs before it was over. Several of them periſhed by ſeveral ways; ſome were afraid of one thing, ſome of another, and not a few of being all ſwallowed up in the ſame abyſs together.

After three days and nights, every thing came to itſelf again, and *Pharaoh* ſtanding firm yet not to part with the *Hebrews*, *Moſes* went and ſpoke to him in theſe words: "How long," ſays he, "will you ſet up "your own will againſt the will of God? "It is his pleaſure and command that you "diſmiſs the *Hebrews*, and there is nothing "elſe in nature can ſave you."

The king was ſo enraged upon this liberty, that he declared it ſhould coſt *Moſes* his head, if ever he ſpoke one word to him more upon that ſubject. *Moſes* made anſwer, that he had now ſaid all he had to ſay; but that he was well aſſured it would not be long before the king himſelf, and the chief of his nobility, ſhould, of their own accord, ſpeak to the *Hebrews* themſelves to make haſte to be gone. With theſe words *Moſes* went his way.

The impenitent obſtinacy of *Pharaoh* was ſo provoking, that God kept yet one plague more in ſtore for him, which would be ſure to bring down his proud heart, and make him diſcharge the *Hebrews*. He commanded *Moſes* to give notice to the people to prepare their ſacrifice on the thirteenth day of the month *Xanthicus*. (That which the *Macedonians* call *Xanthicus*, the *Hebrews* call *Niſan*, and the *Ægyptians Pharmuthi*.) *Moſes* was appointed to bring the *Hebrews* along with him, and all that belonged to them; which he did accordingly, gathering them together, and dividing them into tribes and companies.

Early in the morning on the fourteenth, (the day aſſigned,) being all in readineſs to depart, they ſacrificed, purifying their houſes, by ſprinkling blood upon them with a bunch of hyſſop. After ſupper they burnt the remainder of the fleſh, as juſt entering upon a journey. And this is our way of ſacrificing unto this day, upon the feſtival of our *paſcha*, which ſignifies *paſſing over*, becauſe God paſſed over the *Hebrews*, without hurting them, when the *Ægyptians* were ſtruck with a diſeaſe; for the plague made ſuch havock that night with the *Ægyptians* firſt born, that people of all conditions came thronging in troops to the palace, with clamours to have the *Hebrews* forthwith ſent away. Whereupon the king called for *Moſes*, and gave immediate order for them to depart, upon an opinion that *Ægypt* could never be happy, ſo long as they ſtaid in the country; and that the liberty of one would be the deliverance of the other. Several of the *Ægyptians* made them conſiderable preſents upon their going away[*]; ſome for diſpatch, others for acquaintance ſake; and not without tears at parting; many of them repenting of the barbarous cruelty they had formerly exerciſed over them.

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[*] Theſe large preſents made to the *Iſraelites* of veſſels of gold and ſilver, &c. were gifts really given them, not lent them, as our *Engliſh* tranſlation falſely renders them. They were ſpoils given, not borrowed. God had ordered the *Jews* to demand theſe as their pay and reward, during their long ſlavery in *Ægypt*, and as the condition of the *Ægyptians* being delivered from theſe terrible judgments, which had now ceaſed. There was no ſenſe in borrowing, when the *Iſraelites* were finally departing out of the land for ever.

CHAP. XV.

The March of the Hebrews *out of* Ægypt, *under the Command of* Moſes.

THE *Iſraelites* took their way by *Leopolis*, a city at that time deſerted; and *Babylon* was afterwards built in the place of it by *Cambyſes*, when he laid *Ægypt* waſte. They made long marches, and, on the third day, got to *Beelzephon*, by the red ſea. There were no proviſions to be had upon the way in the wilderneſs; ſo that their food was only meal and water, kneaded and baked into cakes, and this was their entertainment for thirty days.

They had now ſpent all they brought out of *Ægypt*, having managed it as ſparingly as poſſible, providing barely for their neceſſities, without filling their bellies. It is in memory of this ſcarcity that we celebrate the eight days feſtival, which we call that of unleavened bread. But the multitude of travellers, with their wives and children, was almoſt innumerable; for there were full ſix hundred thouſand men who were able to bear arms.

The *Hebrews* went out of *Ægypt* on the fifteenth day of the month *Xanthicus*, *Moſes* being now eighty years of age, and his brother *Aaron* eighty-three. It was two hundred and fifty years from *Jacob's* coming into *Ægypt*, and four hundred and fifteen from the coming of our father *Abraham* into *Canaan.* They carried *Joſeph's* bones along with them, being a truſt he had committed to his ſons.

They had not been long gone before the *Ægyptians* repented parting with them, the king eſpecially, who imputed all the calamities which had befallen *Ægypt*, to the inchantments of *Moſes*, and looked upon them to be no more than the works of his practice and contrivance. This fancy brought them quickly to a reſolution of taking arms, and purſuing them, making no doubt at all of maſtering and bringing them back again, being tired and unarmed, if they could but overtake them; the difficulties of the paſſage being troubleſome even to a ſingle traveller, much more to a marching army.

But *Moſes* had ſeveral inducements to make choice of this way: firſt, in caſe the *Ægyptians* ſhould change their minds, and ſend after them, the very fatigue of the expedition would make them repent both the perfidy and the undertaking: And then *Moſes* had no mind to have them go by *Paleſtine*; for the *Philiſtines* who were enemies to the *Hebrews* upon the ſcore of an old grudge, and borderers upon *Ægypt*, would perhaps have broken in upon them, if they could have had any intelligence of their march. He led them, in fine, by the way of the wilderneſs, though a great way about, and through many inconveniencies, intending to ſacrifice upon mount *Sinai*, as God had commanded him, and ſo away to *Canaan.*

By the time they were come to the red ſea, they found themſelves overtaken, and encompaſſed by the *Ægyptians*, with an army of ſix hundred chariots, fifty thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand foot; the main body being drawn up in order of battle. They had clapped guards upon all paſſages, ſecured all avenues, and ſhut the *Hebrews* up into ſo narrow a compaſs, betwixt impaſſable mountains and the ſea, that it was abſolutely impoſſible for them to make an eſcape.

In this ſtreight, there was no thought of flying, neither was there any means of fighting, for they had no arms; and if they continued where they were, they muſt inevitably ſtarve: ſo they had no more to do, they ſaid, than baſely to yield themſelves ſlaves to ſave their lives. In this pinch of danger and deſperation, the whole blame was laid upon *Moſes.* They had forgotten the wonderful things which God had done for their deliverance, and the many miracles he had wrought for the ſtrengthening of their faith. They were ſo exaſperated, in ſhort, with the outcries of women and children, that they gave themſelves for loſt, and were upon the very point of ſtoning their falſe prophet, as they accounted him, and proſtituting themſelves once more to their former ſlavery; for they had nothing in ſight but rocks, ſeas, and innumerable armed troops to encounter.

The outrages and madneſs of this headſtrong multitude had no effect upon the providence of *Moſes:* His whole truſt was in God, who he knew, after ſo many preſages of liberty, would never ſuffer his people to fall into the power of their enemies, to ſerve and periſh. "Pray put the caſe," ſays *Moſes,* adreſſing the people, "that you had depoſited ſome great truſt in the hand of a "perſon who had hitherto managed it well "and wiſely for you; might not you reaſonably depend on that ſame man for the "ſame care and kindneſs, and in the ſame "caſe too, over again? What a madneſs "is it for you to deſpond then, where God "himſelf hath taken you into his protection, "and of his own free bounty, made all good "by me that might contribute to your freedom and ſecurity; nay, the very pinch "and difficulty of the caſe is an argument to "inflame your hope rather than to diſcourage it. He hath brought you into this "diſtreſs, on purpoſe to ſhew his love and "kindneſs in bringing you out again, even "to the ſurprize and admiration of yourſelves, and your very enemies. It is not "God's time to interpoſe with his almighty "power in ſmall matters; but in caſes of "judicial calamities, when human help "fails us, then is the ſeaſon for God to "work out the deliverance of thoſe who "caſt themſelves upon him. Be not afraid "of the *Ægyptian* armed troops, neither "deſpond of your lives and ſafeties, becauſe "you are at preſent locked up betwixt the "ſea and the mountains, and no viſible "way in nature to come off; for the God "whom you ſerve is able to level all thoſe "mountains, and lay that ocean dry;--his "will, in fine, be done."

CHAP. XVI.

The Iſraelites *paſs through the Red Sea. The* Ægyptians *purſue them, and are drowned.*

WITH theſe laſt words in his mouth, *Moſes* led the *Hebrews* toward the ſea, the *Ægyptians* looking on; who having them in view, and being extremely harraſſed with the purſuit, thought it adviſable to refreſh themſelves, and put off fighting till the day following. So ſoon as *Moſes* was come to the ſea-ſide, he took out his rod, and called upon God, imploring his divine aſſiſtance in a prayer to this effect: "Lord," ſays he, "thou ſeeſt thy ſervants here reduced to ſo miſerable an extremity that it is "not in the power of any natural means, "whether of arms or human policy, to deliver us; but it is the God alone whom "we ſerve and truſt in who is able to do it.

"Lord,

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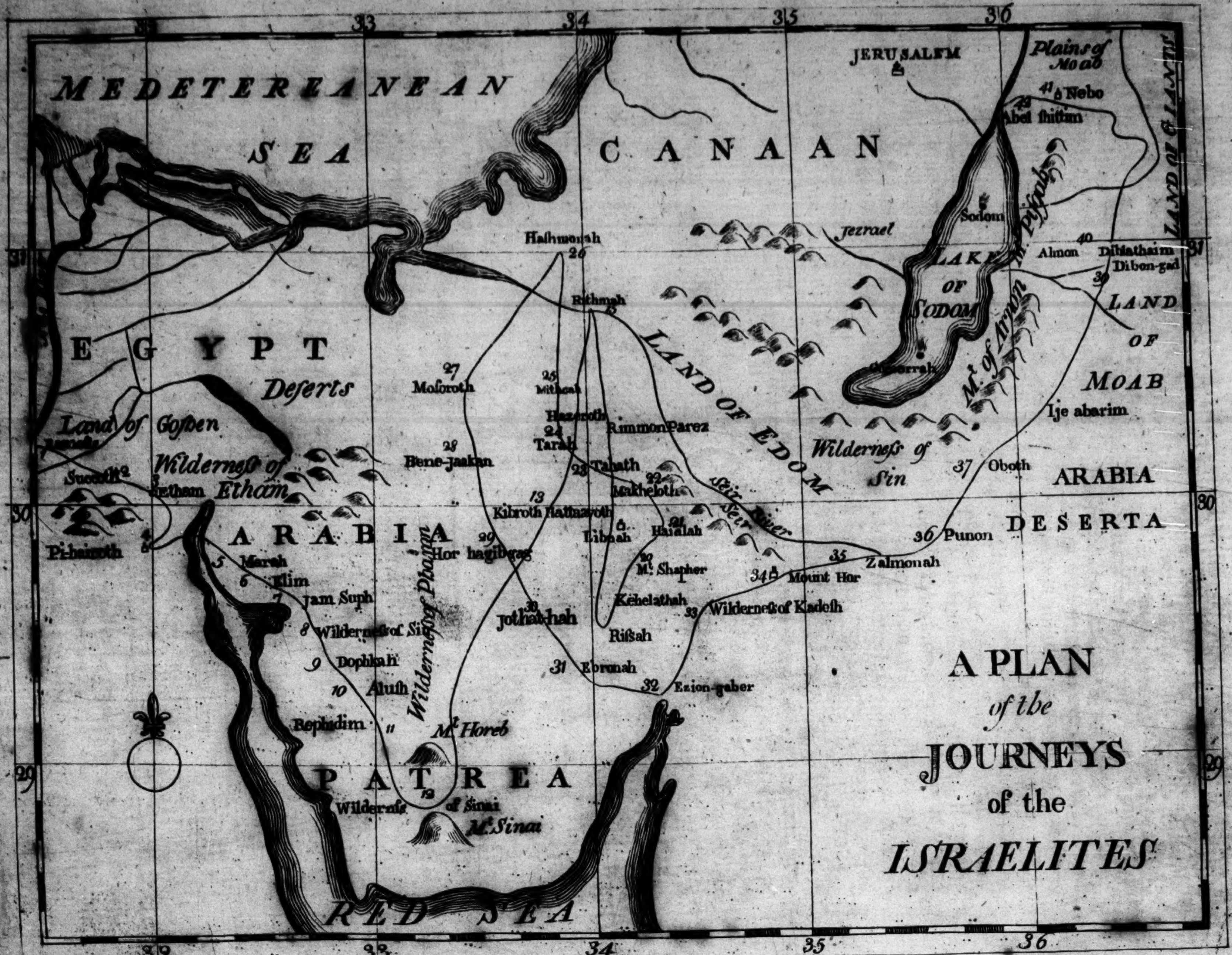

A PLAN of the JOURNEYS of the ISRAELITES

MEDETERRANEAN SEA
EGYPT
Deserts
Land of Goshen
Rameses
Succoth 2
3 Etham
Wilderness of Etham
Pi-hairoth
4
ARABIA
PATREA
RED SEA
5 Marah
6 Elim
7 Jam Suph
8 Wilderness of Sin
9 Dophkah
10 Alush
Rephidim 11
Mt Horeb
12
Wilderness of Sinai
Mt Sinai
13 Kibroth Hattaavoth
Wilderness of Pharan
Hashmonah 26
Rithmah
27 Mosoroth
28 Bene-jaakan
29 Hor hagidgad
30 Jothathah
31 Ebronah
32 Ezion-gaber
25 Mithcah
Hazeroth
24 Tarah
23 Tahath
22 Makheloth
Libnah
21 Haialah
20 Mt Shapher
Kehelathah
Rissah
Rimmon Parez
33 Wilderness of Kadesh
34 Mount Hor
35 Zalmonah
36 Punon
37 Oboth
LAND OF EDOM
Seir River
Seir
Wilderness of Sin
CANAAN
JERUSALEM
Jezrael
LAKE OF SODOM
Sodom
Gomorrah
Mt of Arnon
Mt Pisgah
Plains of Moab
41 Nebo
42 Abel shittim
40 Almon
Diblathaim
39 Dibon-gad
LAND OF MOAB
Ije abarim
ARABIA DESERTA
LAND OF GIANTS
31
30
29
32
33
34
35
36

“ Lord, be merciful to theſe thy people, “ who are now come out of *Ægypt*, in a “ pure ſimplicity of obedience to thy holy “ will and commandment, and repoſing “ themſelves entirely upon thy gracious “ promiſes. It is to thee, Lord, that we “ fly for help, who alone can reſcue us out “ of the hands of our unmerciful enemies. “ Speak comfort to thy ſervants, and exert “ thy power; let thy relief be ſpeedy, and “ inſpire them with a new life and confi- “ dence, now in the depth of their deſpair. “ Lord, we are under great difficulties, “ hemmed in with the ſea and mountains; “ but the ſea and mountains are thine, and “ if thou doſt but ſay the word, the one “ ſhall be levelled, and the other turned in- “ to dry land: or otherwiſe, thy providence “ may carry us off among the very birds of “ the air, if it ſhall be thy will to employ “ thy power that way to ſave us.” Immediately *Moſes* ſtruck the ſea with his rod, whereupon the waters parted and recoiled, leaving a way open for the *Hebrews* paſſage and eſcape.

The ſea being now divided, *Moſes* putting himſelf at the head of his men, he bade them give God thanks for the bleſſing of ſo unexpected and unaccountable a deliverance, and, in the name of God, to follow him chearfully through the way which almighty God had provided for them. The *Hebrews*, in this inſtant, marched forward, and the *Ægyptians* looked upon them as ſo many madmen, to throw themſelves headlong into ſo certain a deſtruction. But when they ſaw them a great way in the ſea, and preſſing farther ſtill, without any inconvenience or impediment, they poſted away after them, making no doubt but the ſame road would ſerve them both. They ſent their horſe before; but while they were arming themſelves, and trifling away time, the *Hebrews* gave them the ſlip, and were gotten on the other ſide of the water, leaving their enemies behind them.

This happy ſucceſs of the *Hebrews* made the *Ægyptians* yet more eager upon the chaſe, and likewiſe more ſecure, ſo they followed the purſuit. When the whole army was advanced within compaſs, the ſea returned upon it, and drowned them all. The judgment of this reflux was accompanied with high and fierce winds and tempeſts, ſtorms of hail and rain, terrible thunderings and lightnings, and nothing in ſhort wanting to make the calamity more dreadful, or to ſet forth the horrors of their condition, who fall under the diſpleaſure of an angry God. They were alſo overtaken with a dark pitchy night; ſo that the whole army was deſtroyed, and not ſo much as one ſoul left alive to carry the tidings.

It is not in the power of words to expreſs the tranſports of the *Hebrews* upon this deliverance; a bleſſing ſo unlooked for, and God himſelf the immediate and the profeſſed author of it; beſides the deſtruction of their enemies, before their faces, to ſecure them in the poſſeſſion of their liberty, and their oppreſſors drowned to a man. God's hand was ſo eminently viſible in the whole courſe of this affair, that never had creatures ſuch cauſe of rejoicing. And ſo they ſpent that whole night in hymns and thankſgivings; *Moſes* in particular compoſing a ſong in *Hexameter* verſe, to the honour of God, upon this occaſion.

I have been the more particular in theſe relations, becauſe I find them in holy writ; and let no man think this ſtory incredible of the ſea's dividing to ſave theſe people; for we find it in ancient records, that this hath been ſeen before, whether by God's extraordinary will, or by the courſe of nature, it is indifferent. The ſame thing happened one time to the *Macedonians*, under the command of *Alexander*, when, for want of another paſſage, the *Pamphylian* ſea divided to make them way; God's providence making uſe of *Alexander*, at that time, as his inſtrument for deſtroying the *Perſian* empire. This is atteſted by all the hiſtorians who have pretended to write the life of that prince. But people are at liberty to think what they pleaſe.

The next day after this memorable judgment upon the *Ægyptians*, the winds and the waves forced their arms aſhore juſt at a place where the *Hebrews* had pitched their tents; which *Moſes* underſtood to be another providence, in furniſhing the people with arms, which they ſo much wanted. So they were gathered together, and diſtributed among the *Hebrews*, man by man. After this, and the arming of the people, he led them to mount *Sinai*, there to offer ſacrifice, and preſent oblations for the deliverance of the people, in obedience to God's command.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK III.

From the Year of the World 2454, to 2455.

CHAP. I.

The Paſſage of the Iſraelites *from* Ægypt *to Mount* Sinai. *Their Hardſhips by the Way.*

THE joy of the *Hebrews*, for ſo wonderful a deliverance, was not a little damped by the extreme hardſhips they were put to, in their way through the wilderneſs to mount *Sinai*. There was no food to be got, the water foul, ſcant, and bad, and no nouriſhment in it, inſomuch that the very cattle could not drink it, much leſs the men. But this was the way they were fain to take. By the advice of their guides, they brought a proviſion of water with them into the deſart, and when that was ſpent, they digged pits, but with great difficulty; for the ground was hard, and the water very bad and bitter when they came at it, and not enough of that neither.

In travelling forward, they came about the evening to a place called *Marah*, from the taſte of the water; for *marah* in *Hebrew* is *bitterneſs*. They were quite tired with their journey; beſides, their proviſion falling ſhort, they began to be pinched with hunger. However, they agreed to make ſome little ſtay there, and the rather becauſe of a pit they had the fortune to find, which, though it did not anſwer the neceſſities of their vaſt numbers, there was yet ſome ſort of conſolation in it, the country conſidered, and that there was no more water to be expected from that place forward. This was as bitter as what they found in the other place, and a drink that agreed neither with man nor beaſt.

Moſes found the peoples hearts beginning to ſink, and not one word of comfort that he could give them; for the enemies they had now to deal with were not to be encountered with wiſdom and valour: But men, women, and children were equally in danger, and it was a hard matter for him to adviſe others, who had the whole burden of the common calamity upon himſelf; for, in their diſtreſs they all came flocking to him, women begging for their children, huſbands for their wives, and men for themſelves, all imploring relief, when there was none to be had. *Moſes* betook himſelf to his prayers again, that God would be pleaſed to correct the bitterneſs of thoſe waters, and make them ſweet. This was granted him at the firſt requeſt, and ſo he took a piece of wood, which lay there by chance, cleft it lengthways in the middle, and caſt it into the water, telling the *Hebrews*, that God had heard their prayers, and promiſed them a ſupply of water to their liking, upon condition that they ſhould readily do what he commanded them. They aſked him what he would have them do to get better water. "Why," ſays *Moſes*, "let the well be "drawn, and the luſtieſt young fellows "among you ſet their hands to the work. "You ſhall find, upon emptying out the "better half of it, that the remainder will "be potable, and fit for your turn*." They did, as they were directed, and the water was ſo purged by the continual agitation of it, that it went down with the multitude for no contemptible drink.

Upon decamping from hence, they went to a place called *Helim*. The proſpect of it was pleaſant enough at a diſtance, for there appeared a plantation of palm trees; but coming nearer, they found themſelves much deceived in their expectation, for there were but ſeventy of them in all, and thoſe but dwarfs; for the droughtineſs of the place ſtarved whatſoever grew upon it. Nay, though there were twelve ſprings there, the plants were not one jot the better for them; for they never mounted ſo high as to diſtribute their waters into rivulets for the refreſhment of the earth. The ſoil was ſandy; no veins of water in it; or if now and then a drop appeared, it was ſo foul and dirty there was no drinking of it. This ſcarcity of water likewiſe ſpoiled the fruit-trees. The multitude were ſo impatient under the ſenſe of this new calamity, that they fell into direct mutiny againſt their leader. Their thirty days ſtore was ſpent, their wants encreaſed, and no ſupply to be got in the wilderneſs. Theſe thoughts all together put the people into a downright deſperation, and the ſenſe of their preſent neceſſities made them forget all former providences and bleſſings, proceeding in their ingratitude to ſuch a degree of outrage, that they were upon the point of ſtoning their commander to death, as the man who had been the ruin of them all.

While the people were as yet in the heat of their rage, and nothing leſs than the life of their commander to pacify their fury, *Moſes*, in the fear of God, and with a good conſcience, ſtood forth among them, and, with a grace of language and addreſs peculiar to himſelf, oppoſed argument to violence, in words to the following purpoſe: "You "may think," ſays he, "to cancel paſt ob"ligations with a pretence of preſent ſuf"ferings; but the difficulties you now la"bour under ſhould rather move you to a "thankful contemplation of God's bounties "and mercies to you in times paſt, even "beyond all hope and expectation. And "why may not the ſame providence attend

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* The additions here to *Moſes*'s account of the ſweetening the waters at *Marah* ſeem derived from ſome ancient profane author. *Philo* has not a ſyllable of theſe additions. Had *Joſephus* written theſe Antiquities for the uſe of the *Jews*, he would hardly have given them theſe improbable circumſtances: But writing to *Gentiles*, that they might not complain of the omiſſion of any accounts of miracles derived from *Gentile* authors, he did not think proper to conceal what he met with in them about this matter. And this is perfectly agreeable to the uſage of *Joſephus* in other caſes.

“ now again? Why may not this affliction be laid upon you for a trial, to ſee if you have courage, patience, and gratitude to ſtand the teſt; and if you can diſtinguiſh betwixt the force and reaſon of paſt benefits and preſent troubles, as you ought to do? Have a care that you do not make yourſelves unworthy of God's favour, by impatience under croſſes, by unthankfulneſs for good offices, and by oppoſing your preſent paſſions to the divine will and power; for it was God who brought you out of the land of *Ægypt*, and it is with his order and good pleaſure you now contend.”

When *Moſes* had laid before them the reaſon of the matter, he then had recourſe to inſtances, and particularly what judgments befel the *Ægyptians*, for keeping the *Hebrews* in ſlavery, and detaining them contrary to the declared will of God: how the river was turned into blood; and how the ſame water that became poiſonous to the *Ægyptians*, was yet preſerved ſalutary to the *Hebrews*. How the ſea opened to make a lane for the *Hebrews* in their flight, and how the waters cloſed again, to drown the *Ægyptians* in the purſuit; the former being ſpectators at the ſame time of the overthrow of their enemies, and receiving a large ſupply of arms by that providence likewiſe, which they were wholly unprovided of before: And then how many miraculous deliverances out of the very jaws of deſtruction God had wrought for them, even beyond the force of human imagination to conceive. “Now God's omnipotency,” ſays *Moſes*, “is everlaſting, and his providence as gracious, and as extenſive at this day as ever it was; wherefore you are not to deſpair of the goodneſs of heaven, but to bear all turns and chances with moderation, and to conſider that the aſſiſtance which is deferred may yet come time enough, and in ſeaſon; for ſo long as there is life, there is hope. You are not, in this caſe, to look upon yourſelves as neglected or abandoned, but it is God's pleaſure to put your greatneſs of mind and love of liberty to the trial, and to ſee whether you had rather ſubmit to a pinching neceſſity, for want of meat and drink, or lead the life of brutes in ſlavery, who are only fed and fattened up for the benefit of their maſter. It is not for myſelf that I fear any thing, for what am I the worſe for an unjuſt violence upon my perſon. But for the ſake of your ſafety I reckon myſelf bound to take ſome care of my own; for every ſtone you caſt at me in this cauſe, imports a condemnation of the counſels and the doings even of God himſelf.”

Theſe words brought the maddeſt of the company in ſome meaſure to their wits again, and made them caſt away the ſtones they had prepared for the execution; *Moſes* having convinced them of the injuſtice of their intention, and modeſtly imputing that to their neceſſities which could not be juſtified in reaſon, though the temptation they lay under might ſeem in ſome ſort to extenuate the offence.

Upon this *Moſes* had recourſe to ſupplications and prayers, and withdrawing up to a rock, he beſought God in mercy to grant theſe miſerable people ſome relief, for it was in his power only to ſave them; beſeeching him likewiſe to forgive them their intemperate paſſions, and to caſt all the things which they had ſaid and done amiſs, upon the account of human frailty. God gave him this anſwer, That he would take care of the people, and ſend them a ſpeedy ſuccour.

Upon this promiſe and conceſſion, *Moſes* went down again to the people, with joy in his countenance, which they preſently took notice of, and, in the ſtrength of that good omen, after all their ſadneſs, put on an air of chearfulneſs themſelves. *Moſes* told them what paſt, and God that would have compaſſion on them very ſuddenly; and ſo it proved, for, ſoon after this, there came a wonderful flight of quails. There are a world of them in the *Arabian* gulph; and theſe birds were ſo tired with croſſing it, that they dropt quite weary into the camp of the *Hebrews*. They looked upon this as a relief from heaven, all people putting in with earneſtneſs to have their ſhare of the bounty. *Moſes* went now to his prayers again, giving God thanks both for what he had promiſed, and what he had already done.

After this firſt repaſt, God preſently ſent them another; for, as *Moſes* was at his prayers, holding up his hands, there dropt from heaven a kind of dew upon them, and, as it fell, it ſtuck and thickened. *Moſes* preſently fancied it to be a ſecond ſupply, and upon taſting it was overjoyed to find it ſo. It was now winter, and the common ſort of people would needs have this dew to be ſnow. *Moſes* told them they were miſtaken, and that this was no common dew, but ſuch a nouriſhment as they ſhould find to be a competent remedy againſt famine; and ſo he firſt taſted of it himſelf, and then gave it them to try, who, after his example, liked it exceeding well, for it had the taſte of honey, and ſome reſemblance alſo of *Bdellium*, and about the bigneſs of a coriander-ſeed. There was great ſtriving for the gathering of it, till the matter was ordered by an edict, appointing that all people ſhould gather every day alike, and the meaſure of an omer to be the proportion[*]; being aſſured, at the ſame time, that there ſhould be no want of that food. This was ordered in favour of the weak, that they might not be run down, and to keep the ſtronger from taking more than came to their ſhare. Whoever ſhould exceed his meaſure, in contempt of this edict, did only take ſo much the more pains to no purpoſe; for what they kept till the next day was good for nothing; for it bred worms, and turned bitter. There was one divine and incredible quality in this food, that whoever taſted it deſired nothing elſe. They have in that country to this very day, certain dews and rains, which ſeem to have ſomewhat of reſemblance to this which fell upon the interceſſion of *Moſes*[†]. The *Hebrews* call it *Manna*, and *Man*, in our tongue, ſignifies an interrogation, as if we ſhould ſay, *What is this?* They celebrated this bleſſing with great joy, as coming from heaven; and this was their food for the forty years they continued in the wilderneſs.

After their removal from hence to *Rephidim*, they found themſelves parched up with an intolerable thirſt, having met with very little water for ſome days before. Being now come into a country where there was no water all, they began to fall upon *Moſes* again; but he left them for a-while by themſelves, and ſtepped aſide once more to his prayers, beſeeching him, that gave them meat when they were ready to ſtarve, now to give them drink to it when they were ready to choak; for the one without the other would not do the work. God without any delay promiſed *Moſes* a fountain and a flood of water, where he leaſt expected it; commanding him to ſtrike a rock near at hand there with his rod, and that rock ſhould ſupply them abundantly with what they deſired, beſide that it ſhould come without labour too. Upon his coming back to the people he told them that God would deliver them alſo from the trouble of their thirſt, by a way that they little dreamt of; that is to ſay, by a river that ſhould iſſue out of that rock. They fancied that they themſelves were to cut up the rock to make way for the paſſage; which would have been a hard piece of work, they thought, for people to undertake, that were ſpent and half-dead with thirſt and toil already. *Moſes* quickly unriddled that miſtake, by ſtriking the rock with his rod; which in that very inſtant threw out a large ſtream of water as clear as cryſtal.

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[*] The omer contained a ſmall matter above five pints of our *Engliſh* meaſure, or, as Biſhop *Cumberland* ſays, ſix wine pints, and a very little over.

[†] This ſuppoſal, that the ſweet honey, dew, or manna, ſo celebrated in ancient and modern authors, as falling uſually in *Arabia*, was of the very ſame ſort with this manna ſent to the *Iſraelites*, ſavours more of *Gentiliſm* than of *Judaiſm* or *Chriſtianity*.

It was hard to ſay whether the ſpectators were more amazed at the operation, or delighted in the drinking of it; for they found it ſweet and agreeable, and ſuch as became the dignity of the preſenter and the preſent. They extolled *Moſes* to the ſkies, when they ſaw how much he was in God's favour, and offered ſacrifices and thankſgivings. We find it written in the holy ſcripture, that is depoſited in the temple, that God had foretold to *Moſes* this miracle of the water out of the rock, in ſuch manner as we have heard.

CHAP. II.

The Confederacy of five Kings againſt the Hebrews. *The* Amalekites *routed by* Joſhua.

THE fame of the *Hebrews* was by this time ſo great, that the provinces were all alarmed at it, and laid their heads together how they might keep them at a diſtance, or elſe utterly deſtroy them: And to this purpoſe they ſent their ambaſſadors up and down from one to another to manage the counſel of the league. The chief inſtigators of this deſign were the inhabitants of the country of *Gobol*, and the city of *Petra*, which paſſed under the common apellation of *Amalekites*, the moſt martial people of that quarter. They had five kings at work upon this plot of carrying on a war againſt the *Hebrews*; and not only concerted it among themſelves, but drew in as many as they could of their neighbours to join with them. "Theſe people," they ſaid, "were only a "vagabond army of fugitives that ran away "out of *Ægypt*, becauſe they would be no "longer ſlaves there, to make war upon "others. Now the way to deal with theſe "people, they ſaid, would be, without ma-"king too ſlight of them, to take them to "taſk in time, while their men were raw "and undiſciplin'd, their army in want of "all neceſſaries, and never a plentiful coun-"try or friend that was able to ſupply them. "In ſhort, the way would be to begin with "them, and not ſtand looking on till they "ſhould have the confidence to be the ag-"greſſors. It would be but falling upon "them in the wilderneſs, before they could "make themſelves maſters of any places of "ſtrength and importance, and the work "would do itſelf." They laid it down as a piece of neceſſary prudence, to nip the growing power of an enemy in the bud, and not ſtand waiting 'till by ſucceſs upon ſucceſs he makes himſelf ſtronger, both in power and reputation: And that it was better to prevent the danger, than to run the riſque of overcoming it. Upon the agitating of the whole matter in the confederate counſel, it was reſolved by common conſent to carry on an invaſive war againſt the *Hebrews*, and ſo to force them from their borders.

Moſes was not a little ſurpriſed at this reſolution, and his people were alſo in the greateſt confuſion imaginable, at the neceſſity of ſo unexpected a war, with an enemy who wanted nothing, and themſelves ſo unprovided at all points. He minded them of God's multiplied declarations in their favour, his bringing them out of the land of *Ægypt*, what he had done for them already, and what he would do futher; and ſo encouraged them, in confidence of his power and goodneſs, to think of nothing but victory. "Never reckon," ſays *Moſes*, "up-

“ on the advantages of arms, money, and proviſions; but conſider, to balance all this, that you have God on your ſide to fight your battles, and then no matter for the odds of number and ſtratagem. You have all that, and more in him who is your helper, who by his almighty power hath brought you out of greater difficulties already. Have you not found that God ſtill a friend to the *Hebrews*, and an enemy to the *Ægyptians*? Witneſs his miraculous preſervation of you in your extremities of hunger and thirſt, and in making that a ſafe retreat to you through the ſea, which, at the ſame time, ſwallowed up your enemies. The gaining of this victory will certainly put you in poſſeſſion of all the good things of this world: Wherefore behave yourſelves like men.”

This diſcourſe put new life into the people, ſo that *Moſes* calling the heads and principals of the tribes together, addreſſed himſelf to them all, both in general and particular; admoniſhing the young men to hearken to their elders, and inculcating to all the reſt their obedience to their commander. They were by this time ſo perfectly cured of their former apprehenſions, that they looked upon any thing of danger with contempt, and under a kind of impatience to come to action, in the ſtrong hope and expectation of ſuch a victory as would put an end to their miſery; inſomuch that they preſſed *Moſes*, with great earneſtneſs, to bring them immediately to the enemy, and not to loſe ſo critical an opportunity of fighting, by an unneceſſary and unſeaſonable delay, when the ſoldiers were in ſo good a humour for it.

Moſes, upon this, drew out a detachment of the moſt likely men he could find for ſervice in the whole multitude, and ſet *Joſhua*, the ſon of *Nun*, and of the tribe of *Ephraim*, over them; a man equally qualified both for arms and counſel, eminent for piety, a diſciple of *Moſes*, and one who did not ſhame his maſter. He ſent out ſeveral troops of guards, ſome to ſecure their water, others their tents, and ſome again to take care of the women and children. All things were now in readineſs for an engagement; the ſoldiers in arms all night, waiting only for the command from *Moſes*, who was himſelf alſo the whole night in counſel with *Joſhua*, and giving order about the battle.

When it began to draw toward day, *Moſes* recommended to *Joſhua* to make good by his actions what the world expected from him upon that occaſion. He did the like to all the chief of the *Hebrews* apart, and ſo in courſe to the whole body of the army.

Having thus enflamed their reſolutions into a generous ſenſe of piety and honour, *Moſes* commended them to God and to their general *Joſhua*, himſelf going up to the mountain. The bodies joined him immediately, with all ſorts of encouragement from their leaders, and it was hardly fought on both ſides. So long as *Moſes* held up his hands, the *Hebrews* prevailed; but when he could hold them no longer for wearineſs, the *Amalekites* had the better of it. But *Moſes* obſerving this, ſpake to his brother *Aaron*, and to *Hur*, the huſband of his ſiſter *Mariam*, to ſtand by him and hold up his hands for him, and to take care not to let them fall again. The *Amalekites* after this wery totally defeated, and had been all entirely cut off, if the darkneſs of the night had not covered the miſerable remainder of them in their flight.

This was a victory ſo glorious and ſeaſonable, that the whole hiſtory of our anceſtors cannot pretend to any thing beyond it; for it was a total and an abſolute overthrow, gained upon an invading enemy, and an action of ſo great a reputation, that it ſtruck a terror into all the neighbouring provinces; beſides a prodigious booty over and above; the pillage of the *Amalekites* camp being of an ineſtimable value, in gold and ſilver plate, curious braſs veſſels of all ſorts, minted money, rich arms, and ſoldiers equipage, horſes, baggage, *&c.* both to ſmall and great, and to thoſe who themſelves were but in a ſtarving condition the day before, being almoſt deſtitute of all neceſſaries.

This ſucceſs made the *Hebrews* more daring and forward for any virtuous exploit; and it was of a mighty advantage even at preſent, but not comparable to what it was in the conſequences of it; for this battle broke the very hearts as well as the bodies of the enemy; and from that day forward all the adjoining provinces ſtood in awe of the *Hebrews*. On the day following *Moſes* cauſed all the dead bodies to be ſtript, and their ſcattered arms to be gathered up and employed for ſervice; rewards alſo to be diſtributed to thoſe who had made themſelves eminently remarkable in the battle. He did right alſo to the general, with the ſolemnity of a public declaration to the honour of his conduct, the whole army ſeconding that illuſtrious character with praiſes and acclamations. The ſlaughter of the *Amalekites* was ſo great, that they could make no eſtimate of the number, and not ſo much as one *Hebrew* ſlain in the action.

Moſes erected an altar after this victory, inſcribed *to God the conqueror*; where he worſhipped with ſacrifices and thankſgivings, foretelling at the ſame time the utter extirpation of the *Amalekites*, for the baſeneſs of their attempt upon the *Hebrews*, when they were in diſtreſs, and ready to periſh in the wilderneſs. *Moſes* concluded the ſolemnity with feaſtings and rejoicings, treating the general, the officers, and the whole camp, with ſoldierly entertainments ſuitable to the occaſion.

This was the firſt battle the *Hebrews* fought after their coming out of *Ægypt*, to the utter ruin and confuſion of their enemies. When they had ſpent ſome few days in jollity and refreſhment, they marched forward with a better ordered army than before, and a much greater too; for the enemies arms which were taken upon the rout had much encreaſed their number. Advancing at this rate by eaſy marches, they reached mount *Sinai*, the place where *Moſes* ſaw the viſion of the burning buſh, which we have ſpoken of already. This was the third month after they had left *Ægypt*.

CHAP. III.

Raguel *repairs to his Son-in-Law* Moſes.

Raguel had no ſooner heard of the wonderful ſucceſs of *Moſes*, but he went to congratulate his ſon-in-law, and to ſee how it fared with his daughter *Zipporah*, and their children. *Moſes* was overjoyed to ſee him, offered a ſacrifice, and feaſted the whole people, in the order of their tribes and families, not far from the burning buſh. *Aaron*, in the mean while, with *Raguel* and the reſt, chanted forth hymns of praiſe and honour to the author of their ſafety, freedom, and deliverance; not forgetting their admirable leader, and how all things proſpered which he took in hand. Neither was *Raguel* behind hand in doing right to the army, and to the dignity of their preſerver, by whoſe authority and direction ſo many wiſe and brave men were ſteered and governed.

CHAP. IV.

Raguel *gives* Moſes *Advice about Religion and Government, and for the ordering of his Army.*

R*Aguel* took notice one day, as his ſon-in-law was hearing cauſes, how intolerably he was oppreſſed with the importunity of attending ſo much buſineſs; but he could not well ſay any thing of it at preſent, without giving an interruption to the courſe of public juſtice; beſides, the people had ſo great a reverence for the authority of *Moſes*, that they would have been better ſatisfied to be undone by the juſtice of *Moſes*, than to carry the cauſe by the corruption of any other judge. But ſo ſoon as the hurry of the day was over, *Raguel* took *Moſes* aſide, and gave him his opinion upon the matter. "You have," ſays he, "more work upon "your hands than it is poſſible for one man "to diſpatch. As for the matter of private "perſonal cauſes, they are ſo numerous "you can never go through with them: "Whereſore you ſhall do well, to employ "other people, as you have choice enough, "for the diſcharge of that function. But, "as to what concerns religion and govern"ment, that muſt be your particular pro"vince; for there is no man ſo fit to be "truſted with the care of ſo many thouſand "ſouls as yourſelf.

"Now to your worldly affairs, the thing "I would adviſe you is this. Take a mu"ſter of all your troops, and divide them "into ſo many bodies of ten thouſand men "a piece, placing officers over every one "of theſe bodies. You ſhall afterwards "ſubdivide them into thouſands, five hun"dreds, hundreds, and fifties, with officers "over them likewiſe; and ſo divide them "again into thirties, twenties, and tens, "with diſtinct officers alſo belonging to "them, to have their names from the "number of men they command; and all "theſe to have their proper judges to de"termine controverſies: Thoſe judges to "have the approbation of the people for "men of probity and virtue.* Yet in caſes "of great difficulty and importance, let "them repair to you. By this means the "people ſhall have right done them, and "you yourſelf be at liberty to attend God's "worſhip for the good of the army, with"out any interruption." *Moſes* was ſo well pleaſed with this ſcheme of *Raguel*'s, that he ordered the project to be put immediately in execution.

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* This manner of electing the judges and officers of the *Iſraelites*, by the teſtimonies and ſuffrages of the people, before they were ordained either by God or *Moſes*, deſerves to be carefully noted; becauſe it ſeems to have been the pattern in the like manner of the choice and ordination of biſhops, preſbyters, and deacons, in the *Chriſtian* church.

CHAP. V.

Moſes *goes up to the Mount, where he receives the Law from God, and communicates it to the People.*

WHILE they continued in this place, *Moſes* called the people together, and told them that he was going up to mount *Sinai*, to ſpeak with God, and not without hope of bringing them comfortable news at his return; commanding the people, in the mean time, to pitch their tents at the foot of the mountain, and ſo upon this *Moſes* went up.

Mount *Sinai* is by much the higheſt eminence in all thoſe countries, and, betwixt the extreme height, and the craggineſs of the rocks, it ſeems not only inacceſſible, but weariſome to the very eye to look up at it. The place is accounted ſacred, upon the credit of an ancient tradition of God's having his habitation there. The *Hebrews* poſted themſelves at the foot of the mountain, as *Moſes* had commanded them; lifting up their hands to God, and muſing within themſelves, what thoſe good tidings might be, which *Moſes* promiſed to bring them at his return. In his abſence they kept their feſtivals, purifying themſelves, and living in continence even from their own wives, as they were ordered; plying almighty God with hourly prayers to be gracious to *Moſes*, and grant them ſomewhat by him which might conduce to the peace and happineſs of their lives.

They feaſted upon this occaſion with great magnificence, and had their wives and children dreſſed up with more pomp and ornament than uſual. Two days this laſted; but, upon the third, before ſun-riſe, in a clear ſky, there appeared a cloud which covered and encompaſſed the whole camp of the *Hebrews*; the firſt prodigy of that kind ſince the creation. This was afterwards followed by a terrible tempeſt of thunder and lightning, wind and rain; giving to underſtand that God was there. The reader may take this as he pleaſes; but it will not become me to depart in the leaſt from what I find in holy ſcripture.

The *Hebrews* were ſo terrified at what they had ſeen and heard, as well for the novelty and ſtrangeneſs of the thing, as for the common rumour of God's dwelling upon this mount, that they durſt not ſo much as put their heads out of their tents; but fell into a conſternation, giving it for granted, that God in his wrath had taken away *Moſes*, and that they themſelves were to expect the ſame fate. As they lay ready to ſink under this dreadful apprehenſion, *Moſes* appeared; but with ſo much joy and majeſty in his countenance, that all their fears vaniſhed, and this change made way for hopes of better things, the air alſo recovering its former ſerenity.

While this paſſed, *Moſes* ſummoned the people to attend, and hear what God had given him in charge to deliver. Whereupon they drew together, and *Moſes* betaking himſelf to a riſing ground, where he might be beſt ſeen and heard, addreſſed himſelf to the people in manner following:

"You men and brethren, *Hebrews*; as our moſt gracious God hath been always hitherto propitious to your prayers, ſo I am now to tell you, upon this preſent occaſion, that he hath received your meſſenger with infinite grace and goodneſs; and you are likewiſe to reſt aſſured, that he will take your army into his protection, and preſcribe to you ſuch ways of living, that you yourſelves cannot ſo much as wiſh to be more happy, than a careful obſervance of thoſe rules will make you.

“Wherefore, as you have any reverence for that God, and for all the mighty things which he hath done in your favour, do not make ſlight, I beſeech you, of what I am going to ſay. You are only to conſider the goodneſs and the advantage of the commands I bring you; and to adore the majeſty of that God, who, for the promoting of your happineſs, hath condeſcended to make uſe of me for the reporter of his gracious will and pleaſure towards you. Do not any longer look upon me as *Moſes*, the ſon of *Amram* and *Jochabel;* but as the inſtrument, who, for your ſake, cauſed the water of the *Nile* to be turned into blood, and, with variety of plagues, broke the hearts of the *Ægyptians*; he who paved you a way thro' the ſea, and fetched food for you from heaven, and water out of the rock for you to drink; he who made *Adam* lord of the world, ſaved *Noah* from the deluge, put *Abraham*, our progenitor, in poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan;* he who made *Sarah* bring forth *Iſaac* in the old age of his parents, bleſſed *Jacob* with twelve ſuch wonderful ſons, and made *Joſeph* governor of *Ægypt;* it is he who, by my hand, honours you with theſe precepts and commands; and you are to value me only as the interpreter of his holy will. Keep theſe commands ſacred and inviolate, and let them be dearer to you than your wives and children. Your obedience will make your lives happy, the ſea calm, your wives fruitful, your lands ſhall bring forth increaſe, and you ſhall be a terror to your enemies: For I have ſpo- with God face to face; I have heard his divine voice, and I am likewiſe to aſſure you, that he will take care of your poſterity.”

At the end of this diſcourſe, he conducted the people, with their wives and children, to a place where they might hear the voice of God ſpeaking to them, and teaching them what they ſhould do. This he did for the authority of the promulgation; for it would not have made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the minds of the hearers, from the lips of any mortal. So they all heard a voice deſcending from above, and it was ſo diſtinct that they all underſtood it. But for the commandments which *Moſes* left in writing in the two tables, we are not to publiſh the very words, but the minutes of them are as follow. We are taught,

I. That there is but one God, and he alone is to be worſhipped.

II. That no image of any living creature is to be adored.

III. That no man is to ſwear raſhly.

IV. That the ſeventh day is to be kept holy, and not to be profaned by any common work.

V. That parents are to be honoured.

VI. That we are not to commit murder.

VII. That we are not to commit adultery.

VIII. That we are not to commit theft.

IX. That we are not to bear falſe witneſs.

X. That we are not to covet any thing that is our neighbour's.

The people were abundantly ſatisfied to hear the ſame thing over-again from the voice of God, which *Moſes* had told them of before-hand, and ſo they went their way. But before many days were over, they fell to ſoliciting *Moſes* again and again, to procure them a body of laws for the ordering of civil matters; who gratified them with a proviſion alſo of ſuch laws, preſcribing what to do, and what not, and how to govern themſelves one with another.

About this time *Moſes* went up again to the mount, having firſt told the people of his intent that he might not want witneſſes of his aſcenſion. His ſtay being longer than they expected, (for he was forty days abſent) the people began to be in pain for fear ſome miſchief might have befallen him; and in all their troubles, nothing went nearer the hearts of them than the apprehenſions of his being deſtroyed. But they diſcourſed the matter ſeveral ways: Some, that had not much kindneſs for him, would have it, that he was devoured by wild beaſts; others had the charity to fancy that God had taken him to himſelf; but the wiſer ſort debated it both ways. "If it ſhould prove," they "ſaid, that he was indeed torn to pieces "by wild beaſts, what was there more in it, "than a miſhap in one of the common ac- "cidents of life? And then for the ſuppoſition of his being taken up to God, it was in truth but a conjecture ſuitable to the reverance they had for his virtue. Betwixt theſe two ſurmiſes, they were not caſt down ſo much for his ſake, as for their own, in the loſs of ſuch a governor and patron, as was never to be repaired. Their grief and deſperation left them no place to hope for any thing; and in this hopeleſsneſs they could not yet forbear lamenting; Nay, they durſt not ſo much as move their camp, becauſe of the order they had to wait his coming back.

At the end of forty days and forty nights, and without either meat or drink in that interva *Moſes* returns and ſhews himſelf, to the unſpeakable joy of the whole army. He told them how much they were the care of divine providence; for in theſe days of his abſence, he had been inſtructed in the meaſures and conduct of a good and happy life. He told them that it was God's command they ſhould build him a tabernacle for himſelf at any time to come down to, and be among them; but rather as to a viſit, than to a place of abode. After this, there would be no further need, he ſaid, of travelling to *Mount Sinai*; for God would come down to them. This tabernacle was ſtill to go along with the army, where God would be always at hand to receive their prayers.

As to the meaſures and model of it, *Moſes* told them that he had his inſtructions, and that there was nothing more for them to do, than preſently to enter upon the undertaking. With this, he produced the two tables of the ten commandments, five in each column, and of God's own writing.

CHAP. VI.

Moſes *builds a Tabernacle, according to God's Appointment, for his holy Worſhip.*

THE peoples affections were ſo elevated with the diſcourſe and preſence of *Moſes* (ſo lately given for loſt) that they made collections in ſtrife who ſhould do moſt towards the advancing of this ſtructure. They preſented gold, ſilver, copper, curious wood that would not take the worm; goats hair; purple, and ſcarlet-coloured ſheepſkins; and ſome white, ſome blue; wool of the ſame tincture; fine linen; precious ſtones for ornament, ſet in gold; perfumes of all ſorts. Some ſent in cattle for ſacrifices: And all this towards the uſe and ſervice of the tabernacle, which was, in effect, but a kind of an ambulatory, portable temple. So ſoon as the contribution was made, ſome giving to the uttermoſt of their abilities, others even beyond them; *Moſes* ſets his architects at work upon it without delay, as God had commanded. And they were ſo great maſters in their way too, that the people would have pitched upon the ſame perſons, even if had been left to their choice. Their names we have upon record in the holy ſcriptures; as *Bezaleel* of the tribe of *Judah* the ſon of *Uri* and *Mariam* the ſiſter of *Moſes*, *Aholiab* the ſon of *Aheſamach* of the tribe of *Dan*. Nay, the people were ſo free of their money, goods, and pains, that *Moſes* was forced to reſtrain them by proclamation, and bid them hold their hands; there being more than enough brought in already.

And the maſter builders were of that opinion; ſo that they were now to go in hand with the fabric: *Moſes* directing the magnitude, and the proportion of it, according to what God had appointed in the mount. He gave particular order alſo for the ſacrificing veſſels, with the ſize and number of thoſe that were to be employed in the divine worſhip. The zeal and bounty of the women too was very remarkable, in the ſparkling magnificence and curioſity of the ſacerdotal veſtments, and whatever elſe might ſerve to illuſtrate, either the place or the duty.

Things being thus prepared, *Moſes* proclaimed a feſtival, where every man was to attend, and ſacrifice according to his ability: And ſo ſoon as that was over, he went in hand with the erecting of a tabernacle according to this following model.

The outward court was to be fifty cubits in breadth, a hundred in length; twenty brazen pillars on each ſide long ways, ten acroſs, and every pillar five cubits in height, with rings and borders to it of ſilver: The baſe of braſs, curiouſly wrought and gilded, and faſtened into the ground with pins of a cubit in length, pointed at the end like the foot of a pike: Which with the help of cords, that paſſed through the ringlets, bound the whole frame together, from top to bottom, and kept it firm and ſteady againſt the ſtrongeſt blaſts. It was encompaſſed with a veil of curious fine linen, that hung from the corniſhes down to the very baſes; which ſerved for a wall to the encloſure.

Theſe were the dimenſions of three ſides of the work; and it was alſo fifty cubits in front: Twenty of them left open for a door or entrance, with two planks or quarters like gate-poſts on each ſide of the paſſage. They were covered all over with ſilver work, only the baſes were braſs. There were likewiſe ſix other planks, three on each hand, that for ſtrength's ſake were jointed one in another, and a curious curtain drawn over them. The gate ſpace being twenty cubits wide, was five alſo in depth, and covered with a delicate embroidery of flowers and figures (living creatures only excepted) in violet colours, ſcarlet and purple, upon a veil of fine linen.

Within the court ſtood a laver for water, being a large veſſel of braſs, with a foot of the ſame, for the prieſts to waſh their hands and their feet in.

In the middle of this court ſtood the tabernacle, fronting to the eaſt for the advantage of receiving the beams of the riſing ſun. It was thirty cubits in length, and twelve in breadth; and juſt as high as it was broad. One ſide of it looked toward the ſouth, another toward the north; and the back part of it to the weſt. The two ſides were made up of forty wooden planks, twenty of a ſide, and the form of them quadrangular; a cubit and a half in breadth, and four fingers thick: plated all over with gold; two tenons to every plank, and two ſilver baſes, with the mortiſſes to receive thoſe tenons. On the weſt ſide there ſtood ſix other boards, which were likewiſe over-laid with gold, and ſo nicely put together that they ſeemed to be all of a piece. Now theſe twenty boards, being each of them a cubit and a half over, make up the juſt length of thirty cubits. The ſix boards on the weſtern ſide only nine cubits; but then there were two other planks to join them, one at each corner in the ſame poſition, and of the ſame length and breadth with the other, but much thicker, to bind the ends and that ſide of the tabernacle the faſter together. Every plank had golden rings or ſtaples driven into it, and all ſo orderly diſpoſed, that they anſwered one another in a direct line. Through theſe rings there went ſeveral bars, of five cubits in length, and plated all over with gold; Which reaching from end to end, kept the whole quarter tight, by framing one piece into another. On the back part, or the lower end of this ſtructure, the boards were all ranged and ordered after the ſame manner, by paſſing a gilt bar through as many rings as there were plates, and accommodating one bar to another. There were moreover bolts and ſtaples at the corners to keep end and ſides together; which, with the help of mortiſſes to bind one piece with the other, ſecured the tabernacle againſt wind and weather.

The inſide of this tabernacle was divided into thrice ten cubits in length. At ten cubits from the bottom, there ſtood four pillars a-croſs; of the ſame workmanſhip and the ſame matter, and upon baſes of the ſame make and metal already ſpoken of; ſtanding at equal diſtances one from the other. Within theſe pillars was the moſt holy place which was inacceſſible even to the prieſts themſelves, to whom the reſt of the tabernacle was all open. This diviſion of it into three parts, ſeems to hold ſome analogy with the conſideration of the univerſe. The firſt part, where the very prieſts were not permitted to enter, may be allowed to have ſome reſemblance to heaven itſelf as the throne of the divine majeſty: And for the other twenty cubits, where only the prieſts had admittance, it bare a reſemblance, in ſome ſort, to the earth and the ſea. At the entrance into this tabernacle, there were five guilded columns planted upon baſes of braſs, and all covered with curtains of fine yarn, died blue, purple, and ſcarlet, and woven together. The firſt of theſe curtains was ten cubits ſquare, and ſerved for a covering to the partition betwixt the moſt holy place and the holy, to keep the former out of ſight. The temple itſelf was called holy; but the ſpace within the four pillars, bears the name of *Sanctum Sanctorum*. This curtain, or veil, was beautified with all ſorts of flowers and curious figures; living creatures only excepted.

There was yet another veil that for ſize, colours and work, was not inferior to the former; and this overſpread the five pillars at the coming in. It was faſtened at the top with hooks and eyes, and ſo down to the middle of the five columns; leaving the reſt open for the prieſts to enter by. This veil had another over it, of the ſame largeneſs, and almoſt contiguous to it; but the ground flaxen: And it had rings tacked to it, with a ſtring run through them, to draw at pleaſure, eſpecially upon feſtival days, to give the people the ſight of the under curtain, with all the ornaments of its embroidery and figures. At other times, and chiefly in foul weather, the upper curtain ſerved for a cover to preſerve the former, being of a ſtuff that was proof againſt the rain. This kind of curtain has been made uſe of at the door of the temple from the very building of it to this day.

There were likewiſe ten pieces of hanging, of eight and twenty cubits compaſs each, and four cubits deep; and ſo exactly coupled together with golden loops as if they had been all but one entire piece. Theſe hangings covered the whole tabernacle, top and ſides, within one foot of the ground. There were likewiſe eleven pieces more, of the ſame depth, but ſomewhat longer: That is to ſay, they were thirty cubits, each, and made of hair, as the other were of wool, and the workmanſhip every jot as artificial. Theſe curtains were a covering to the other ten; and as they hung down looſe and flowing upon the ground, they carried ſome ſort of reſemblance to the canopy of a bed. The eleventh curtain was put up over the door of the tabernacle; the odd number being ſpecially deſigned for that ſervice. This covering of goat's hair had yet another of ſkins over that, for a ſhelter againſt heats and rains. The ſpectacle, in fine, was ſo great a ſurprize to people at a diſtance, by the ſky-colour appearance of it, that it ſeemed to the eye a perfect repreſentation of the heavens. Theſe curtains of hair-cloth and ſkins were, as the others, for a fence againſt the injuries of the ſeaſons.

After the fininiſhing of the tabernacle, they went in hand with the ark of God, which was made of a wood the *Hebrews* call *Heron*, the ſtrongeſt and firmeſt of all plants, and the moſt ſecure againſt rotting or taking the worm. The figure of the ark was this: It was two cubits and a half in length, one and a half broad, and as much in depth, covered over with pure gold, and ſo orderdered both within and without, that there was no wood to be ſeen. The cover was cramped together very firm with gold hooks, and every where ſo ſmooth, that there was no danger of one part galling another. At the two ends of the frame were placed four gold rings, one at every corner; and thro' thoſe rings two gilded bars laid acroſs, on each ſide one, to remove the ark at any time from place to place, upon occaſion; for they uſed no other way of tranſporting it than the prieſts and *Levites* carrying it upon their ſhoulders. Upon this cover were two figures, which the *Hebrews* call *Cherubims*, a kind of winged creature, anſwering the deſcription of what *Moſes* ſaw about the throne of God, and what no man had ever ſeen the like of before. In this ark were depoſited the two tables of the decalogue; five commandments in each table, and two and a half in a column; and it was laid up in the ſanctuary.

In this tabernacle *Moſes* placed a table, not unlike that at *Delphi*, two cubits in length, one in breadth, and the height of a cubit and a half. The feet of it, from the middle downward, were exactly like thoſe the *Dorians* make uſe of for their beds, and made round; but from thence upwards ſquare, with a border of four fingers thickneſs, jutting out, and a crown of gold over and under it on every ſide. Under this border there were four rings of gold faſtened into the upper part of the four feet, one at each corner, and gilt bars of the firmeſt wood paſſed through them, and ſerved for handles, upon the removal of it from one place to another. This table ſtood in the temple, towards the north, not far from the ſanctuary itſelf. There were ſet upon it twelve loaves of unleavened bread, ſix on each ſide of the table, and piled in order one over another. They were made of the fineſt flower, two aſſars in quantity, or ſeven *Attic* cotylas, after the *Hebrew* meaſure, each cake containing two omers. Over theſe loaves were two gold diſhes of incenſe. At the end of ſeven days theſe loaves were taken away, and others put in their places. Now the ſeventh day we call our ſabbath. But we ſhall ſpeak further of this in another place.

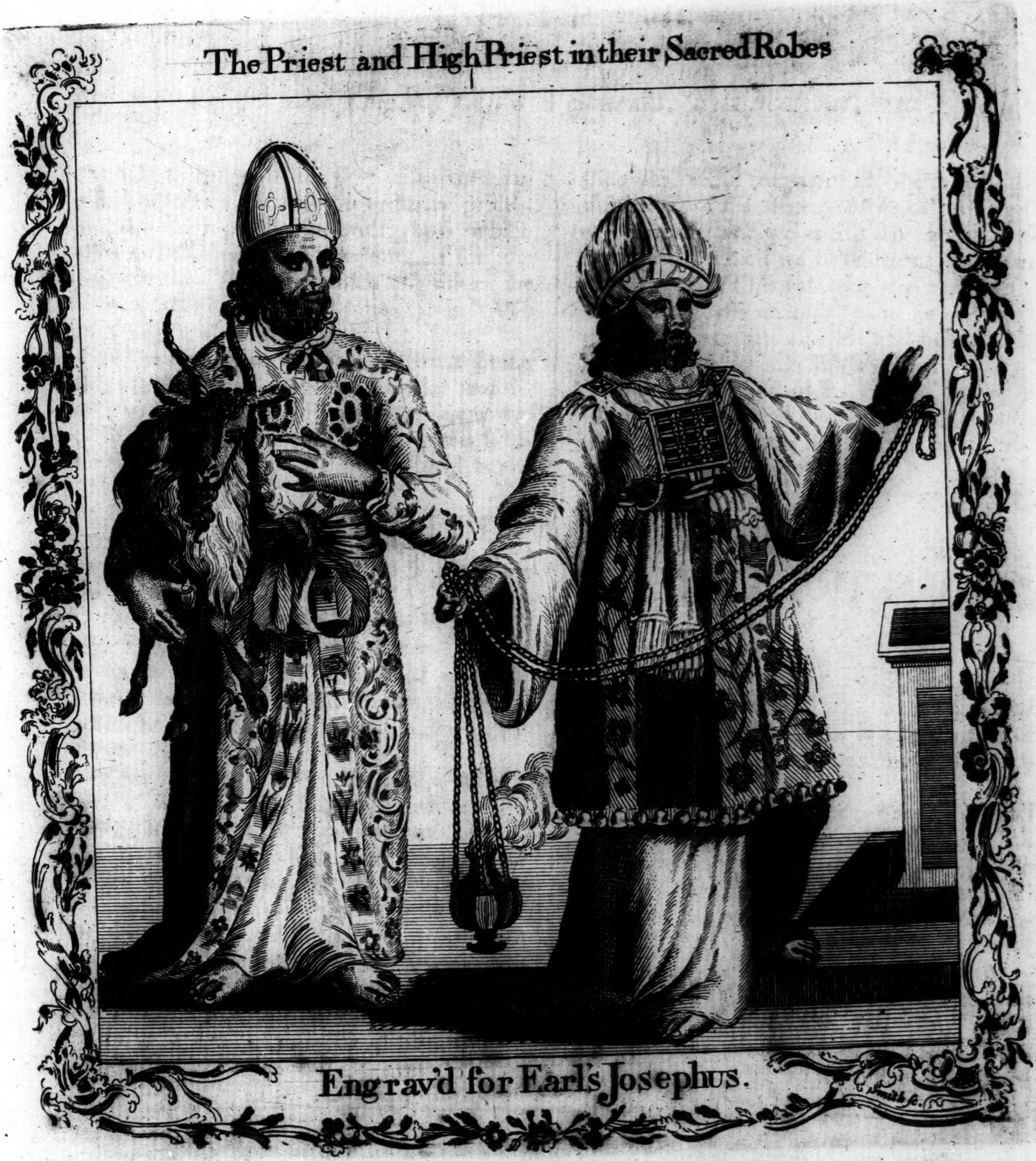
Juſt over againſt this table, on the ſouth ſide, ſtood a golden candleſtick, the work of the founder, and caſt hollow; the weight of it a hundred mines, which the *Hebrews* call *Cinchares*, and the *Greeks* a *talent*. This candleſtick was ſet out with bowls, lillies, pomegranates, and ſmall cups and diſhes, all of pure gold, to the number of ſeventy pieces, which ſhot up out of the ſhank into ſeven branches, anſwering the number of the planets, and they were ranged in an order of uniformity one to another. On the top of theſe ſeven branches were as many lamps; which, as the candleſtick ſtood ſloping, faced the eaſt and ſouth.

Between the candleſtick and the table, as aforeſaid, there was a ſmall altar for incenſe, of the ſame ſtrong and incorruptible wood as the ark; one cubit ſquare for length and breadth, and the height of it double; a golden fire-hearth, and a crown of pure gold round about it, from corner to corner, with rings and ſtaves through them for the eaſe of carriage.

There was alſo another altar erected before the tabernacle, the frame of the ſame wood as the former, five cubits ſquare, and three in height, finiſhed after the ſame deſign as the former, ſave that it was plated all over with braſs; and, in the middle of it, betwixt top and bottom, a brazen grate, of a kind of net-work, for the aſhes to fall through. There were alſo funnels, vials, cenſers, cups, and pans, and other neceſſaries for the ſervice of the altar, all of gold.

CHAP.

The Priest and High Priest in their Sacred Robes



Engrav'd for Earl's Josephus.

Smith sc.

geably placed, and at equal diſtances one from another. This garment was all of a piece, and without ſeam, and had no opening to it but only lengthways, a little below the ſhoulders behind, and ſo to the middle of the breaſt before, with a border to it for decency's ſake, to keep the gaping out of ſight, with another border likewiſe to what was left open for the arms to paſs through the ſleeves.

Over this veſtment there was yet a third, which was called the *Ephod*, and much the ſame with the *Epomis* of the *Greeks*, according to the deſcription. It was a cubit in length, embroidered all over with gold, and a glorious variety of colours, covering the whole breaſt. It had likewiſe ſleeves to it, ſo that it was no other in effect than a ſhort coat.

Upon the fore-part of this robe, and in the middle of the breaſt, there was left a void place, of a ſpan ſquare, for the *Eſſen*, which the *Greeks* call *Logion*, as much as to ſay, in *Latin*, the *Rationale*, or the *Oracle*. This ſquare piece did juſt fill up that vacancy which was left on purpoſe for it. There were golden rings at every corner, and purple ribbons run through them, to faſten the ephod and the rationale together. And then to fill up all ſpaces, and cover the ſeams, the intervals were wrought over with ſtrings of the ſame colour.

The high prieſt had upon each ſhoulder a ſardonyx ſet in gold, which two ſtones ſerved for buckles to claſp one part of the ephod to the other, with golden ringlets to bind them and the rationale together. Upon theſe ſtones were engraven in *Hebrew* characters the names of *Jacob*'s twelve ſons; the ſix elder upon that on the right ſhoulder, and the other ſix on the left. There were ſet alſo in the eſſen, or rationale, twelve ſtones of ſuch a ſize and luſtre, that both for ornament and value they were ineſtimable. Theſe ſtones were diſpoſed of into four rows, three in a row, and divided one from another by little partitions of gold to ſecure them from falling out. In the firſt row there was a ſardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald; in the ſecond, a ruby, a jaſper and a ſapphire; in the third, a ligyrius, an amethyſt, and an agate; and in the fourth, a chryſolite, an onyx, and a beryl. In theſe twelve precious ſtones were ſet down ſeverally the names of *Jacob*'s twelve ſons, which we look upon as the heads of our tribes; and their names were there inſerted in the order of ſeniority and birth. Now, whereas theſe hooks and faſtenings were not ſufficient of themſelves to ſupport the weight of ſo many precious ſtones, there were two larger and ſtronger pieces tacked to the upper part of the rationale, towards the neck, above the work of the garment; and to theſe were faſtened two wreathed golden chains, and conveyed by ſecret paſſages up to the ſhoulder piece. The upper end of theſe chains was carried about to the back, and ſo hooked with a ring behind, upon the border of the ephod; and this was the principal holdfaſt, which kept all firm together.

There was alſo ſtitched to the rationale a girdle of the colour before ſpoken of, but interwoven with gold. It went twice about the body, and being tied in a knot before, the two ends were let looſe to hang dangling down, and a curious gold fringe to each of them.

The high prieſt's tiara, or mitre, was like that of other prieſts, ſaving only that it had another of purple or violet colour over it, and a triple crown of gold about it; over which crown was the reſemblance in gold of a kind of cup, in form like the bud of the plant which the *Hebrews* call *Saccharus*, and the *Greeks* *Hyoſcyamos*. This plant riſes commonly to ſomewhat above three ſpans in height; the root of it like that of a turnep, and its leaf like mint. It branches out into a round knob, with a coat over it, which ſheds as the fruit ripens. The cup, as I told you, which was placed over the golden crown, was about the bigneſs of the joint of one's little finger, round and hollow, like the inſide of a goblet. The figure of it was a kind of hemiſphere, narrowing a little upwards, and then enlarging itſelf at the brim into the form of a baſon, reſembling a pomgranate cut in two; upon which there grew a round cover, ſo curious by nature, as if it had been turned on purpoſe for it; and it had ſharp points riſing out of it, like the prickles of a pomgranate. Within this cup and cover the fruit is nouriſhed and preſerved. The ſeed of it is like that of the plant *Sideritis*, or wall-ſage, and a flower like plantane. This was the ornament of the mitre, from the neck round to the temples; but the forehead had a golden plate[*] laid over it, with an inſcription upon it of the holy name of God. This is enough ſaid of the dreſs and veſtments of the high prieſt.

I cannot but wonder in this place at the hard treatment we meet with in the world, among thoſe who hate and traduce us, as blaſphemers and deriders of the divinity they adore. Let but any man conſider the ſtructure of the tabernacle, the ſacerdotal veſtments, and the holy veſſels dedicated to the ſervice of the altar, and he muſt of neceſſity be convinced that our law-giver was a pious man, and that all clamours againſt us and our profeſſion, are only calumny and ſlander. For what is all this but the image of the world? The tabernacle of thirty cubits is divided into three parts[†]; that is to ſay, two for the prieſts in general, as a place in common for them all, and as free of acceſs as the earth and the ſea. The third place, where no mortal muſt be admitted, is as the heaven, reſerved only for God himſelf. The twelve loaves of ſhew-bread upon the table ſignify the twelve months of the year. The candleſtick is made up of ſeventy pieces, and refers to the twelve ſigns of the zodiack, through which the ſeven planets take their courſe; and the ſeven lamps on the top of the ſeven branches bear an analogy to the planets themſelves. The curtains, and the four colours wrought in them, repreſent the four elements. The fine linen ſignifies the earth, as the flax takes its growth out of it. By the purple is to be underſtood the ſea, from the blood of the fiſh (or *Murex*) which gives it the tincture. The violet colour is the ſymbol of the air, and the ſcarlet of the fire. By the linen garment of the high prieſt is deſigned the whole body of the earth; and by the violet colour the heavens. The pomgranates anſwer the lightning; and the noiſe of the bells the thunder. The four coloured ephod (ſince it pleaſed God to order it ſo to be) bears a reſemblance to the very nature of the univerſe; and the interweaving it with gold ſeems to have a regard to the rays which give us light. The rationale in the middle of it intimates the poſition of the earth in the centre of the world. The girdle about the body of the prieſt is as the ſea about the globe of the earth. The two ſardonyx ſtones are a kind of figure of the ſun and moon; and the twelve other ſtones may be underſtood either of the twelve months, or of the twelve ſigns in the circle, which the *Greeks* call the *Zodiack*. The violet-coloured tiara ſpeaks a reſemblance of heaven; and it would have been a piece of the greateſt irreverence to have written the ſacred name of God upon any other colour. And laſtly, the triple crown and plate of gold may give us to underſtand the glory and majeſty of almighty

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[*] This golden plate was preſerved until the days of *Origen*, and its inſcription *Holineſs to the Lord*, was in the *Samaritan* characters.

[†] When *Joſephus*, both here, and in *Chapter* VI. ſuppoſes the tabernacle to have been divided into three parts, he ſeems to make the bare entrance a third diviſion, diſtinct from the holy and moſt holy places. This ſuppoſition appears the more reaſonable, becauſe, afterwards in the temple there was a real diſtinct third part, which was called the porch.

God *. This is as plain an illuſtration of theſe matters as I thought needful; and I would not loſe this or any other occaſion of doing all poſſible right to the honour and wiſdom of our incomparable law-giver.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Prieſt-hood of Aaron.

WHEN the work of the tabernacle was thus far advanced, and the next thing in order was to be the dedication of it, God appeared to *Moſes*, and gave him in charge to ſettle his brother *Aaron* in the prieſthood, as the perſon of all men living who beſt deſerved that dignity. So *Moſes* called the people together, and treated them with a moving diſcourſe upon the virtues of *Aaron*, ſetting forth the zeal and paſſion he had for the good of the public, even to the degree of hazarding his life upon ſeveral occaſions for their ſake. *Moſes* found the congregation ſo well ſatisfied with the reaſon of what he ſaid, and the choice of the perſon, that he proceeded in his diſcourſe to this effect.

" Good people of *Iſrael*," ſays he, " we " have now gone through the great work " which God required at our hands, to the " utmoſt of our power. But in regard that " God himſelf will vouchſafe to honour this " tabernacle with his preſence, and that it " is now to be conſecrated, it will become " us, in the firſt place, to make choice of a " high prieſt, who is every way qualified " for the exerciſe of the holy function, and " to offer up prayers and ſacrifices for us. " I muſt confeſs indeed, if the election " were left to me, I ſhould make no difficulty of aſſuming the honour to myſelf, " upon the merit of the dangers and hard- " ſhips I have undergone, for the common " good. But God, whoſe officer the high " prieſt is, hath already ſingled out and de- " voted *Aaron* to the dignity, as the moſt " worthy of the ſacerdotal robe; ſo that *Aa-* " *ron* is deſigned from this time forward to " officiate at the altar, and to offer up vows " and ſupplications to the Almighty on your " behalf; which coming from an interceſſor " of God's own appointment, will be the " more graciouſly received."

The people were all highly pleaſed with what *Moſes* had delivered, giving their aſſent unanimouſly and chearfully to the choice; for no man had ſo fair a pretence to the ſacred character as *Aaron* had, either in reſpect of his family, the gift of prophecy, which he had received, or the excellent qualities of his brother *Moſes*. Now *Aaron* had at this time four ſons, *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar*.

As to the remainder of what had been given toward the building of the tabernacle, *Moſes* ordered the overplus to be laid out in veils and coverings for the tabernacle itſelf, the golden candleſtick, the altar of incenſe, and other holy veſſels, to ſecure them upon any occaſion of removal from either wet or duſt. After this *Moſes* gave the people a ſummons, and laid an impoſition on them of half a ſhekel a head, towards the charge of the work in hand, reckoning an *Hebrew* ſhekel * at four *Attic* drachmas. They ſubmitted to the tax with chearfulneſs. The number of the contributors was ſix hundred and five thouſand, five hundred and fifty; all freemen, and from twenty years of age to fifty. Which money was employed in the ſervice of the tabernacle.

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* This explication of the myſtical meaning of the *Jewiſh* tabernacle and its veſſels, with the garments of the high prieſt, is taken out of *Philo*, and fitted to *Gentile* philoſophical notions. This may be forgiven in *Jews*, greatly verſed in heathen learning and philoſophy, as *Philo* had ever been, and *Joſephus* had long been, when he wrote theſe Antiquities.

Moſes applied himſelf, in the next place, to the purifying of the tabernacle and the prieſts, and the manner of it was this. He took of the choiceſt mirrh five hundred ſhekels worth, of iris the ſame quantity, and of cinnamon and balſam, which are wonderfully fragrant, the one half. Theſe ingredients he ordered to be beaten together, and macerated in a hin of the beſt oil-olive, (which veſſel holds as much as two *Attic* choas). This compoſition being then ſet over the fire, and prepared according to art, produced an ointment of the moſt grateful odour imaginable; with which ointment *Moſes* anointed the prieſts and the tabernacle, and this was the cermony of purification; offering up ſeveral ſorts of ſacrifices alſo in the tabernacle.

As to the golden altar, and the precious perfumes which were dedicated upon it, I ſhall rather paſs over the particulars, than tire out the reader with many words. But, in general, there was incenſe offered twice a day; that is to ſay, before ſun-riſing, and about ſun-ſetting, and purifying oil preſerved for the lamps of the holy candleſtick; three to burn all day, and the reſt to be lighted up in the evening.

The fabric was now finiſhed; and the two maſter-workmen concerned in it were *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab*, whoſe office it was to ſuperintend the reſt, improving other men's inventions, and ſupplying new ones of their own; but of the two *Bezaleel* had the preference. All this was done in ſeven months time, and within the compaſs of a year from their coming out of *Ægypt*.

In the year following, and on the new moon of the month *Xanthicus*, according to the *Macedonians*, or *Niſan*, according to the *Hebrews*, the tabernacle was conſecrated, and ſo were all the veſſels belonging to it. Upon this occaſion, God almighty gave the *Hebrews* to underſtand, by a remarkable ſign, how graciouſly he accepted of their zeal for his ſervice, and that their labour was not loſt in the erecting of that glorious ſtructure; and this he manifeſted by deſcending to take up his habitation there, and vouchſafing them the bleſſing of his preſence. As for inſtance:

It was ſo clear an air, that there was not one cloud to be ſeen, but juſt over and about the tabernacle. And this cloud was not either ſo thick as to threaten foul weather, nor ſo thin as to be tranſparent; but there iſſued from it ſo gentle a dew, that all who ſaw it, and believed in an almighty power, took it for a divine influence, and an evident token that their prayers were heard, and that God himſelf honoured them with his preſence.

When *Moſes* had gratified the artificers who erected and beautified this ſtructure, with encouragements and rewards ſuitable to their deſerts, he ſacrificed in the door of the tabernacle, as God had commanded him, a bullock, a ram, and a kid, for the ſins of the people. When the beaſts, as aforeſaid, were now killed, *Moſes* took of the blood, and ſprinkled it upon *Aaron* and his ſons, purifying them with water of the fountain, and anointing oil, and ſo hallowing them for prieſts of the Lord. This form of conſecration was repeated in all the parts of it for ſeven days ſucceſſively, with the oblation of the ſame ſacrifices, one every day. On the eighth day, *Moſes* appointed a feſtival, and ordered the people to come in and ſacrifice,

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* The weight and value of the *Jewiſh* ſhekel, in the days of *Joſephus*, was equal to about 2s. 10d. and one fifth larger than their old ſhekels.

crifice, according to their abilities; who were ſo ready in their compliance, that they made it a point of honour and conſcience even to out-do themſelves. The ſacrifices were no ſooner laid upon the altar, but there broke out a flame from them of its own accord, like a flaſh of lightning, which conſumed them all.

About this time, a dreadful calamity befel *Aaron*, and would have gone to the heart of him, both as a man and a father, if he had not been fortified againſt all events, and a perſon abſolutely reſigned to God's holy will. *Nadab* and *Abihu*, the two eldeſt of *Aaron*'s four ſons already ſpoken of, as they were about to ſacrifice upon the altar, not according to the preſcription of *Moſes*, but after a manner formerly in practice, were all on a ſudden blaſted and conſumed by a judicial fire, their bodies ſhrivelled up, and themſelves ſcorched to death with an unquenchable flame. *Moſes*, upon this, ordered their father and their brothers to take up the bodies, and carry them out of the camp, and ſo to give them a decent burial. The unexpected death of theſe brothers was ſo terrible a ſurprize to the multitude, that their grief was in effect inconſolable. But *Moſes* earneſtly exhorted the father and the brethren not to lay this misfortune to heart; and rather to conſider that it did not ſtand with the dignity of the prieſthood, to prefer a weak paſſion to the honour and glory of God, *Aaron* being now inveſted with the ſacerdotal ſtole.

Moſes, in fine, delivered himſelf up ſo entirely to the ſervice of God, that he never minded the addreſſes and acclamations of the people. He went no longer to mount *Sinai* for counſel, but into the tabernacle, for inſtructions how to govern himſelf; and in all reſpects like a private man, ſave only in the exerciſe of his charge and function, for the good and well-being of the public. He gave them alſo the laws and precepts in writing, for the leading of their lives acceptably in the ſight of God, and for the preſerving of themſelves in peace and union.

But before I proceed, I muſt remark one thing concerning the veſtments of the high prieſt, which I have hitherto omitted; and it is this, That to prevent all poſſibility of putting an impoſture upon the world, under countenance of the holy robe, or a pretence of the gift of prophecy, it is to be obſerved, that whenever God vouchſafed to honour theſe ſacrifices with his ſpecial preſence, he never failed of accompanying that gracious deſcenſion with ſome ſignal viſible circumſtance or other, to convince not only his own people, but ſtrangers alſo, of the reality of the divine appearance. To inſtance in the two ſardonyxes on the prieſt's ſhoulders, which we have formerly ſpoken of, what a wonderful light does that ſtone on the right ſhoulder of the high prieſt caſt at a great diſtance, beyond its natural luſtre, upon the occaſion of God's ſhewing himſelf well pleaſed with the ſacrifices, and not otherwiſe? and this to the admiration and ſatisfaction of all men living, ſave only ſuch as ſet up to gain the reputation of wiſe men, by a profeſſed contempt of our religion. But there is another thing ſtill more amazing: I ſpeak of the twelve precious ſtones which the high prieſt wore upon his eſſen, or rationale, when God preſaged a victory; for there came out of them ſo ſparkling a glory, that all people looked upon it as a divine influence, and an earneſt of God's aſſiſtance. But it is now two hundred years and upwards ſince they have left ſhining; for God hath been offended with us for our ſins, as I ſhall ſhew elſewhere. But to return to my narration.

The tabernacle being now conſecrated, and all things diſpatched which related to the ſervice of the Almighty, the people were ſo tranſported with joy, to conſider that God was come to dwell among them, that they gave up themſelves wholly to hymns and ſacrifices, and to the thought of living at eaſe, without ſo much as dreaming of any more difficulties to come; ſome of the tribes in general, and others in particular preſenting their reſpective oblations. The heads and princes of the twelve tribes brought ſix waggons, with a pair of oxen to each of them, for the ſervice of the tabernacle, upon any occaſion of removing; beſides a ſilver charger of a hundred and thirty ſhekels weight, and a ſilver bowl of ſeventy ſhekels, both full of fine flour mingled with oil, to be uſed in the ſacrifices; with an incenſe cup full of perfumes, and valued at ten daricks. They offered likewiſe a young bullock, a ram, and a lamb of a year old, for a burnt-offering, with a he-goat for a ſin-offering. They had likewiſe their peace-offerings; that is to ſay, two bullocks a day, five rams, with as many yearling lambs and he-goats. Theſe ſacrifices continued for twelve days, at one every day.

CHAP. IX.

Of Sacrifices.

THERE are two ſorts of ſacrifices; the one particular ond private, the other popular and public; and theſe two differ in the manner of their celebration. One of them is called a burnt offering, or an holocauſt; that is to ſay, the whole ſacrifice was to be burnt: The other is an offering of thankſgiving, and to be eaten by the preſenters of it. To begin now with the former.

When a private man makes an oblation of a burnt-offering, he brings a bullock, a lamb, and a goat; the two latter not above a year old, but the firſt may be allowed to be ſomewhat over; they muſt all be males, and entirely conſumed by the fire. When they are killed, the prieſt ſprinkles the blood of them round about the altar, and after they are well waſhed, cuts them in pieces, ſtrows them with ſalt, and lays them altogether upon it, where the wood lies ready kindled beforehand. He waſhes the feet and the intrails, and then caſts them into the fire with the reſt. The ſkin belongs to the prieſt. This is the ceremony of a burnt offering.

If the oblation be a peace offering, or an offering of thankſgiving, the ſacrifices are of the ſame ſort of creatures, only they muſt be upwards of yearlings, without blemiſh, and male and female. The prieſt, after the killing of them, ſprinkles the blood upon the altar, and lays alſo the kidneys, the kell, and the fillets of the liver, with all the fat upon them, and the rump of the lamb. The breaſt and the right ſhoulder is the prieſt's due; and for the overplus, they who offer the ſacrifice may eat of it during two days; and the remainder afterwards to be burnt.

The ſame method is obſerved in the ſin-offering; only thoſe who are not able to furniſh thoſe ſacrifices, ſhall offer two young pigeons, or two turtles; the one for a burnt offering, and the other for the prieſts to eat. But I ſhall explain myſelf more at large, when I come to treat further of ſacrifices.

If any man falls into the ſin of ignorance, his ſacrifice ſhall be a lamb, or a ſhe-goat, of the ſame age as before, for a ſin-offering, and the prieſt, inſtead of ſmearing the altar all over with the blood, ſhall only ſprinkle it upon the horns, or corners of it. The kidney, with the kell, and the fibres of the liver, to be laid upon the altar. The fleſh and the ſkins are to be reſerved for the prieſts, and the fleſh to be eat that day in the temple; it being againſt the law to leave any part of it till the next day.

If any man commits a wilful ſin, though ſo cloſe, that it is impoſſible to produce any legal proof againſt him, the law appoints a ram for his offering, and the prieſts to eat the fleſh of it, provided it be in the tabernacle, and on the ſame day. The ſin-offering of the heads of the tribes is the ſame with that of private men, ſaving only that the ſacrifices are to be a bull and a goat, and the latter a male.

According to the law, in all ſacrifices, as well private as public, there was to be a certain proportion of fine flour; the quantity of one aſſar to a lamb, two to a ram, and three to a bullock; and this was to be conſecrated upon the altar, with a mixture of oil. It was alſo part of the oblation; half a hin of oil to a bullock, a third to a ram, and a fourth to a lamb. They were obliged likewiſe to provide juſt as much wine as oil; and to pour the wine about the altar. If any one ſhall make an offering of fine flour, for the performance of a vow, without ſacrificing, let him lay a handful of it upon the altar, and the prieſt to eat the reſt, either boiled (for it is kneaded with oil), or made into cakes; the ſacrificer taking out of it what he finds neceſſary for burnt offerings.

The law forbids the ſacrificing of the dam and the young one at the ſame time, if the young one be not at leaſt eight days old.

There are likewiſe other ſacrifices for the recovery of health, and divers ſuch occaſions, where cakes are eaten with the fleſh of the ſacrifice, and the prieſts to take their part; but nothing of it muſt be left till the next morning.

CHAP. X.

Laws and Ordinances for the Regulation of Sacrifices, Feſtivals, and other Matters.

THE law hath alſo ordered a yearling lamb to be ſacrificed every day, morning and evening, at the public charge; and two upon the ſeventh day, or ſabbath, after the ſame manner. And ſo likewiſe at the beginning of the month, over and above the ordinary ſacrifices, two ſeven yearling lambs, a ram, and a he-goat for the ſin-offering, in caſe of any thing forgotten.

On the ſeventh month, which the *Macedonians* call *Hyperberetæus*, the offering was a bullock, a ram, and ſeven lambs, beſides thoſe already mentioned, and a he-goat for a ſin-offering.

On the tenth day of the ſame month was a faſt till night; and the ſacrifices were a young bullock, two rams, ſeven lambs, and a he-goat for ſin; with two other goats over and above. One of theſe goats was preſented alive before the Lord, and ſo let go into the wilderneſs, as a ſcape goat, to expiate for the people. The other was carried out into ſome clean place, near the camp, and burnt to aſhes, ſkin and all; and the bullock was likewiſe burnt at the ſame time. Now this bullock was not provided by the people, but by the high prieſt; who, after the killing of him, and the bringing of his blood, with that of the goat, into the temple, dipped his finger into the blood, and ſprinkled the cover of the tabernacle ſeven times, and ſo in like manner the floor, the whole temple, the golden altar, and the great altar before the door of the tabernacle. After this, the extreme parts of theſe creatures, the kidneys, and the fat, with part of the liver, were laid upon the altar, the high prieſt furniſhing a ram alſo upon his own account, and all preſented to the Lord for a burnt offering.

On the fifteenth day of the ſame month, winter drawing on, the people were commanded, with their reſpective tribes, to ſecure and fortify their tents, againſt the rigour of the ſeaſon; and likewiſe that, whenever they ſhould come into the land which God had promiſed them, they ſhould repair to the metropolis, as the ſeat of the holy temple, and there celebrate an eight day's feſtival, with burnt offerings, ſacrifices, and peace offerings, carrying boughs in their hands of myrtle, willow, palms, and little ſprouts of peach.

On the firſt day of the eight was to be preſented a burnt offering of thirteen young bullocks, fourteen lambs, two rams, and a goat, for an offering of attonement. The number of the lambs and rams, with the goat, was to be the ſame for ſix days; but one bullock to be abated every day, till the number was brought down to ſeven. The eight was to be a day of reſt, and there were dedicated to God a calf, a ram, ſeven lambs, and a goat for a ſin-offering. This was the feaſt of tabernacles, upon the *Hebrews* pitching their tents, and it has been conſtantly obſerved, with great ceremony, by our people.

In the month *Xanthicus*, which we call *Niſan*, and reckon upon as the beginning of the year, on the fourteenth of the moon, when the ſun is in *Aries*, that being the month in which our fathers came out of *Ægypt*, the law enjoins us to offer the ſame ſacrifices every year over again, which our predeceſſors did, at their deliverance from the *Ægyptian* bondage, under the name of *the feaſt of the paſſover*. This feſtival we celebrate through all our tribes, without leaving any remainder of the oblation till the next day. The fifteenth is the feaſt of unleavened bread, which laſts ſeven days, and follows next to the paſſover. The ſacrifices are two bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs, for a burnt offering; to which is added a goat every day for a ſin-offering, toward the entertainment of the prieſts.

On the ſecond day of the feaſt of unleavened bread, and the ſixteenth of the month, they make an offering to God of the firſt fruits of their grain, before they taſte of it themſelves; judging it a reaſonable thing, that the author of all the bleſſings they enjoy ſhould be ſerved firſt. The method of the oblation is this: They take a quantity of corn ears, and dry them before a fire, upon a clean hearth. After this they break and bruiſe them, and ſo offer upon the altar an aſſar, one handful of it to be left there, and the reſt goes to the prieſt. The people after this are allowed to reap at pleaſure; and the offering in this caſe is a lamb for a holocauſt.

On the fiftieth day after the feaſt of the paſſover, that is to ſay, at the end of ſeven weeks, or forty-nine days, was celebrated the feaſt of pentecoſt, ſo called by the *Greeks*, as denoting the number of fifty; and the *Hebrews* call it *Aſſartha* for the ſame reaſon. On this day they offered to God a wheaten loaf of two aſſars, baked with leaven, and two lambs for a ſacrifice, which ſerved for the prieſt's ſupper; but nothing was to be left of it till the next morning. The burnt offerings were three calves, two ſheep, fourteen lambs, and two goats for a ſin-offering. Now there are burnt offerings and reſt from labour preſcribed in all their feaſts, according to certain rules and limitations in both caſes; with directions alſo which of the ſacrifices are to be eaten.

There was likewiſe a proviſion ordered out of the public ſtock of twenty-four aſſars of fine flour, to be made into loaves of bread with leaven, two and two to a loaf. Now this bread was to be baked on the ſabbath eve, and ſet upon the holy table next morning; ſix loaves on each hand, and one directly againſt the other, with two golden cups of incenſe over them; which were there to remain till the next ſabbath day, and then given to the prieſts to eat, and others ſet in their places. The frankincenſe being alſo burnt in the holy fire, which conſumes the burnt offerings, there was freſh incenſe immediately ſupplied upon freſh loaves.

The high prieſt, moreover offered twice a day of the fineſt flour ſteeped in oil, and a little baked, to the proportion of one aſſar; one half of it to be caſt into the fire in the morning, and the other half in the evening.

CHAP. XI.

The Tribe of Levi *ſet apart for the Service of the Tabernacle. Of meats and Perſons, clean and unclean.*

THE tribe of *Levi* being now ſet apart for the peculiar ſervice of God, *Moſes* purified them with water of the fountain; and, ſacrificing, according to cuſtom, committed the tabernacle, the holy veſſels, and all other things belonging to it, to their care and charge, under the orders and appointments of the prieſts; and they were now, from henceforth, looked upon as conſecrated to God.

Moſes declared himſelf, at the ſame time, upon the difference of meats, clean and unclean, what might be eaten, and what not, which we ſhall afterwards give the reaſon of, as it falls in our way. But for the blood of any creature it is abſolutely forbidden, upon an opinion that the very life and ſpirit of the creature is in it; neither is the fleſh of any thing to be eaten which died of itſelf; and the fat of a ſheep, a goat, or an ox, is alſo prohibited.

It was alſo ordered that all lepers, and ſuch as labour under a gonorrhœa, ſhould be turned out of the city *; and ſo for women, during the time of their natural purgations, to withdraw from the converſation of men for ſeven days, and then to return as purified. And ſo for one who has aſſiſted at the burying of a corpſe, he ſhall not be reputed clean till ſeven days after. But where the pollution out-laſts the ſeven days, let the patient ſacrifice two lambs; one to be dedicated, and the prieſts to take the other. And the ſame ſacrifice ſerves in the caſe of nocturnal pollutions; only the patient to dip himſelf ſtripped in cold water, as men uſually do, upon a congreſs with their lawful wives. But the lepers are to all purpoſes baniſhed the city and human converſation, as people little better than dead. But if it ſhall pleaſe God to deliver any man from this affliction, upon his humble ſupplication, and to reſtore him to a ſound habit again, there are ſeveral ſacrifices which he is obliged to offer up to God in acknowledgment of the benefit he has received.

This is enough to lay open the frivolous vanity of that ſtory, which will have *Moſes* driven out of *Ægypt* as a leper, and none ſo fit as he to conduct the *Hebrews* into the land of *Canaan*, who were all tainted with this malady as well as himſelf. If this had been true, he would never have eſtabliſhed ſuch a law for his own honour, but would have oppoſed it, had it been propoſed; eſpecially conſidering, that, in ſeveral parts of the world, lepers are ſo far from being ſubjected to indignities and contempt, that they are many times advanced to commiſſions of honour and truſt, in charges military, eccleſiaſtical, and civil. Now if *Moſes* and the multitude were in truth tainted with this malady, how came it that he did not rather eſtabliſh laws in favour of it? But, being clean himſelf, and converſing with thoſe who were ſo, he ordained this law for the glory of God, and with a ſpecial regard to thoſe who were infected. But every man is at liberty to think of this matter as he pleaſes.

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* *Joſephus* frequently calls the camp a city, and the tabernacle a temple, in alluſion to the latter city and temple, which he knew ſo well long afterwards.

In the caſe of a woman newly delivered of a child, if a male, ſhe is not allowed to enter the temple, or to be preſent at divine ſervice for forty days after; nor, if it be a female, for twice as many. But at the end of the term aforeſaid, ſhe is bound to offer ſacrifices, part to God, and the remainder to the prieſts.

If a man ſuſpects his wife of adultery, his offering muſt be an aſſar of barley meal, laying a handful of it upon the altar, and giving the reſt to the prieſts to eat. Some one of them ſets the woman at the gate which looks toward the tabernacle, uncovers her head, and writes the name of God upon a parchment, and commands her to declare upon her oath if ever ſhe had been falſe to her huſband's bed. To which ſhe anſwers with this imprecation: "If I have, "may my thigh rot, and my belly burſt, "and let me die miſerable. But, on the "other hand, if it ſhall be ſound to be only a fancy, and an extravagant jealouſy of "my huſband's, I beſeech God to grant me "the bleſſing of a male child, within ten "months of this day." After this oath the prieſt took water, and waſhed the ſacred name of God clear out of the parchment; and then ſtraining the water into an earthen veſſel, caſt of the duſt of the floor and walls of the temple into it, and ſo gave it to the woman to drink. If ſhe was innocent, ſhe would ſuddenly conceive, and go happily through with her burden; but if guilty of incontinence and a falſe oath likewiſe, ſhe was ſure to periſh with horror and infamy, as is ſaid before.

CHAP. XII.

Laws againſt Adultery and Inceſt. Of Prieſt's Marriages. The Sabbath and Jubilee, &c.

ADultery was expreſsly forbidden, *Moſes* very well underſtanding that there could be no happineſs in a conjugal ſtate, but in a mutual faith and confidence betwixt man and wife; and likewiſe how much it concerns as well governments as families, that the members both of the one and of the other ſhould be lawfully begotten. He condemned inceſt as a moſt horrible wickedneſs, whether with the mother, the mother in-law, the aunt either by father or mother, the ſiſter, or the daughter-in-law. He prohibited the wife from living ſo much as with her huſband, in the time of her purgations. He pronounced it likewiſe a moſt abominable ſin to have to do with boys or beaſts; and all theſe tranſgreſſions he made capital.

As to the prieſts, over and above the tying them up to the ſame laws with other people, they were likewiſe under a prohibition of marrying with ſome ſorts of women; as a mercenary proſtitute, a maid ſervant, a ſlave, a public hoſteſs, or a woman divorced upon any account whatſoever. There were ſome certain allowances alſo permitted to the prieſts in ordinary, and yet denied to the high prieſt; as the marrying of a widow, when the high prieſt * was only to marry a virgin. He was alſo injoined not to come near the dead; whereas the other prieſts were ſuffered to pay all cuſtomary reſpects to the bodies of their dead fathers, mothers, brothers, or children; *Moſes* commanding them to behave themſelves with all candour and ſimplicity both in word and deed.

If a prieſt happened to have upon him any maim or corporal defect, he had his part however of the oblations among his fellows, but he was not ſuffered to officiate at the altar, or ſo much as enter into the temple; looking upon it as the duty of a prieſt to demean himſelf with purity and reverence, not only in the exerciſe of his function, but in the government alſo of his life and manners. Thoſe therefore who behave themſelves as they ought to do in the ſacerdotal robe, are ſober and ſpotleſs in all other reſpects, as well as in their office; neither are they allowed ſo much as to taſte of wine in their prieſt's veſtments; and their ſacrifices are offered whole, and without blemiſh.

Theſe were the laws which *Moſes* gave in the deſert, and which he cauſed to be obſerved during his life; preſcribing others alſo for the government of the people when they ſhould come into the poſſeſſion of the land of *Canaan*. He ordered every ſeventh year to be a year of reſt to the earth, without either planting or plowing, anſwerable to what he had eſtabliſhed in the caſe of the ſeventh day. He appointed likewiſe that all the fruits which the earth ſhould produce in that ſeventh year ſhould be in common to ſtrangers as well as *Hebrews*, without laying up any thing in ſtore. The like was to be done every ſeven times ſeven years; the next year being the fiftieth, or *Hebrews* jubilee, wherein debtors were diſcharged, and ſervants made free; that is to ſay, ſuch as for ſome tranſgreſſion of the law had commuted death for ſervitude.

Upon the approach of this jubilee, which ſignifies liberty, there is alſo a reſtitution of lands to the ancient poſſeſſors; and it is done after this manner. The buyer and ſeller meet about it, and, upon balancing the profits of the eſtate with the expences upon it, if the profit be found greater than the other, the ſeller takes his ground again; but, on the other ſide, if the charge exceeds the profit, the purchaſer receives what falls ſhort, and ſo quits the poſſeſſion; if the profit and charge ſhall fall out to be equal, the eſtate goes to the firſt owner. This was the rule alſo upon the ſale of houſes in open villages; but for thoſe in walled towns, if the ſeller laid down the purchaſe money before the year was out, he had a right to re-enter; but the year once elapſed, the purchaſer was confirmed in his poſſeſſion. *Moſes* received this body of laws from God himſelf upon mount *Sinai*, for the people who were then encamped at the foot of the mountain, and cauſed a copy of them to be tranſcribed for the uſe of poſterity.

Moſes having now ſufficiently provided for the ſettling of religion, and the civil government, his next buſineſs was to eſtabliſh certain laws and ordinances for the regulation of the militia. The firſt thing he did towards it was the iſſuing out of orders to the heads of all the tribes (*Levi* only excepted) to take an exact liſt of all the people able to bear arms. Now the *Levites*, being dedicated to the ſervice of God, could not attend any other duty. There was found, upon the review, ſix hundred and three thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty men, from twenty to fifty, who were able to draw the ſword. And, in the place of *Levi*, *Moſes* made choice of *Manaſſeh*, the ſon of *Joſeph*, and of *Ephraim* for *Joſeph* himſelf, according to the requeſt of *Jacob* to *Joſeph*, when he adopted *Joſeph*'s two ſons to himſelf, as is ſaid before.

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* It is worth notice, that the lawgiver of the *Jews* required of the prieſts a double degree of purity, in compariſon of that required of the people; of which he gives ſeveral inſtances. This was likewiſe the caſe of the clergy among the firſt Chriſtians, in compariſon of the laity, as the apoſtolical conſtitutions and canons every where inform us.

Upon the pitching of their tents, the tabernacle was erected in the middle of the camp, with three tribes on every ſide, and large ſtreets and paſſages betwixt them, and alſo with a market-place, where all neceſſaries were to be ſold, and ſeveral ſorts of tradeſmen orderly diſpoſed of in ſhops and ſtandings about it, inſomuch that it had the reſemblance of a regular and well-contrived city. The prieſts and *Levites* had a quarter aſſigned them next the tabernacle; and an account of the *Levites* was taken apart, and, upon the review, amounted to twenty-three thouſand eight hundred and eighty males, reckoning them from the age of thirty days upwards. So long as the cloud before ſpoken of hovered over the tabernacle, they took it for an intimation of God's preſence there, and the army reſted and lay ſtill; but, when the cloud moved, the army decamped.

Moſes cauſed two ſilver trumpets to be made, near a cubit in length, the tube about the ſize of a flute, ſomewhat larger than a reed, and juſt wide enough to receive the breath of the toning of it, turning up at the end like the lips of a bell, or of an ordinary trumpet. The *Hebrews* call this inſtrument *Aſophra*. One of them was to call the people together; the other to ſummon a council of the princes about affairs of ſtate; and the ſounding of both together was a ſummons for a general aſſembly. Upon the moving of the tabernacle, this was the method: The three tribes to the eaſtward of it were to decamp upon the firſt ſounding; thoſe to the ſouthward upon the ſecond: the tabernacle was then to be taken in pieces, and mounted upon carriages, half and half, betwixt ſix tribes marching before it, and the other ſix, which were to follow it, the *Levites* all this while keeping cloſe to it and round about it. Upon the third ſounding, that part of the camp which was toward the weſt moved; aud upon the fourth, that to the northward.

They made uſe of theſe trumpets alſo in their ſacrifices, and upon their ſabbaths, and other occaſions. *Moſes* now ſacrificed, and it was the firſt paſchal ſolemnity after that in the deſert, upon the *Iſraelites* coming out of *Ægypt*.

CHAP. XIII.

A Muttering againſt Moſes *for Want of Food, and a Flight of Quails to ſupply it.*

THE army was now decamped from mount *Sinai*, and paſſing from place to place, they came at laſt to *Iſeremoth*, where the multitude fell into a direct ſedition againſt *Moſes*, telling him that it was at his perſuaſion they were inveigled out of one of the beſt countries in the world, to come thither into a ſtarving neceſſity; where, inſtead of the bleſſings he had promiſed them, they were already upon the point of periſhing for want of water; and if their manna ſhould now fail them, they were all loſt beyond redemption. When they had gone on a while at this and a more inſolent rate of outrage againſt the good man; one of the company told them they would do well to conſider the difficulties, labours, and hardſhips which *Moſes* had undergone for their ſakes, and wholly to caſt themſelves upon the goodneſs of God for their relief;

but this ſerved only to inflame the mutineers. When *Moſes* ſaw the multitude abondoned to this degree of deſperation, he ſpake words of kindneſs and comfort to them, notwithſtanding all the provoking affronts and indignities they had put upon him; bidding them depend upon it that they ſhould ſuddenly have fleſh ſufficient to ſupply them many days; but they gave no credit to him, breaking out into exclamations, and aſking him in ſcorn how he could take upon him to feed ſo many thouſand men! His anſwer was this, that God and his ſervant *Moſes* would ſee them provided for, notwithſtanding all their reproaches, and it ſhould be ſuddenly too. The word was no ſooner out but the whole camp was filled with quails, and the people gathered them up. But it was not long before God took vengeance upon the *Hebrews*, for the offences they had commited againſt himſelf and *Moſes*; for they were viſited with a plague, which coſt them a great many lives. The place where this judgment befel them is called *Cabrothaba*, or *the graves of luſt*.

CHAP. XIV.

Spies ſent into Canaan. *The Delicacy, Plenty, and Strength of the Country tempts and affrights the Deputies.*

WHEN *Moſes* had brought the people into a place called *the Streights*, upon the borders of *Canaan*, and an incommodious quarter to live in, he called them together, and ſpoke to them after this manner. "There are two bleſſings which God has promiſed us, liberty, and the enjoyment of a happy land. By his gracious bounty at this time we are in poſſeſſion of one of them, and it will not be long before you come to be eſtabliſhed in the other. We are already upon the borders of *Canaan*, and it is not in the power of any king, city, or nation, to hinder our progreſs into the other. Let us then, in the firſt place, provide an army for the war; for there will be no gaining of this country but by labour and danger, and we muſt cut our way to it by the ſword. Wherefore let us ſend ſpies to take a view of the condition of the land, and the ſtrength of the people; but above all things, let us be unanimous, and aſcribe all honour to God, who will both aſſiſt us, and fight for us."

When *Moſes* had made an end of ſpeaking, the people highly approved of what he ſaid, and, upon his motion, made choice of twelve eminent men, one out of every tribe, to ſend before them for diſcovery. They made the tour of the whole land of *Canaan*, from *Ægypt* and the parts thereabouts, and ſo to the city *Amathe*, and to mount *Libanus*. When they had well examined the nature of the ſoil, the ſtate of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants, they came back again with a particular account of what they had ſeen; finiſhing the whole work in forty days. The report they made was ſo much to the advantage of the place, for a delicious fruitful country, and the ſamples of the fruits themſelves, which they brought along with them, were ſo tempting and lovely, that the people were one and all for a war, to make themſelves maſters of it. But then, on the other hand, when the deputies came to reflect on the difficulties of the enterprize, the impaſſable rivers, and inacceſſible mountains and precipices, the ſtrong holds, and fortified cities,

ties, which were to encounter by the way, beſides a race of monſtrous giants in *Hebron*; their own hearts failed them in the firſt place, and ſo they infected the multitude with the ſame apprehenſion.

The people were ſo diſcouraged by this diſcourſe at the hazard of the undertaking, that they broke up in confuſion, and ſpent that whole night, with their wives and children, in lamentations and outcries againſt God and *Moſes*, and joined early the next morning in a conſpiracy to ſtone *Moſes* and *Aaron* out of hand, and ſo go their ways back into *Ægypt*.

Upon this deſperate diſorder, *Joſhua*, the ſon of *Nun*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, and *Caleb*, of the tribe of *Judah*, (being the two only diſſenters of the twelve who had been employed in the diſcovery) did all that was poſſible to keep the peace, for fear of the dreadful conſequences which might attend ſuch a tumult, delivering themſelves to this effect. "How is it poſſible for you, good " people, to diſtruſt the veracity and good" neſs of God, and, at the ſame time, to " give credit to vain ſtories and amuſements " about the land of *Canaan*, which are put " abroad on purpoſe to abuſe you? Why " ſhould you not rather believe, and follow " thoſe who have taken ſo much pains to " put you into the poſſeſſion of thoſe bleſ" ſings? What is the height of mountains, " or the depth of rivers, to men of un" daunted ſpirits and honourable reſolutions? " eſpecially when God is their protector " and defender. Wherefore let us advance " and attack the enemy, without ſo much " as the leaſt queſtion of the event. Only " truſt God for your guide, and follow us " were we lead you." This was the courſe they took to pacify the people. But *Moſes* and *Aaron* threw themſelves proſtrate upon the ground, and beſought God, not for their own ſakes, but to compoſe the troubled minds of the ignorant people, and to deliver them from the diſtemper of their impotent paſſion. Their prayers were heard, and there appeared a cloud over the tabernacle, giving them to underſtand that God was preſent.

CHAP. XV.

Moſes *tells the People from God, that they ſhall never enter into the Land of* Canaan, *but that their Children ſhall.*

MOſes, in the ſtrength and confidence of this viſion, thruſts himſelf into the croud, and there laid before the people the judgments which God had denounced againſt them, for their inſolence and diſobedience; not as a puniſhment anſwerable to the degree of the tranſgreſſion, but as a fatherly correction to his children; "for," ſays he, " upon my entering into the tabernacle, " with ſupplications and tears, to implore " the Almighty, in his infinite goodneſs " and mercy, not utterly to deſtroy you from " off the face of the earth, God was pleaſed " to repreſent how ungrateful a return you " had made him for all his benefits, and " the indignity you have now offered him, " in giving more credit to the impoſtures of " your ſpies, than to the promiſes of God " himſelf. I can nevertheleſs aſſure you, " that you ſhall not all periſh; neither will " God ever ſuffer the race of his choſen " people to be wholly rooted ont. As for " the land of *Canaan*, you muſt never ex" pect to enjoy either the poſſeſſion or the " comforts of it; for you are condemned " to a wandering life for forty years in the

“ wilderneſs, without either houſe or home, as a puniſhment for your iniquities. Yet, in God's good time, your children ſhall come to be lords of that bleſſed land which their fathers rendered themſelves unworthy of by their ſtubbornneſs and unbelief.”

Upon *Moſes* denouncing this prediction, the people went all flocking to him in a paſſion of aſtoniſhment and dread, to beg his mediation to almighty God on their behalf, for pardon of their ſins, and a deliverance out of the wilderneſs. He told them, that it was not with God as it is with men, in the caſes of human frailty, to be wrought upon by unreaſonable importunities; for the proceedings of the Almighty are founded upon certain knowledge, wiſdom, and juſtice; and it was upon this ground that ſentence had now paſſed upon them.

Moſes was a wonderful man in divers reſpects; that is to ſay for his piety and reſolution, and likewiſe for the credit he had got, to be believed in whatever he ſaid; and that not only in his own lifetime, but his authority continues ſtill ſacred to poſterity. As for inſtance,

There were ſome people who came from beyond *Euphrates*, a four months journey, and with great hazard and expence, out of a reſpect to our way of worſhip. They offered ſacrifice, but were not allowed any part of their own offering; the laws of *Moſes* in ſome caſes forbidding it.

There happened, not long ſince, in the reign of *Claudius*, and in the pontificate of *Iſhmael*, a little before the *Jewiſh* war, ſo pinching a famine in *Judæa*, that flour was at four drachmas an aſſar. There was brought up at that time to the feaſt of unleavened bread, ſeventy *Coruſes*, that is to ſay, thirty-one *Sicilian Medimni*, and forty-one *Attic*. The prieſts were ready to ſtarve for want of bread, and yet not ſo much as one man of them touched the leaſt bit of this proviſion; ſo tender were they of their duty to the law, and of incurring God's diſpleaſure.

Who then ſhall any longer doubt of the wonders *Moſes* wrought, when our very enemies are forced to acknowledge the divinity of the writings he hath left behind him, and to confeſs that the founder of our commonwealth was no other than the immediate inſtrument of God himſelf?

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK IV.

From the Year of the World 2455, to 2493.

CHAP. I.

The Iſraelites *make War upon the* Canaanites, *contrary to the Advice of* Moſes, *and are overthrown.*

THE *Hebrews* had a hard time of it in the wilderneſs; and it was yet the moſt ſenſible part of their calamity, that God would not give them leave to make war upon the *Canaanites.* Their hearts, in ſhort, were ſet upon it; but *Moſes,* from time to time, adviſing them ſtill againſt it, they told him plainly in the concluſion, that they would even go their own way to work, and do their buſineſs without him. He had a mind, they ſaid, to keep them in miſery, and make himſelf neceſſary to them, and that was all he looked after.

In this freak, hand over head, they reſolved upon the war, depending, as they ſaid, upon God for his aſſiſtance, not ſo much for *Moſes*'s ſake, as for the love he bore to their nation, and to the memory of their worthy anceſtors. They made no doubt but, if they behaved themſelves like men, he who had formerly given them freedom, would now give them victory: or at worſt, they could deal well enough with the *Canaanites,* even though *Moſes* ſhould do all he could to ſet God againſt them.

This was the ſenſe of the field, without contradiction; and in that heat the *Hebrews* marched up furiouſly to the enemy. But neither the fierceneſs of the charge, nor the odds of number, were able to put the *Canaanites* off their guard and reſolution; for they ſtood the ſhock, and routed the *Hebrews,* killed a great many upon the place, and purſued the reſt, who run away moſt ſhamefully up to their very camp.

This unexpected defeat went to the very hearts of the *Hebrews*; for they were ſtill in fear of worſe to come, and ſo conſcious of an ill and a raſh thing done, in ſtriking a battle without God's direction, that they looked upon the overthrow as a juſt judgment for their fool-hardy wilfulneſs.

The ſpirits of the multitude were ſo broken with this diſaſter, and the *Canaanites* on the other hand, ſo puffed up and elevated with the ſucceſs, that *Moſes* found no better expedient in this extremity, than to march them back again into the wilderneſs, for fear the enemy ſhould follow the blow, and do them yet a greater miſchief. The people were convinced by this miſcarriage, that nothing proſpered with them but by the advice of *Moſes*; ſo that upon the promiſe of an unconditional obedience to him for the future, the *Hebrews* decamped, and returned into the deſert, with a reſolution never to attempt any thing again upon the *Canaanites* without a direction from heaven.

CHAP. II.

The Schiſm of Corah *againſt* Moſes *and* Aaron *about the High-Prieſthood.*

BUT it fared here, as it does commonly with other great bodies, when things go croſs; there will be fault-finding, faction, calumnies, and diſobedience; and ſo it happened with the *Iſraelites*. They were ſix hundred thouſand men upon the muſter, and a people not over tractable, at beſt, to their ſuperiors; but, upon any pinch of neceſſity or misfortune altogether intolerable, as well to one another as to their governors. This malevolent humour of theirs gave riſe to the moſt formidable ſedition that ever was heard of, either amongſt *Greeks* or *Barbarians*; and it would have deſtroyed them to all manner of purpoſe, if *Moſes* had not interpoſed, to the preſerving of them, generouſly forgetting and forgiving all paſt injuries, even from thoſe people who were ſo lately within a little of ſtoning him to death.

There was one *Corah*, a man famous among the *Hebrews*, both for his blood and his poſſeſſions, and one who had the art of humouring the people. This *Corah*, ſeeing *Moſes* mounted above all his fellows, and in the exerciſe of ſovereign power, took up an envious pique againſt him. Now, being both of a tribe and kindred, *Corah* the wealthier of the two, and as well born; he thought it hard that *Moſes* ſhould have the preference, and not without ſome grumbling too, which made a mighty noiſe among the *Levites* and his relations, wherever he told his tale. "Why, it is a ſcandal," ſays he, "and a thing not to be endured, for *Moſes* "to take upon him at this rate, and to carry on his ambition thus, under the maſk "of holineſs and religion; and, by that "means to raiſe himſelf a reputation to the "wrong of other men; as he gave lately "the prieſthood, and other dignities, to "his brother *Aaron*, without any right or "colour for it, no conſent of the people "to it, nor any pretext or authority, ſave "only his own will and pleaſure. And "that which makes it worſe yet is, the way "he has of ſcrewing himſelf ſo inſenſibly "into the government, that the people have "loſt their liberty, before they know where "they are. He, who, in his own conſcience, finds himſelf worthy to be a ruler, will take the good will and approbation of the people along with him, without any need of violence for the gaining of his end. What has *Moſes* to ſay for himſelf, for the conferring of the high-prieſthood upon *Aaron*, and his ſons after him? If God has annexed that honour to the tribe of *Levi*, I myſelf may pretend a right to the preference, being of the ſame ſtock with *Moſes*, and his ſuperior both for riches and years. Or, if it be to paſs by ſeniority, it belongs to the tribe of *Reuben*, to *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and *Phala*, who are the ſeniors of that tribe, and men of eminent credit every way among them."

Corah's pretext all this while was the public good; but his buſineſs, in truth, was to inſinuate himſelf into the dignity, by the ſupplanting of *Aaron*. This calumny was delivered in terms plauſible enough, and ſo it paſſed from one to another, gathering ſtill as it went, till in the end the whole camp was full of it, and no leſs than two hundred and fifty of the principal men among them joined in the faction, to take away the prieſthood from the brother of *Moſes*, and transfer it to *Corah*.

This ſet the multitude all in an uproar, crouding up to the tabernacle, and roaring out, "Stone him, ſtone him; take away this tyrant, and ſet the people at liberty from the unmerciful oppreſſions this man lays upon us. If God had had a hand in this choice, he would never have conferred the honour upon a perſon ſo much below the dignity of the function; or if God had deſigned it for *Aaron*, it ſhould have come to him by the ſuffrage of the people, and not by the favour of his brother."

Moſes knew very well what *Corah* was a-doing, and what effect his artificial way of ſlander had upon the enraged multitude. But in the comfort and ſupport of a good conſcience, and in a certain knowledge that his brother was promoted to the prieſthood by God's appointment, and not upon any private account of his own, he made no difficulty (being well ſkilled in popular arts) of preſenting himſelf before the people, and ſo he addreſſes *Corah* in words to this purpoſe:

"I give it for granted, *Corah*," ſays he, "that you yourſelf, and your noble companions here, are all worthy of honour; in the mean time, not excluding the reſt of this multitude of people, how inferior ſoever to yourſelf, upon the compariſon, both in riches and other faculties. *Aaron* was not made high prieſt for his wealth, you yourſelf are worth two of him; nor for his nobility, for we are all of a family, and ſprung from the ſame progenitor. Neither did I rob any man of his right, in what I gave to my brother. It was God himſelf who choſe the prieſt, and it was God's act which has diſcharged me of the crime. But now ſuppoſing *Aaron* to be poſſeſſed of the holy character purely by a divine choice, and without any inclination of partiality to intervene, he ſhall make no difficulty of caſting the cauſe upon your ſuffrages over again, without inſiſting upon the legality of what has been done already, though with your own approbation. This is to ſhew you that he hath no ambition in him, and that he is ready to part with any thing, let it be never ſo much his right, for the purchaſing of your peace. As to the acceptance of what God has been pleaſed to offer us, there can be no offence in it; and, on the other hand, it would have been highly impious to have refuſed it. But nothing however can be more reaſonable than to allow the benefactor a right of ratifying and making good his own bounty. Wherefore you cannot do better than to refer the matter once again to God himſelf, and ſo to abide by the perſon he ſhall be pleaſed to make choice of for the ſacred function. Now it would be a ſtrange thing for you, *Corah*, by your ambition, to bar God the liberty of chuſing his own prieſt. This is the very caſe, and, without any further controverſy,

“ one day more will bring this point to an iſſue. Let all the pretenders to this dignity appear to-morrow morning, with their cenſers in their hands, and fire and incenſe in them. You muſt have patience, *Corah,* and wait God's determination, without preſuming to ſet up your own authority above his. But do you appear alſo yourſelf, among the other candidates for the dignity; and I know not why *Aaron* may not come too, as one of the family, and a perſon who hath behaved himſelf faultleſsly in the function. When you are altogether, offer up your incenſe in the ſight of the people, and let that perſon whoſe ſacrifice ſhall be moſt acceptable to God, be declared to be the high prieſt, and then, of courſe, confirmed by my authority. This will ſet every thing right upon the whole matter in diſpute, and likewiſe dicharge me from the calumny of partiality towards my brother.”

CHAP. III.

God's Judgment upon Corah, Dathan, *and* Abiram. *The Prieſthood ſettled upon* Aaron *and his Poſterity.*

WITH this diſcourſe *Moſes* quieted the people, and ingratiated himſelf into their better opinion at the ſame time; inſomuch that they looked upon all he ſaid as exceedingly to the purpoſe, and gave him in fine the character of a very good and a wiſe man; and here the council broke up.

The next morning all the people gathered together to attend the ſacrifice, and to ſee what would become of the election then in queſtion. The multitude were tumultuous and uneaſy, divided in their inclinations, and not a little ſolicitous betwixt hope and fear, what might be the event of that conteſt. Some were for having *Moſes* expoſed; but the men of ſenſe and ſobriety were for peace and quietneſs; for, if the rabble got a head once, they did not know but they might over-run the government. For the common people are naturally fond of new things, querulous and envious againſt their ſuperiors, apt to receive and ſpread calumnies, and carried about with every wind and rumour. *Moſes* however ſent a ſummons to *Dathan* and *Abiram,* to attend the buſineſs of the day, and put in their claims as they pretended; but the meſſenger brought word back that they abſolutely refuſed, ſaying that *Moſes* had gotten a power into his hands by indirect means, and that they were reſolved to ſubmit no longer to the uſurpation. Upon this anſwer *Moſes* called to ſuch and ſuch of the elders, and bade them follow him, which they did. *Dathan* and his companions hearing that *Moſes* and his train were coming, went out of their tents, with their wives and children, waiting to ſee what would become of this extraordinary viſit; but with their guards all at hand, to repel force by force, in caſe of any violence. *Moſes* went peaceably forward, till he came to *Dathan,* and there he ſtopped, lifting up his hands to heaven, and calling upon God with a loud voice, ſo that the whole multitude might hear him.

“ Bleſſed God,” ſays he, “ thou who art the Lord of the heavens, the earth, and the ſea, the irrefragable witneſs of all my actions, and that whatever I have hitherto done hath been perfectly in obedience to thy holy direction; thou who, in compaſſion to the *Hebrews*, haſt ſo graciouſly provided for them in their flight, and in their miſerable neceſſities, having been likewiſe, upon all occaſions, my conſtant ſupport; Lord, hear my prayer! thou who knoweſt all things, and ſearcheſt the very ſecrets of our hearts, vouchſafe to bring the truth to light, and to lay open the ingratitude of my unrighteous accuſers. Thou who art privy to the whole hiſtory of paſt ages, and of my life in particular, do thou bear teſtimony to my innocence, againſt the malicious calumniators of my integrity and conduct. Thou knoweſt, good God, that at ſuch time as I was ſettled in the comfortable ſtate of a quiet eaſy life, under thy bleſſing upon my induſtry, and by the kindneſs of my father-in-law *Raguel*, I quitted all the pleaſures and conveniencies of a plentiful and ſafe privacy, in exchange for troubleſome and dangerous commiſſions on the behalf of theſe people, expoſing myſelf firſt for their liberty, and now for their ſecurity, to all labours and hazards. But ſince, after all this, I am now fallen under the jealouſy and diſpleaſure of thoſe very people, who, by my care and providence, have been redeemed out of many calamities; Lord, thou who didſt vouchſafe to appear to thy ſervant out of the fire upon mount *Sinai*, to let him hear thy voice, and make him a witneſs of the prodigies thou wrought; thou who gaveſt him the honour of an embaſſy into *Ægypt*, bringing down the *Ægyptians* pride, and delivering the *Hebrews* out of their bondage; thou who laideſt the power of *Pharaoh* at my feet, turning the ſea into dry land, and that dry land again into ſea, for the ſafety of thy people, and the confuſion of the *Ægyptians*, furniſhing the defenceleſs with arms, converting corrupt water into ſweet, fetching fountains out of rocks, food out of the ſea, and meat from heaven to ſupply their wants, a thing never heard of before; thou who haſt laid the foundations of our government, and modelled our laws; thou who art the judge and witneſs of all things, avenge my cauſe, and bear this teſtimony for me, that I never was corrupted into the favour of an unjuſt cauſe, or of a rich man againſt a poor; and yet I find maladminiſtration laid to my charge, as if I had elevated my brother to the high prieſthood, not by divine appointment, but by the impulſe of a private affection, and without any authority for what I did. Lord, be pleaſed to make it appear now, that all things are governed by thy provividence, and brought to paſs by the interpoſition of thy holy will, not by chance; and, out of thy wonted kindneſs to the *Hebrews*, vindicate thyſelf upon them, upon *Dathan* and *Abiram*, for the inſolence of ſuggeſting thee to be circumvented by my impoſtures; which is all one with rendering thee paſſive and inſenſible. Lord, viſit theſe blaſphemous detractors from thy glory with an examplary vengeance: Let them not die the common death of other men; but as they are not worthy to live upon the earth, let the earth ſwallow them up with their families and ſubſtance, for the honour of thy power, and for a document for ages to come, that they may think more reverently on thy divine majeſty: And if I myſelf ſhould be found guilty of the charge exhibited againſt me, may all thoſe curſes light upon my own head, and my oppoſers be happy and free. But when thou ſhalt pour out thy wrath upon the diſobedient of thy people, Lord preſerve the reſt in peace and unity, ſafe and untouched, that live in a dutiful conformity to thy commandments: Neither will it ſtand with the methods of thy juſtice, either to confound the innocent with the offenders, or to puniſh the guiltleſs for the faults of the guilty."

Theſe words were interrupted with tears, when all on a ſudden the earth fell a trembling into an agitation like the rolling of an angry ſea in a ſtorm, which ſtruck the whole multitude with a profound aſtoniſhment and horror; and a diſmal out-cry was heard upon it, that ran through all their tents. In the concluſion the ground opened under the feet of the faction with a terrible noiſe, and ſwallowed them all up, every man of them, with all that was dear to them, ; cloſing again immediately ſo exactly that the very mark of the rupture was not to be perceived.

This was the end of a ſeditious, ſchiſmatical faction ; and an illuſtrious inſtance it was of God's providence and power at once. And to make the caſe more compaſſionable, there was not ſo much as one of their relations and acquaintances that pitied them. Nay, the whole multitude had nothing in their mouths but joy and acclamations, in contemplation of this effort of divine juſtice. They looked no further back upon things paſt, than to raiſe a deteſtation for the memory of thoſe people, as the peſt of their nation, and men that did not deſerve ſo much as human tenderneſs. After the extinction of *Dathan* and his accomplices, *Moſes* convened the candidates for the pontificate: committing the choice to God once more, to be conferred upon him, whoſe ſacrifice ſhould appear to be beſt accepted. There was gathered together two hundred and fifty perſons that both for their father's ſakes and their own, had an eminent reputation among the people ; and with theſe men came forth *Aaron*, and *Corah* ; who ſtanding before the tabernacle, offered incenſe in their cenſers as they brought with them. While they were thus employed, there appeared, all in an inſtant, ſo fierce a fire, that the flame of burning mountains, the conflagration of whole foreſts, with winds and bruſh-wood to aſſiſt it, was as nothing to it. It was clear and flagrant, and came undoubtedly from heaven ; for no natural ingredients could have produced ſo ſubtle a flame: By the force of this fire, * *Corah* and his two hundred and fifty companions were ſo totally conſumed, that there was not ſo much as any remainder of their carcaſes to be ſound, *Aaron* only ſurvived, untouched, as a moſt certain evidence that this was the ſupernatural work of an almighty power. *Moſes*, for the perpetual memory of this judgment, commanded *Eleazar* the ſon of *Aaron*, to faſten their cenſers about a brazen altar for a warning to generations to come, not to trifle and play tricks with God Almighty. By this time it was evident beyond all contradiction that *Aaron* was not elevated to the pontificate by canvaſſing or favour, but by God's appointment ; and that he held it after by the ſame title.

CHAP. IV.

What befel the Iſraelites *in the Wilderneſs, during the Space of thirty-eight Years.*

THIS rebellious humour was followed with another ſedition, if poſſible, worſe than the former; which took its riſe from ſuch cauſes as in all likelihood would not be eaſily ſuppreſſed: For when they had once taken up a perſuaſion, that all things came to paſs by providence and by the will of God, they reckoned every thing to be done for *Moſes*'s ſake. So that all the ſeverities of divine juſtice were caſt upon his account,

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*It appears from this, that *Corah* was not ſwallowed up with the *Reubenites*, but burnt with the *Levites*, of his own tribe.

as if it was not ſo much for their wickedneſs they were puniſhed, as to gratify *Moſes.* "What was the fault they cryed, of all "thoſe excellent men that loſt their lives "upon *Moſes*'s inſtigation; but the exceſ"ſive zeal and affection they had for the "worſhip of their God? and *Moſes,* they "ſaid, made his profit of theirs and of the "people's ruin, by confirming his brother "in the pontifical dignity, and entailing it "upon his line: for after paying ſo dear "for the competition, no body elſe would "ever pretend to it again for the future." Now this was a time for the relations of the deceaſed to dilate upon the abſolute neceſſity of putting ſome timely check to the pride and exhorbitant power of *Moſes*: which the people might eaſily do, they ſaid, and it concerned them to take it into their care. *Moſes* found a ſtorm a coming, and very prudently ordered an aſſembly to be called, where he heard their grievances, and without one word of anſwer, for fear of making matters worſe, appointed the heads of the tribes to bring their rods, with the names of their tribes inſcribed upon them: And he to be preferred to the dignity, upon whoſe rod ſhould be found any particular mark of God's favour. This they all agreed to, and brought their rods with inſcriptions, as directed, *Aaron* among the reſt, and his rod bore the inſcription of the tribe of *Levi.* *Moſes* laid them up for the preſent in the tabernacle of God, and the next day produced them. They were eaſily known again; for the princes who brought them, and the reſt of the people ſaw their own marks upon them. They found all the reſt of the rods juſt as they left them the day before, only *Aaron*'s rod ſprouted out with branches and buds; and, which was yet a greater wonder, bearing ripe almonds, the rod being of that wood.

The ſtrangeneſs of this ſpectacle put the people to their wit's end; but though they had ſome grudging ſtill to *Moſes* and *Aaron,* the animoſity and enmity of the paſſion was yet taken of, and they all ſtood in admiration at the judgment of God, reſigned themſelves to his holy will, and yielded the right of the election to *Aaron,* who was now the third time confirmed by God himſelf in the prieſthood, where it reſted, without any following contradiction. This, in fine, put a happy period to the troubles of the *Hebrews,* after ſo long a courſe of violence and ſedition.

The tribe of *Levi* being ſet apart for the ſervice of God in holy offices and duties, *Moſes* exempted them from the burden of all military charges; and for fear the care of providing neceſſaries for life might divert them from attending the duties of their function, he ordered it, that ſo ſoon as ever the land of *Canaan* ſhould, by God's aſſiſtance, come to be conquered, there ſhould be forty-eight of the beſt and faireſt cities allotted for the entertainment of the *Levites,* with two thouſand cubits of land round about, and contiguous to the walls of the place, beſides the impoſition of a tenth part of the yearly profits ariſing from the fruits of the earth, to be paid as a duty on the whole people, to the prieſts and *Levites,* which hath been obſerved with great punctuality ever ſince.

Moſes provided that of the eight and forty cities before ſpoken of, the *Levites* ſhould yield thirteen of them to the prieſts, and the tenth part of the tithes, beſides the firſt fruits of all the products of the earth, as an offering to God: The firſtling of all four-footed beaſts offered in ſacrifice, to be eaten in the city with their family; but for thoſe which the law of the country will not permit to be eaten, the owner ſhall preſent a ſhekel and a half inſtead of a firſtling, and for the firſt born of a man five ſhekels; and there is a duty alſo to be allowed upon wool and corn, as a cake upon thoſe who bake bread.

As for thoſe who call themſelves *Corban,* that is, by interpretation, *a gift,* when they deſire to be diſcharged of their obligation and voluntary vow, there is a duty belongs to the prieſts, of fifty ſhekels for a man, and thirty for a woman; and they who have not wherewithal, muſt remit themſelves to the diſcretion

tion of the prieſt. And ſo likewiſe for the *Nazarenes*, who tie themſelves up by a vow neither to cut their hair nor to drink wine, when the time of their vow is expired, and they preſent themſelves to have their hair conſecrated *, whatever they offer in ſacrifice belongs to the prieſts.

They who kill beaſts for private uſe, and not for ſacrifice, muſt allow the prieſts the breaſt of the beaſt, and the right ſhoulder. He ordered likewiſe, that in all contributions to the order of the prieſts, their wives, children, and ſervants ſhould have their ſhare, ſaving in ſin-offerings, and thoſe are only to be eaten by the prieſts who officiate. It muſt be in the temple too, and on the ſame day.

Matters being thus ſettled, and the ſedition cruſhed, *Moſes* decamped, and, with his whole army, marched to the borders of *Idumæa*, ſending his ambaſſadors beforehand to the king there, to deſire a free paſſage for his troops through his country, upon aſſurance that he would give him no manner of trouble, and that whatever he had he would pay for. His paſſage was however refuſed; and an army drawn up to the frontiers ready to oppoſe him, if he ſhould offer to force his way. *Moſes* had recourſe to God for advice, whoſe anſwer was, that he would not have him the aggreſſor, and ſo he withdrew to take his way by the deſert.

At this time died *Mariam*, the ſiſter of *Moſes*, at the beginning of the month *Xanthicus*, and in the fortieth year after the coming out of *Ægypt*. She had a ſplendid burial upon a mountain known by the name of *Sin*; and, after thirty days of mourning, *Moſes* purified the people. The prieſt took a young red heifer, which had never known the yoke, brought it out a little way from the army, and there, in a very clean place, killed it, dipping his finger ſeven times in the blood, and therewith ſprinkling the tabernacle. After this he put the heifer whole into the fire, ſkin, intrails, and all, with a ſtick of cedar, hyſſop, and a little ſcarlet-coloured wool. When all was conſumed, a young man of unſpotted chaſtity was employed to gather up the aſhes, and lay them up in the cleaneſt place that could be found. Now whoever ſtood in need of being purified had no more to do than to caſt of theſe aſhes into fountain-water, dip a bunch of hyſſop in it, and ſprinkle himſelf with it on the third and ſeventh day. And this was the ceremony of the purification, which *Moſes* commanded to be obſerved whenever the *Hebrews* ſhould come to be poſſeſſed of the land which God had promiſed them.

After this *Moſes* led the army through the deſert into *Arabia*, and coming to their capital city, formerly called *Arce*, at preſent *Petra*, where there was a very high mountain *Aaron*, being foretold by *Moſes* that he was near his end, went up this mountain, took off his pontifical ſtole, and delivered it to his ſon *Eleazar*, as the next heir to the dignity, and in the ſight of the whole army ended his days there, in the hundred and twenty-third year of his age, and in the firſt moon of the month which the *Athenians* call *Hecatombæon*, the *Macedonians* *Lous*, the *Hebrews* *Sabba*, and the *Romans* *Auguſtus*. His ſiſter died alſo in the ſame year.

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* *Grotius* takes notice, that the *Greeks* alſo, as well as the *Jews*, ſometimes conſecrated the hair of their heads to the gods.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Sehon *and* Og *defeated.*

WHEN the mourning for *Aaron* was paſt, which laſted thirty days, *Moſes* marched with the army to the river *Arnon*, which falls from the mountains of *Arabia* and running through the whole deſert, falls into the lake *Aſphaltitis*, dividing the *Moabites* from the *Amorites*. The country is very fruitful, and wants for nothing. The king's name of the latter was *Sehon*, to whom *Moſes* ſent very reſpectfully for leave to paſs his troops through his country, offering any ſecurity to ſave him and his people harmleſs from all danger. *Sehon* denied him paſſage, and marched his troops preſently to prepoſſeſs the fords of the river, and oppoſe his coming over.

When *Moſes* found that the *Amorites* were reſolved upon a war, he reckoned it his beſt courſe for himſelf to give the firſt attack; for the *Hebrews* being a ſlippery people, he did not know but want and idleneſs might debauch them into their old freaks over again. However he conſulted God, in the firſt place, whether he ſhould attempt the forcing of his way by the ſword or not; and obtained not only a permiſſion to do it, but an aſſurance of victory.

Moſes, upon this encouragement, animated the army into a confidence of ſucceſs, telling them, that now was their time to ſignalize themſelves, when they had both divine approbation and human authority to ſecond their inclinations. Upon theſe words they marched up and fell furiouſly upon the enemy.

The king and his army fell into a direct rout upon the very firſt ſhock, and, in that confuſion, they all ran ſeveral ways to ſave themſelves; the *Hebrews*, light armed, and ſwift of foot, at the heels of them, with their ſlings, darts, and arrows, reaching thoſe at a diſtance, whom they could not otherwiſe overtake. A great number of them were cut off at the river, *Sehon*, their king, among the reſt; where they ſtopped to quench their thirſt, for it was exceſſive hot. The ſlaughter, in fine, was terrible, and there never was a more abſolute victory. The *Hebrews* had the ſpoil of the field, a prodigious booty, and that which they moſt wanted, corn in abundance, for the harveſt was yet upon the ground.

This befel the *Amorites*, for want both of conduct and courage; for they had neither foreſight to prevent the miſchief, nor reſolution to encounter it.

This place which the *Hebrews* had now made themſelves maſters of, is a kind of peninſula, betwixt three rivers, *Arnon* on the ſouth, *Jaboc*, which drops into the river *Jordan*, on the north, and the river *Jordan* itſelf on the weſt.

While matters were in this condition, the *Iſraelites* found they had yet another enemy to cope with, which was *Og*, the King of *Galadene*, and of *Gaulonitis*, who was marching with a powerful army, to the aſſiſtance of *Sehon*, his friend and ally. He was met upon the way with the news of the battle, and a total defeat; but this was not enough yet to deter him from putting the main cauſe to the iſſue of another trial. He did ſo, and his confidence deceived him, for he and his whole army were totally cut off to a man.

After this victory *Moſes* paſſed the river *Jaboc*, and made an inroad upon *Og*'s dominions, deſtroying all the cities wherever he came, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword, who were a very rich and powerful people. The king himſelf was brave, and a man of great ſtrength and ſtature, as appeared by the dimenſions of a bed of his, found in his palace at *Rabatha*. The frame of it was of iron, the breadth of it four cubits, and the length nine. The fall of this man did not only ſettle the *Iſraelites* in a preſent ſtate of quiet and ſecurity, but laid the foundation of great advantages to come; for they poſſeſſed themſelves of no leſs than ſixty of his ſtrong holds and well fortified cities, and the whole army were enriched with the booty.

CHAP. VI.

Moſes *makes War upon the* Madianites. *The Hiſtory of* Balaam *and* Balak.

SOON after this *Moſes* removed his camp to a great plain over againſt *Jericho*, an opulent city, and famous for palm trees and balſam. The *Iſraelites* were now ſo fluſhed with victories, that nothing would down with them but more war; and *Moſes* thought it pity this martial humour ſhould lie idle; ſo after ſacrificing and feaſting, he ſent away a detachment from his army, to lay waſte the country of the *Madianites*, and to deſtroy their cities. The ground of the war was this.

Balak, the King of the *Moabites*, and an ancient ally of the *Madianites*, finding the *Iſraelites* grow ſo faſt, began to have ſome apprehenſion for himſelf, and of his own ſafety. He did not know, it ſeems, that God had forbidden the *Hewbrews* to attempt any other conqueſt than that of *Canaan*; ſo that he was either not well informed, or not well adviſed upon this matter. As to the point of making war upon a people puffed up with ſuch a courſe of ſucceſſes, it was a thing he durſt not think of; but he was willing enough yet to put ſome ſtop to their farther progreſs, and ſo ſent his ambaſſadors to the *Madianites*, to conſult what might be done for the common ſecurity of them both; the *Madianites* ſent away preſently *Balack's* ambaſſadors, and ſome men of honour with them, to one *Balaam*,[*] that lived beyond the *Euphrates*; a famous prophet in thoſe parts, and their particular friend; deſiring him only to come over to them, and curſe the *Iſraelites*. He treated the ambaſſadors with great generoſity and reſpect, aſking counſel of God after ſupper, what return he ſhould make them. His order was, that he ſhould not comply with them, ſo with that anſwer he went back, telling them that he had the greateſt mind in the world to gratify their deſires, but that God was againſt it, to whoſe goodneſs he ſtood indebted for the reputation he had gotten of a true prophet; declaring farther to them, that the army which they would have him to curſe was highly in God's favour. And therefore it was his advice, that they ſhould rather addreſs themſelves to the *Iſraelites*, and ſecure a fair underſtanding with thoſe people upon what terms ſoever. With this reſolution he diſcharged the ambaſſadors: But the *Madianites*, upon the violent importunity of *Balaak* (who was much unſatisfied with the anſwer) ſent the ſame meſſengers a ſecond time, upon the ſame errand; and *Balaam*, out of a deſire to keep fair with the world, went and conſulted God a ſecond time upon the ſame queſtion. "Why then you may "go along with the ambaſſadors, ſays the "oracle; and *Balaam*, not conſidering with what air it was ſpoken, went ſimply along with them. As they were upon the way, an angel met them in a narrow place betwixt two walls, and not room enough for two to paſs. *Balaam* was mounted upon an aſs, which at the ſight of this viſion, ſtopt, and upon his ſtriking, and preſſing to make her go forward, ſhe cruſhed him up againſt the wall; the angel keeping the way ſtill, and the prophet ſtill correcting his aſs; but it pleaſed God at length to open the aſs's mouth, in a complaint of the injuſtice of her maſter, to beat her at that time for not going forward, when the angel of the Lord ſtood there in the paſſage, to divert him from doing what he was about to do. The aſs urging alſo, that this was the firſt time ſhe had ever diſobeyed him. *Balaam* was ſurpriſed, and affrighted to hear the aſs talk like a man*; and the angel rebuked *Balaam* for what he had done, telling him, "that "it was not the fault of the beaſt, but the "fault of the prophet, in preſuming to take "a journey, contrary to the declared will of "God." The prophet would have gone back, but God bade him go forward upon condition, that he ſhould ſay nothing but what he himſelf put in his mouth.

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[*] It is a point much diſputed what this *Balaam* was. *Stackhouſe* ſeems to think that he was a real prophet. *Origen* will have it that he was one of the devil's ſorcerers, and of him he went to enquire, but God was pleaſed to prevent him, and put what anſwers he pleaſed into his mouth. And indeed the *Jews* are generally of opinion that he was a buſy pretending aſtrologer, who, obſerving when men were under a bad aſpect of the ſtars, pronounced a curſe upon them, which ſometimes coming to paſs, gained him in the neighbouring nations, a reputation in his way.

Upon condition aforeſaid, *Balaam* went to *Balaak*, and, after a very gracious reception, deſired the king he might be conducted to ſome of the high mountains thereabouts, where he might take a view of the camp of the *Hebrews*. So *Balaak* himſelf took *Balaam* along with him, with his royal train, up to the top of a mountain, a matter of ſixty furlongs from the army: And when the prophet had made his remarks, he directed ſeven altars to be raiſed, and ſeven bulls, and as many rams to be prepared for ſacrifices; which was done out of hand, and the victims preſently offered up in order to the forming a judgment upon the matter in queſtion, betwixt the two armies. So ſoon as he had well digeſted his obſervations, he delivered the reſult of his preſages with his face toward the army of the *Iſraelites* in theſe words.

"You are the happy people, (ſays he) "that by the bleſſing and bounty of God "ſhall enjoy plenty of all good things in "abundance; you ſhall have providence for "your guide, your protector, and ſupport, "and a reputation beyond all other mortals, "for the innocence of your lives, the probity of your manners, and the love and "practice of virtue; and the fame of your "poſterity ſhall yet exceed that of your forefathers; for God will take you into his "peculiar care and protection; and make "you, of all nations under the ſun, the "moſt bleſſed. You ſhall enter into the "poſſeſſion of the land of promiſe, whither "God hath ſent you, and it ſhall be to you "and your poſterity for ever. The whole "earth and ſea ſhall be full of your glory; "and you ſhall have ſo numerous an iſſue, "that in all parts of the world there ſhall "be found of your ſtock and family. Oh "thou wonderful and bleſſed army! to grow "to ſuch a bulk out of the loins of one "ſingle man. The land of *Canaan* muſt "at preſent content you, though a ſpot of "ground not anſwerable either to your dignity or number; but know that the time "is a coming, when you ſhall have the "whole world for your habitation. Your "children ſhall people the iſlands as well as "the continent, and be as the ſtars in the

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* "Although a human voice came out of the mouth of the aſs, yet I do not apprehend that it proceeded from "her own ſentiments." *Marchant*.

"heavens for number. And yet in that infinite multitude, you ſhall not want any "thing: But God ſhall give you plenty in "peace; courage and victory in war, and "the children of your enemies ſhall be your "ſervants; wherefore may our adverſaries "be yours too, for it ſhall be ruin to them "to riſe againſt you, and the wives and children of your adverſaries ſhall have little "reaſon to thank their huſbands, and their "fathers, for any news they ſhall bring them "from ſuch an encounter. You are to bleſs "the providence of God, in fine, for all "theſe gifts and graces: That God, I ſay, "who alone can exalt or bring down, as the "caſe requires it."

Theſe were the words of God, not of *Balaam*, for he was out of himſelf, and under the power of a ſupernatural and prophetical ſpirit. *Balaak* all this while in a rage, and ſtorming at him, that he had not kept covenants, being brought over with great rewards, he ſaid to curſe the *Iſraelites*, and when it came to the point, he had nothing but prayers and bleſſings for them. To which *Balaam* made this reply.

"And does king *Balaak* think, that where "prophets are upon the ſubject of fatalities, "and things to come, they are left to their "own liberty what to ſay and what not; "and to make their own ſpeeches? We "are only the paſſive inſtruments of the oracle; the words are put in our mouths, "and we neither think, nor know, what we "ſay. I remember very well, ſays he, that "I was invited hither with great earneſtneſs "both by yourſelf, and by the *Madianites*, "and that it was at your requeſt I came; "and with a deſire to do all that in me lay "for your ſervice. But what am I able to "do againſt the will and power of God? "Nay, I had thoughts and wiſhes of doing "what I found afterwards I was not at liberty to do. When once a ſuperior power takes poſſeſſion of us, we are no longer "under the government of ourſelves. I had "not the leaſt thought of ſpeaking one "good word of the *Iſraelites* army, or of the "bleſſings that God hath in ſtore for them: "But ſince God hath decreed to make them "great and happy, I have been forced to "ſpeak as you have heard, inſtead of what I "had otherwiſe deſigned to ſay. But now "to anſwer the very wiſhes, both of yourſelf, "and the *Madianites*, with all poſſible decency and reſpect, let us erect other altars, "and provide new ſacrifices, and try once "again yet, if God will give me leave to "curſe theſe people." *Balaak* approved the motion, and the ſacrifices were renewed; but God would not yet be prevailed upon for leave to curſe the *Iſraelites*. Nay, on the contrary, he fell upon his face, and foretold the fate of ſeveral great kings, and famous cities; ſome not as yet in being, others now extant, that in our memory have anſwered the predictions, in ſeveral actions both at ſea and land, from whence may be reaſonably inferred, a probability alſo, that the other parts of the prophecy are not idle.

Balaak was ſo nettled at this diſappointment of his hope and expectation, that he diſmiſſed the prophet without either honour or reward, and ſo took his leave; but coming to *Euphrates*, he bethought himſelf, and ſent to ſpeak with *Balaak* and the princes of the *Madianites* yet once more; and that which he had to ſay, was to this purpoſe.

"To the end ſays he, that king *Balaak*, "and you the princes of *Madian*, may know "the great deſire I have to pleaſe you, "though in ſome ſort againſt the will of "God, I have bethought myſelf of an expedient, that may perhaps be for your "ſervice. Do not flatter yourſelves, that "the *Hebrews* are ever to be deſtroyed by "war, peſtilence, famine, or any other of "thoſe, common caſual calamities: For "they are ſo ſecure under God's ſpecial "providence, that they are never to be totally extinguiſhed by any of thoſe depopulating judgments. Some temporary "afflictions they may ſuffer, and inevitably "they will; but in a little time they'll recover, and be the better for them. Now "if the gaining of ſome ſmall and ſhort-lived

" advantage over them may give you any " ſatisfaction, hearken to my advice. Send " into their camp, a proceſſion of the lovelieſt virgins you can pick out; dreſs them " up with all the ornaments of art to aſſiſt " nature. Give them their leſſons, how to " behave themſelves upon all occaſions of " courtſhip and amour. If the young men " ſhall make love, and proceed to any wanton importunities, let them threaten immediately and peremptorily to be gone, " unleſs they will actually renounce their " country's laws, and the honour of that " God that preſcribed them; and finally " engage themſelves to worſhip after the " manner of the *Madianites* and the *Moabites.* This, ſays he, will provoke God, and draw a vengeance upon their heads; and ſo he departed.

The *Madianites* ſent their daughters with inſtructions, according to *Balaam's* advice, and the young men were preſently charmed with their converſation and beauty, ſtill preſſing more and more upon them for further endearments and reſpects. The girls gave them the hearing, and allowed them liberties, even to the degree of tenderneſs and embrace. This went on, till they found they had them ſure in the toil; and when they had them once warmed and hampered, the laſſes made a countenance all on a ſudden, as if they were in that inſtant to be gone; but upon affectionate ſupplications, with ſighs and tears, on the other hand, not to forſake them, and ſolemn oaths and vows over and above, of love and honour, with life, fortune, and all at their feet; they were prevailed upon to ſtay and treat a little longer. They found by this time they could do what they would with them, and the courſe they took was this, one ſpeaking in the name of the reſt.

" It is not for want," ſays ſhe, " either " of fortune, or of credit, the love of our " parents, or the kindneſs of our friends and " relations, nor for the proſtituting of our " beauties, ſuch as they are, that we are " now come, moſt illuſtrious young men, " into your quarters, but out of pure hoſpitality and good nature to you, as you are " ſtrangers, and may perhaps have need of " us. For theſe reaſons, and upon an opinion alſo that you are good men, we have " made no ſcruple of treating you with an " innocent and generous freedom. You ſay " you love us, and ſhould be very loath to " part with us. If ſo, we are not at all " averſe to the gratifying of your deſires; " but you muſt firſt ſecure us of a conjugal " faith, for nothing elſe will do, and that " the love we have for your converſation " may be warranted by the reputation of becoming your wives; for we ſhould be " loath to be turned off for variety, and ſent " back again to our relations with ſcandal and " reproach. You will not blame us, we " hope for being ſo ſolicitous in ſo tender a " point." The young men ſtuck at nothing that might advance the ends of their love, and ſo the virgin went on. " Since, " ſays ſhe, we are thus far agreed, it will " become us to mind you of ſome other little differences that remain yet to be adjuſted. You have certain ways of life and " cuſtom, that are altogether peculiar to " yourſelves; even to particular meats and " drinks. Now if we live together, you " muſt reſolve to do as we do, and to worſhip as we worſhip; for by the reverence " you pay to our Gods, we ſhall be able to " judge of the affection you have for ourſelves. No body will blame you for adoring the Gods of the country where " you are; and the Gods, in truth, of almoſt " all other countries too; whereas yours is " a ſingular God, that's only to yourſelves." She left them, in concluſion, to this choice, either to live there, and do as other people did, or to be gone ſome where elſe, where they might do what they thought fit.

The young men were ſo blinded with paſſion, and abandoned to their pleaſures, that whatever the women propounded, they ſwallowed it, even to the renouncing of the religion of their forefathers, and the laws of their country, without ever examining the conditions: So that they joined with them immediately in the opinion of the plurality of gods, in the manner of their worſhip, the common uſe of all meats indifferently; and, for the womens ſakes, in ſhort, they ſtuck at nothing, though never ſo unwarrantable. This infection ſpread itſelf inſenſibly over the whole camp, and it was followed with a more dangerous ſedition than the former; inſomuch that there was hardly any face left of the order, piety, and devotion of former times. For, when the youth came once to have an hankering after the novelty of ſtrange cuſtoms and manners, there was no ſtopping of them in that career, but great and ſmall, one with another, were all corrupted and confounded in this apoſtacy.

Zimri, one of the principals of the tribe of *Simeon*, married *Coſbi* a *Madianite*, the daughter of one *Zur*, a perſon of eminent quality in that country. This ſame *Zimri*, at the inſtance of his wiſe, and in contempt of the *Moſaical* rites and conſtitutions, made open profeſſion, both of a ſtrange worſhip, and a ſtrange marriage. While matters were in this diſorder, *Moſes*, for fear of worſe conſequences, called the people together, and there fell upon a diſcourſe, how unworthy a thing it was, and how great a ſcandal to the memory of their anceſtors, for them to value the gratifying of their luſts and appetites above the reverence they owed to their God and their religion; how much it behoved them to repent in time, and to ſhew themſelves brave men; not in the violation of laws, but in the maſtery of unruly affections. He minded them how incongruous a thing it was too, for men that had been virtuous and modeſt in a deſert, to lead ſuch profligate lives in a good country, and ſquander away that in luxury, which they had honeſtly gotten together in the time of their diſtreſs. He did this to try, whether either ſhame, reaſon, or conſcience would work upon them, but without naming any creature all this while: For a perſonal, particular reproof, he thought might have made them deſperate; and it was his buſineſs to reclaim, not to expoſe them. This oblique diſcourſe of *Moſes* gave *Zimri* an occaſion to riſe and ſpeak.

“ *Moſes*, ſays he, you are at liberty to uſe your own laws. They have been a long time in exerciſe, and that cuſtom is all to be ſaid for their ſtrength, and credit. If it had not been for this, you would have found long ſince to your coſt that the *Hebrews* are not to be impoſed upon; and I myſelf am one of the nnmber that will never truckle to your tyrannical oppreſſion. For what's your buſineſs all this while, but under a bare pretext and talk of laws and God, to bar us not only the exerciſe, but the very deſire of liberty? to eſtabliſh your own greatneſs upon our miſery and ruin; depriving us of that freedom, which all people have a right to that are not under a maſter? What are we the better for coming out of *Ægypt*, if it be only in exchange for a more grievous bondage under *Moſes*? You are to make here what laws you pleaſe, and we to abide the penalties of them, at your will and pleaſure, when at the ſame time 'tis only you yourſelf that deſerve to be puniſhed. for abrogating ſuch cuſtoms, and priviliges as are authoriſed and eſtabliſhed by the common conſent of nations, and ſetting up your own will and fancy, againſt general practice and reaſon. What I have done, I take to be well done, and ſhall make no difficulty to confeſs and juſtify it. I have, as you ſay, married a ſtrange woman. I ſpeak this with the liberty of an honeſt man, and I care not who knows it. I never meant to make a ſecret of it, and you never need to look further for an informer. I do acknowledge, that I have changed my way of worſhip too; and I reckon it very reaſonable for a man to examine all things that would find out the truth, without being tied up, as if it were in a deſpotick government, to the opinion and humour of one ſingle perſon: Beſide that I ſhall not thank any man that takes upon him to over-rule me in my own affairs.”

Zimri was in this ſpeech the mouth of the faction, and the people when it was over, ſtood waiting quietly to ſee what would be the

the iſſue of ſo audacious an affront; for they were much afraid that miſchief would follow upon it; eſpecially obſerving that *Moſes* gave not one ſyllable in return to ſo inſolent a provocation; for one word, he thought, might beget another, till it came to blows, eſpecially in a multitude diſpoſed already to take fire. Upon this conſideration, he immediately diſcharged the aſſembly; but this outrage, in all likelihood, would not have ſtopt there yet if *Zimri* had not been ſoon after cut off, in ſuch manner as will now appear.

There was one *Phinees* that reſented this contumacy of *Zimri* to the higheſt degree of indignation. He was one of the braveſt youths of his time, and as eminent for the honour of his extraction, as he was for his perſonal virtue. *Eleazar* the high-prieſt was his father, and *Moſes* his great uncle. This *Phinees*, was ſo ſenſible of the danger of letting ſuch an indignity paſs unpuniſhed, and of ſuffering the laws to be trampled upon, and diſpiſed, that he took up a reſolution of a revenge upon the ringleader of this indignity, being well aware, that in all ſuch caſes, the greater the man is, the greater the neceſſity of making him an example. *Phinees*, went directly to the tent of *Zimri*, and with his drawn ſword killed him, and *Coſbi*, both at a thruſt *. This glorious action created ſuch an emulation among thoſe of his contemporaries who had but any ſpark of honour in them, that they fell immediately upon the remainder of the faction; and they that eſcaped the ſword, died by the judgment of a peſtilence that followed ſoon after, which took away, not only thoſe that had been actors in the ſedition, but thoſe of their kindred alſo that by their intereſt or authority might have interpoſed to prevent it. This plague ſwept away to the number of 14,000 ſouls †.

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrews *obtain a Victory over the* Madianites. *Daughters allowed to inherit.*

MOSES was ſo irratated by theſe practices of the *Madianites*, that he ſent 12,000 men againſt them; a thouſand out of every tribe, and *Phineas* to command them; by whoſe means the laws were vindicated, and *Zimri*, the violator of them, juſtly puniſhed.

Upon intelligence given to the *Madianites* that the enemy was already upon the borders, and drawing toward them, they got their troops together; fortified ſeveral paſſes as far as their time would give them leave, and ſo put themſelves in poſture to ſtand a battle. The *Madianites* were utterly broken upon the firſt encounter, and the number of the ſlain was incredible. There were five kings among the reſt, *viz. Ochus, Sures, Robeas, Ures*, and *Recem*. The capital city of *Ara-*

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* Upon this fact the *Jews* found what they call the *judgment of zeal*, which authorized ſuch as were full of this holy fervour to puniſh any violent offenders, as thoſe who blaſphemed God, or profaned the temple, &c. in the preſence of ten men of *Iſrael*, without any formal proceſs.

† According to the account of this affair in ſcripture, the number of people who died of this plague were computed at 24,000.

bia is known by his name to this day, in memory of the king who built it. They call it *Rekem*, and the *Grecians Petra*.

Upon this rout, the *Hebrews* laid waſte the country, putting all to the ſword, ſaving only the girls, according to *Moſes*'s order to *Phineas*, who brought back the army ſafe and ſound, with a prodigious booty, *viz.* fifty-two thouſand and ſixty-ſeven oxen, ſixty thouſand aſſes, houſehold plate and veſſels of gold and ſilver to an immenſe value, for the pomp and magnificence they lived in was beyond imagination. They brought away alſo to the number of thirty-two thouſand virgins.

Moſes made a diſtribution of the booty; one fiftieth part to *Eleazar* and the prieſts, and the other fiftieth to the *Levites*, and the reſt to the people, which gave them the means of enjoying the fruits of their toils and hazards in peace and plenty. *Moſes* was now far gone in years, and having received a command from God to leave *Joſhua* his ſucceſſor, he conſtituted him ſo in the ſeveral functions of a prophet, a leader, and a governor, being trained up by himſelf to a perfect underſtanding of the laws both of God and man.

The two tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, and the one half of that of *Manaſſes*, joined about this time in a petition to *Moſes* for a grant of the country of the *Amorites*; a place lately conquered, and an excellent ground for paſture, and therefore the more commodious for them, who had ſuch vaſt poſſeſſions in herds and other cattle. *Moſes* took this requeſt of theirs only for a pretence to avoid fighting, and charged them downright with juggling, ſloth, and cowardice. "You have a mind," ſays he, to live in eaſe and luxury, and, by appropriating to yourſelves the advantages of a common war, to give the ſlip to the reſt of your companions. They have a great deal of work yet upon their hands, in carrying on their conqueſts beyond *Jordan*, and making their way into the land which God hath promiſed them, over the bodies of their enemies." *Moſes* diſcovering himſelf to be much diſſatisfied, the petitioners excuſed themſelves, that it was neither fear nor lazineſs which induced them to do what they did, but only the deſire of ſome convenient place to ſecure what they had got, that they might be the more at liberty to attend the war; ſaying further, that if *Moſes* would be pleaſed to aſſign them towns of ſafety for their wives, their children, and their goods, they were ready to march wherever they were commanded, and venture their lives in the common cauſe.

Moſes was ſo well ſatisfied with what they ſaid, that he called for *Eleazar* the high prieſt, *Joſhua*, and the reſt of the magiſtrates, and, in their preſence, gave them the land of the *Amorites* according to their requeſt, but upon condition that they ſhould join with their countrymen in a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the common enemy, and never lay down arms till the war ſhould be over. Upon theſe terms they obtained what they deſired, and were put in poſſeſſion of ſtrong cities, where their wives, children, baggage and fortunes, might be in ſafety.

There were ten cities built in that country by *Moſes*, part of the forty-eight heretofore mentioned. He made three of them ſanctuaries, or places of refuge for thoſe who fled thither, in the caſe of killing a man by chance-medley, and without malice prepenſe. The refugee was to continue in baniſhment during the life of the high prieſt, under whoſe juriſdiction the homicide happened, and upon his deceaſe he was permitted to return. During his baniſhment, it was lawful for any of the kindred of the man ſlain, to kill the homicide, if he found him without the walls of the city of refuge; but it was not permitted to any other. The names of theſe cities of refuge were *Bozor*, on the borders of *Arabia*, *Ariman* in the country of *Galadene*, and *Gaulanan* in the land of *Batanæa*. *Moſes* provided alſo, that upon the taking of *Canaan*, there ſhould be three places of refuge erected there alſo, among the cities of the *Levites*, with the ſame privileges as the former.

About this time there died an eminent perſon of the tribe of *Manaſſes*, called *Solophades*, leaving no male iſſue, but only daughters. Some of the chief men of the tribe conſulted *Moſes*, whether or no theſe daughters were to inherit. The reſolution was given, that they were to inherit, if they married into the tribe, but not if they married out of it. Upon which occaſion he paſſed an ordinance, that every tribe ſhould keep its own inheritance, without alienating or transferring it.

CHAP. VIII.

The Life and Laws of Moſes.

IT was now forty years, within thirty days, ſince the *Hebrews* came out of *Ægypt*, when *Moſes* called the people together, at a place known at preſent by the name of *Abila*, by the ſide of the river *Jordan*, near a field of palm-trees, and, when the multitude were met, he delivered himſelf to them in a ſpeech to this effect.

“ Since it is the will of God now in the hundred and twentieth year of a waſted troubleſome life, to take me out of this world, the courſe of nature alſo requiring it, and ſo to order, that I can be no longer uſeful to you, either with my arms or counſels, in your further progreſs beyond *Jordan*, toward the land of *Canaan*; it will yet be a great comfort to me at my laſt hour, to leave my valiant fellow ſoldiers, labourers, and ſufferers, in ſo hopeful a proſpect of all the good their hearts can poſſibly wiſh. I muſt not be wanting in my duty however, even in this critical extremity, of conſulting your happineſs, and ſo far as in me lies, of promoting it alſo, by telling you what that happineſs is, and directing you to the means of attaining it; and in ſo doing I ſhall entitle myſelf to an everlaſting eſteem in your memory. I make no doubt but I ſhall find credit with you, and I may take upon me to ſay that I deſerve it too, if it were but for the indefatigable conſtancy of my endeavours to advance your welfare, wherein I never diſappointed or deceived you; beſides, that the words of a dying man are ſacred and ſincere.

“ As to the ſubject of human felicity, you may aſſure yourſelves, that no man can be happy but in the favour of God, and that it belongs to him alone to confer bleſſings upon the righteous, and to take away from the wicked. Do but behave yourſelves anſwerably to what God requires at your hands, or according to the precepts and inſtructions which you have received from me by his commiſſion, and you ſhall be celebrated for your virtue, and envied for your proſperity; and the bleſſings you are poſſeſſed of ſhall be continued to you, and thoſe you want ſhall be ſuperadded. Only reſign yourſelves to God's will, and obey his commandments, and all this ſhall be made good to you. But have a care how you give a preference to any other laws comparatively with thoſe which God ſent you by me, or how you allow yourſelves in any innovations in matters of worſhip and religion. Follow my advice, and you ſhall be victorious and invincible; for when you have God on your ſide, what ſignifies it who is againſt you; The rewards of virtue are glorious and certain, over and above that virtue itſelf is the greateſt, and all other advantages are caſt in by way of acceſſion. Practiſe it one with another, and "you ſhall be happy yourſelves, and likewiſe make others ſo, to the comfort of your preſent ſtate, and to your immortal honour in time to come.

"All this you may promiſe yourſelves, if you neither violate nor ſuffer to be violated, the written laws I brought you by God's ſpecial direction; and if you make the wiſdom and righteouſneſs of thoſe laws your daily meditation and ſtudy. This will ſecure your eſtabliſhment; and if I may but ſee you in a ſtate of ſettlement before I leave the world, I ſhall depart in peace. All I can do towards it will be to recommend to you the obſervance of thoſe precepts of piety and prudence, which are given you for your inſtruction and practice, and to an obedient compliance with the orders of your ſuperiors who ſhall be appointed and provided for your well-being and ſafety. That God, under whoſe government you have acted hitherto, and to whoſe goodneſs you ſtand indebted for all the benefits you have received from me, will never forſake you, but watch over you and protect you, ſo long as you worſhip him as you ought.

"You ſhall not want excellent monitors neither, as *Eleazar* the high prieſt, *Joſhua*, the ſenate, and the principals of the tribes. Treat them with all reverence, and without any thing of cavil or croſſneſs, as ever you hope to be happy; for he who cannot obey, can never govern well when it comes to his turn. Have a care how you take mutiny for liberty, as you have done formerly, and how you ſet up for a privilege of thwarting the commands of your governors, under that notion. You have been too much given to this miſtake in times paſt, pray mend it for the future, and your affairs will thrive the better with you for it. God forbid you ſhould ever be ſo impetuous and intemperate toward any of my ſucceſſors as you have but too often been to me, inſomuch that my life hath been more in danger from you ſometimes than from the enemy. I do not ſpeak this to reproach you; for I was not tranſported, you ſaw, at the doing of the thing, neither would I afflict you with the memory of an ill thing done, at a time when I am upon the point of taking my eternal leave of you; only be wiſer for the future, and be not puffed up with the wealth and plenty of the land of *Canaan*, when you ſhall come to take poſſeſſion of it; but know it to be your intereſt, as well as your duty, not to behave yourſelves frowardly to thoſe who are ſet over you: For if ever wealth and luxury ſhall make you inſolent to the contempt of religion, authority, and virtue, God, inſtead of a protector, will become your enemy; you ſhall loſe that land again with infamy, which you got with honour and courage, and be ſcattered all over the face of the earth, as the moſt deſpicable of mankind. When it comes to that once, it will be too late to wiſh things undone again, and that you had contained yourſelves within the bounds of your laws and duty.

"Now to prevent the danger of this mortal apoſtacy for the time to come, give no quarter where you get the better of it, for, in ſo doing you cut off all ſeducers. As for their temples, groves, and altars, let them be deſtroyed one and all with fire and ſword, wherever you come, even to the extinction, if it were poſſible, of the very memory of them. This, in fine, is the only way to ſecure yourſelves to all purpoſes; but yet for fear of the worſt, and to aſſiſt the ignorant toward the underſtanding of their duty, I have written a body of laws by the command of God himſelf, and ſuch a form of adminiſtration, public and private, that you ſhall certainly be the happieſt people under the ſun, if you conform yourſelves to thoſe rules and meaſures."

When *Moſes* had made an end of ſpeaking, he delivered them a book of laws and precepts in writing, with reſpect to government and good manners. This book was but the prologue to a final ſeparation, and brought ſeveral things to their mind, which made the whole multitude burſt out into an exceſſive weeping. Some were at their wit's end what would become of them when *Moſes* was gone, and all in deſpair of ever getting ſuch another commander. Others were upon the ſubject of his bravery and conduct, what pains he had taken, what dangers he had run, and how generouſly and chearfully for their good. Some again were at a loſs for a mediator, who ſhould conſult God for them when they wanted advocates, or intercede for them when he was angry. But nothing went nearer them than the memory of their outrages againſt *Moſes* in the deſert; upon which reflection they were all tranſported into ſuch violent lamentations, that what with ſhame and guilt, it carried them out of all government of themſelves, till *Moſes* at laſt, by his perſuaſion and authority, put an end to the ſorrow and to the meeting both at once, firſt recommending to them the ſtudy and uſe of his book of laws.

It will be worth my while now, before I paſs over to other matters, to inſert the laws themſelves, that the reader may ſee how anſwerable they are to the majeſty of the compiler of them, and the original of our uſages and cuſtoms. Every thing he wrote is yet extant, and we muſt take it as he left it, without any room for ornament or variation. We have only taken the liberty of altering the method, and of reducing the ſeveral laws, which *Moſes* brought one after another, as God was conſulted about them, into their proper and natural place and order. I have taken notice of this, to prevent the calumny which ſome of our own people might otherwiſe have raiſed upon it, as if *Moſes* had not been fairly dealt with, in this part of the relation. Now I ſhall only take notice in this place of the public laws and conſtitutions which have regard to the policy of their government; but for matters of private dealing and contract, whether among ourſelves, or with ſtrangers, I ſhall treat of them in a commentary, which I propoſe, God willing, to make public, concerning the cuſtoms and reaſons of thoſe excellent laws.

When you ſhall have made yourſelves abſolute maſters of the land of *Canaan*, ſettled your plantations, and built your cities, you will have nothing more to do toward the maintaining of yourſelves in the full, ſafe, and eaſy enjoyment of your acquiſitions, than to love God, and keep theſe his following commandments, which will eſtabliſh your felicity upon a foundation never to be ſhaken.

Let there be one holy city, in the land of *Canaan*, to be erected in ſome certain place for the fruitfulneſs and beauty of the ſituation, which God, by his prophet, ſhall make choice of and appoint. Let there be one temple in it, and one altar, and that altar to be made of unhewn ſtones out of the quarry, gathered up here and there, and ſo put together and varniſhed, for the better grace of the work, and to make it the more agreeable to the eye; the aſcent not to be made by ſtairs, but by a gradual riſing of the ground *, for the decency of the approach. But there muſt be no more altars or temples in any other city; for the *Hebrews* are but one nation, and worſhip no more than one God.

Whoever ſhall blaſpheme the holy name of God, let him be ſtoned to death, his body expoſed upon a gibbet for one day, and afterwards thrown into the ground with contempt.

Let the whole nation of the *Hebrews* come up from all quarters to this holy city and temple, to worſhip thrice a year, and offer up thankſgivings for benefits received, imploring future bleſſings; and ſo, by the freedom of a chearful tenderneſs of converſation, create friendly diſpoſitions one towards another. It is a matter of common convenience for people of the ſame ſtock, intereſt, and profeſſion, to be thoroughly acquainted; for there is a wonderful force many times in the impreſſion of a word, a look, or an action; as, on the contrary, without theſe meetings and interviews, all the comforts and advantages of communication are loſt to us.

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* The reaſon of this is obvious; for decency could not be otherwiſe provided for in the looſe garments which the prieſts wore.

Let every city have a council of ſeven magiſtrates; men of exemplary virtue, and lovers of truth and to each of theſe rulers let their be two *Levites*. Let the dignity of the ſeat of judgment be kept ſacred, and no man preſume to utter an irreverent and intemperate word in the face of the court; for the practice of this veneration toward political governors, will accuſtom us by degrees to a love and awe of piety, as well as of common juſtice, and to an affectionate ſenſe of our duty to God himſelf, in the deference we pay to his miniſters. There muſt be no appeal from the ſentence of the judge, unleſs in caſe of manifeſt error and corruption. Juſtice is the main end of judgment; and it is to be adminiſtered without any regard either to power, intereſt, or affection. It is a reproach to the divine power and goodneſs to be more afraid of a great man than of God himſelf, as if the latter were the weaker of the two: And this is in truth the caſe of ſuch partialities. If it ſhall ſo fall out that the judges are either not informed at all, or miſinformed, and conſequently ſtrangers to the queſtion, and ſo incompetent; (which many times happens) let the cauſe be carried up entire to the holy city, for the high-prieſt, the prophet, and the ſenate to decide the controverſy.

Let no accuſation be admitted, but from the mouth of two, three, or more witneſſes; and let them be men of probity too, and unſpotted reputation.

The teſtimony of * a woman ſhall not be reputed a warrantable evidence, becauſe of the natural levity of the ſex, and that they talk too much at random.

No ſlave ſhall be allowed as a competent witneſs, becauſe of the ſervile and mercenary condition of his mind and quality, which may probably be wrought upon, either by fear, or by profit, to give a falſe teſtimony.

Whoever ſhall be convict of a falſe oath, ſhall be liable to the ſame puniſhment that the accuſed ſhould have ſuffered if the charge had been proved upon him.

In the caſe of a homicide, when a man ſhall be found dead in a field, and he that killed him doth not appear, nor any perſonal jealouſy of a malice prepenſe againſt him, let there be a ſtrict enquiry upon the life of the man, and public rewards offered by proclamation for the diſcovery. If after all this ſearch and diligence, it ſhall not yet be made out how he came by his death, let the magiſtracy, and the neighbouring townſhips meet together, and take an exact meaſure which of them was neareſt to the place when the dead body was found; and let the inhabitants of the place who ſhall be found neareſt, provide a heifer, and bring it into a fallow ſpot of ground, fit for neither planting nor ſowing, and there let the ſinews of the neck be cut, the prieſt, *Levites*, and elders waſhing their hands with water over the head of the heifer, and purging themſelves by an open proteſtation that they know nothing, either directly or indirectly, of the homicide, finiſhing the ceremony with prayers to almighty God to preſerve that place and people from the guilt of blood for the time to come.

Let there be alſo reſerved to the value uf a tenth of the fruits of the earth, over and above the dues of the prieſts and *Levites*, out of the ſale of them in the market, to be laid out in ſacrifices and entertainments, which ſhall be celebrated in the holy city; as it is

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[*] It ſeems probable that this was only a doctrine of the *Phariſees* in latter times; for there is no notice taken of it in the *Pentateuch*.

but reaſonable to dedicate the fruits of the land to him who gives us *gratis* the propriety and poſſeſſion.

Thou ſhalt not offer in ſacrifice the hire of a proſtitute, for God is not pleaſed with any thing that is either wicked or ſhameful; and there is no fouler uncleanneſs than this mixture of bodies. And ſo, in like manner, for the hire of a bitch, to keep up the ſtrain of a dog, as it is for the hire of a ſtrumpet.

Let no man ſpeak ill of the gods of other nations*, nor rifle their temples, nor take away any thing dedicated to divine worſhip out of them.

Let no *Iſraelite* wear a mixed garment of wool and linen, unleſs he be a prieſt, to whom alone it belongs.

In every ſeventh year, when the feaſt of tabernacles ſhall be celebrated in the holy city, let the prieſt, from a high pulpit, where he may be heard by the whole congregation, read the book of the law, and all ſorts of people, without exception, women, children, yea and ſlaves themſelves, be admitted to the hearing of it; for, when the law is once thoroughly imprinted in peoples minds, it will never out of their memories; beſides, that it takes away the common plea of pretended ignorance. Laws have more force upon the conſciences of offenders, when they tell them before hand what they are to truſt to, in caſe of diſobedience, and mingle terror with authority. What men receive by the ear ſinks into their minds, and they find themſelves ſo far convinced of the intent and reaſon of laws, that they are effectually their own accuſers upon the violation of them.

Above all things let children be early inſtructed in theſe laws, as the moſt neceſſary and profitable diſcipline they can be trained up to. Wherefore, let them twice a day, morning and evening, be conſtantly minded of the goodneſs of God who brought them out of the land of *Ægypt*, and of his other mercies; for it is equally reaſonable to give God thanks for former bleſſings, as to pray for new ones. Let them have memorials of God's power and bounty, by inſcriptions upon their doors, their heads, about their arms, *&c.* ſo that which way ſoever they turn themſelves, they may have remembrancers of God's providence ſtill in their eyes.

As to the matter of government, ariſtocracy is the beſt form, wherefore let the *Hebrews* ſtick at it, and maintain it; for whenever they caſt it off, it will be to their loſs; for they have nothing above them but the laws, and thoſe laws are a ſtanding rule what they are to do; but let it ſuffice, that they have God for their king and their ſupreme governor.

Now, after all this, if you ſhould come to have a hankering after monarchy, be ſure you chuſe your king out of your own ſtock and lineage, a perſon of juſtice and good faith, without paſſion or guile; one who ſhall depend upon the direction of God and the laws, more than upon his own wiſdom; one who ſhall take the advice of the high-prieſt and elders along with him in all he does, without ſetting his mind upon a multitude of wives, or the pomp of treaſure and horſes, for fear the ambitious affectation of this power and magnificence, ſhould tranſport him into incroachments upon your laws and liberties, and make him greater, in fine, than would ſtand with your eaſe and convenience.

Remove no boundaries or land-marks, whether your own or your neighbours; for they are the beſt ſecurity we have for the common peace. Let them be kept as firm as the foundations of the earth, and as if providence itſelf had fixed them there. The breaking in upon theſe bounds opens a certain way to wars and tumults; and what avarice does in one caſe, ambition does in another.

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* The Apoſtolical Conſtitutions make the word *Gods* to mean *Magiſtrates*, which is a more probable expoſition than this of *Joſephus*.

The firſt fruits of trees, which bear before the fourth year from their planting, are not either to be offered to God, or to be eaten by man; for, coming before their time, they are rather abortions than natural productions. But, in the fourth year, when the fruit comes to maturity, let all be gathered and tranſported to the holy city, to be there ſpent by the owner, together with the tenths of other fruits, in treating his friends and acquaintances, widows and orphans. But in the fifth year, the proprietor has the product to himſelf.

Let no ground planted with vines be ſowed; for the earth hath enough to do to attend the ſervice of that plant, without the ſuperfluous vexations of the plow over and above.

Let the earth be plowed with oxen alone; for beaſts of ſeveral kinds are not to draw in the ſame yoke.

Let the ſeeds to be ſown be ſimple and unmixed, not two or three ſorts together, for the confuſion of ſuch diverſities is unnatural.

Let there be no adulterate mixtures betwixt the females of one kind, and the males of another, leſt men ſhould alſo be tempted by this unnatural example into the liberty of inordinate luſts. As the fouleſt extravagancies have taken their riſe many times from trivial beginnings, wherefore, let nothing be permitted in human converſation, which, by a perverſe hint of applying it, may tend to the depravation of good manners. So that it is not for laws to paſs over in neglect even the ſmalleſt things in appearance, when ſo great matters depend upon them.

Let not the harveſt reapers ſweep away the whole crop, but leave a large allowance of gleanings for the neceſſities of the poor; and ſo for cluſters of grapes upon the vintage, and windfalls upon the gathering of olives, let there be a compaſſionate remainder left for thoſe who have nothing to eat of their own. The reward of the charity will infinitely more than countervail the charge of the bounty, for God will bleſs the land with fertility, and the owner of it with plenty, when a man has a regard to the wants of the neceſſitous, as well as to his own convenience.

The ox is not to be muzzled when he treads out the corn; for it would be unreaſonable to deny any thing a part in the fruits of its own labour.

Let no paſſenger upon a journey be refuſed to taſte of ripe fruit if he deſires it, whether of the country or a ſtranger; but let him take, and eat, and welcome, as if it were his own, provided he carries none away with him.

Let no man, in bearing grapes to the preſs, refuſe a bunch of them to a traveller who meets him upon the way; for it would be very hard to deny any man ſo ſmall a proportion of the good things which God hath beſtowed upon mankind, gratis, and in ſuch abundance; eſpecially conſidering the nicety of the ſeaſon, according to the courſe of providence, and how ſoon it will be over. Nay, if men ſhould be ſo ſcrupulous upon a point of modeſty, as to forbear touching or deſiring any thing, let them be invited and entreated to take and pleaſe themſelves. If they be *Iſraelites*, they are to be looked upon as partners and fellow-ſharers in what you have, being all of the ſame blood and brotherhood. If ſtrangers, let them be deſired to accept of ſuch a reſpect, as a preſent of hoſpitality out of God's bounty. We are not to account any thing loſt which is thus beſtowed; for, when it pleaſes God to ſhower down his bleſſings upon the ſons of men, it is not for this or that man's ſake or uſe alone, but a depoſitum with them, as truſtees for the common ſervice of thoſe who want. Neither can men do a greater right to God's munificence towards themſelves, than by communicating part of the bleſſings to others. Whoever ſhall preſume to act contrary to what is here preſcribed ſhall receive forty laſhes ſave one from the hand of the common executioner; a ſervile puniſhment, but good enough for a mercenary freeman, who ſacrifices his dignity to his avarice. It is all the reaſon in the world, ſays *Moſes*, that thoſe people who ſuffered themſelves ſo much in *Ægypt*, and the wilderneſs, ſhould, from the experience of their own miſery, contract ſomewhat of tenderneſs and compaſſion for their neighbours; ſo far, at leaſt, as being in plenty themſelves, to aſſiſt the needy in ſome degree out of their abundance.

Beſides the two yearly tenths already appointed to be paid, the one to the *Levites*, the other to the holy feaſts, there remains yet a third, to be divided every third year, among the poor widows and orphans.

Let every man carry his firſt fruits to the temple, and, after thankſgivings to God for the earth which brought them forth, and ſacrifices celebrated in due form of law, let him give them to the prieſts: This being done, and the tenth, with the firſt fruits for the *Levites* and the feſtivals preſented according to cuſtom, let him, when he is ready to go home again, give God thanks before the door of the temple, for delivering the *Hebrews* from their grievous ſlavery, and putting them in poſſeſſion of ſo fair and plentiful a country; publicly declaring that he has paid his tenths, according to the law and appointment of *Moſes*. Let him then pray to God both for himſelf and for the public, to grant them not only a continuance of his graces and mercies toward them, but, by his infinite power and goodneſs, to vouchſafe them an augmentation of thoſe bleſſings.

When men are of years to marry, let them make their choice out of virgins wellborn and well nurtured, and the children of virtuous parents; but let not him who will not marry a virgin, ſeduce the wife of another man, to the diſquiet and affliction of her huſband.

Let not a freeman marry a bond woman, and then plead love in his defence; for a man forfeits his honour when he can no longer command his paſſion.

Let there be no marrying with a harlot; for God will not receive a nuptial ſacrifice from an unclean body; beſides, libidinous marriages are commonly attended with a ſuitable iſſue, both for want of ſobriety and honour.

If any man thinks he has married a virgin, and finds afterwards that he was miſtaken, let him put the cauſe upon a trial, and bring his proofs; while, on the other ſide, the father, the brother, and the next of kin, may appear on the behalf of the woman. If ſhe be acquitted, her accuſer ſhall be bound to live in wedlock with her, and that marriage never after to be diſſolved, unleſs upon poſitive evidence, beyond contradiction. But whoever ſhall be found, in ſuch a caſe as this, raſhly and ſcandalouſly to calumniate an innocent perſon, let him have the corporal puniſhment of forty ſtripes ſave one, and ſtand condemned in a mulct of fifty ſicles to the father of the woman. But if it ſhall be made out that ſhe was corrupted before her marriage, ſhe ſhall be ſtoned to death for her incontinence, if a perſon of a mean quality; or if otherwiſe, as of the family of the prieſt, let her be burnt alive.

If a man have two wives, and a much greater value for the one than the other, (whether upon the account of beauty, inclination, or what other motive ſoever) in caſe the huſband ſhall be prevailed upon by the favourite wife to demand a right of primogeniture for her younger ſon, in prejudice of an elder ſon by another wife, (for, by my laws, ſays *Moſes*, the ſeniority entitles him to a double portion) let it not be allowed of; for it is unjuſt that the elder ſon ſhould be robbed of his birthright by the partiality of the father to one wife more than the other.

If any man ſhall debauch a virgin contracted to another man, they are both guilty, and ſhall both ſuffer death; the man for corrupting the woman, and the woman for conſenting; the one for ſeducing the woman into the preference of a ſcandalous uncleanneſs to an honourable marriage, and the other for yielding herſelf a proſtitute, either for luſt or profit. But if a man ſhall be found to have forced a woman, while alone, and no body within diſtance of coming to her relief, the man only ſhall die.

He who ſhall corrupt a virgin, who is under no obligation to any other man, let him marry her; or, if her father will not conſent, let him give him fifty ſicles for a compoſition.

If a man has a mind to part from his wife upon what cauſe ſoever, as there are pretences in abundance, let him give it under his hand that they ſhall never come together again. She may marry another man, but without that diſcharge ſhe cannot, neither will the divorce ſtand good. But if the ſecond huſband ſhould die, and the woman have a mind to go back to her firſt again, it is not to be allowed.

Where a huſband dies and leaves his wife without iſſue, let the brother of the deceaſed marry the widow, and in caſe of a ſon by the ſecond huſband, let him bear the name of the family, and inherit the eſtate; for it concerns the public, that names and families ſhould be preſerved, their poſſeſſions kept entire, and it is a relief to the woman to live with ſo near a relation to her firſt huſband. But if the brother refuſe to marry her, let her complain to the ſenate, that whereas ſhe offered herſelf to ſtay in the family, and to bring children to it, her huſband's brother had given her the repulſe, and put a diſhonour upon the memory of her dead huſband. The elders ſhall then interrogate the brother upon the reaſon of his refuſal, and whether it be more or leſs, the iſſue will be this in the concluſion: The widow ſhall looſen the lappet of the brother's ſhoe, and ſpit in his face, telling him that he deſerved all this for caſting a diſhonour upon the memory of the deceaſed. After this, he departs the court with a mark of infamy that he carries with him to his grave; and ſo the widow is left at liberty to marry again where ſhe pleaſes.

If a man takes a maid, widow, or wife, priſoner, and hath a mind to marry her, they are not to accompany together as man and wife, till the priſoner ſhall have ſhaved her head, and run through the whole courſe of her mourning for the friends and relations ſhe loſt in the battle; and this ceremony being over, ſhe is at liberty to enjoy the comforts of mirth and marriage. It is a reaſonable thing for him that takes a woman to have children by her, to indulge the will and affections of his wife, and not ſo abſolutely purſue his own ſatisfactions as to neglect hers. But after thirty days mourning, which is enough for any ſober man, it may be ſeaſonable to marry. If the man ſhould prove fickle, and grow weary of her, he muſt not think to make her a ſlave again, for ſhe hath purchaſed her freedom to go whither ſhe pleaſes.

When children ſhall behave themſelves undutifully, and contemptuouſly toward their parents, without any regard to filial reverence, piety, or good manners, let the father and mother in firſt place, (whom nature has made their judges) inſtruct and tutor them by ſome prudent diſcourſe and good advice.

If this way of reaſoning take effect, it will be but a piece of charitable juſtice to paſs it all over, as a ſlip of ignorance, without malice; beſides that it would be for the honour of governors, and the comfort of parents ſo to do. But if rebellious children will ſtill perſiſt in an incorrigible obſtinacy, there is no way left then but to turn the laws looſe upon them, which will have them carried out of the city, and there ſtoned to death, the bodies to be expoſed upon a gibbet for one day, and at night to be taken down and buried.

The ſame thing is to be done in all other caſes of capital puniſhment. Public enemies are not to be denied burial. The dead muſt be allowed earth to cover them. The law preſcribes the puniſhment, and it would be injuſtice to go beyond the ſentence.

It is not lawful for one *Hebrew* to lend unto another either money, meat, or drink, on uſury; for it is not fair to take advantage of the neceſſities of a brother. Let it ſuffice, that the conſcience of a good office does more than countervail the profit of it; ſo that the very charity is clear gain, if men would but truſt God Almighty for their reward, which never fails, ſooner or later, to follow good works. As for thoſe that borrow, either money, or fruits, wet or dry, let them be ſure to make a chearful repayment of it, as ſoon as ever God ſhall put them in condition ſo to do.

In caſe of a debtor, that hath neither the ſhame, nor the conſcience, to reſtore what he borrowed, the creditor ſhall not enter his houſe to take a pledge, but demand it at the door, where the debtor himſelf is to deliver it; but upon the order of the judge in favour of the creditor, there muſt be no oppoſing of it. If he that has given the pawn can conveniently ſpare it, let the creditor keep it till he receives ſatisfaction; but if he be very indigent, and wants it let it be returned before ſun-ſet; eſpecially if it be a garment, leſt he ſhould want it to keep him warm in the night. Such is the tenderneſs of Almighty God in favour of the poor.

Take not a mill in pawn, or any thing that is eſſentially neceſſary to the working of it, for fear it ſhould deprive ſome poor people of the means of livelihood.

Let it be death to ſpirit away, or to ſteal a man; and he that ſteals gold or ſilver, let him reſtore double.

He that ſhall kill a thief in the act of ſtealing, or of breaking into a houſe, ſhall be acquitted.

He that ſteals a labouring beaſt ſhall be condemned in four times the value of it; unleſs it be an ox, and then the penalty ſhall be *quintuple* or five times; but if the party ſhall not be able to pay the fine, let him be turned over for a ſlave to the perſon he has wronged.

If one *Hebrew* be ſold to another, he ſhall ſerve ſix years, and be made free the ſeventh; but if it ſhould ſo fall out, that he hath children in his maſter's houſe by any of his female fellow ſervants, and ſhall think fit through particular inclination to out-ſtay his time, he ſhall be freed in the year of *Jubilee*, with his wife and children.

If any man ſhall find gold and ſilver, upon the way, let him ſeek and require who loſt it, in order to the reſtoring of it; it would be inhuman to make profit of another man's misfortune. And when cattle ſhould be ſeen aſtray, wandering in a deſert, either let the maſter be found out to whom they belong, or let the finder keep them to himſelf, till the right owner may be heard of, calling God to witneſs that he does not covet the goods of any other men.

Whoever ſees a traveller at a loſs for want of knowing his way, let him give him his beſt direction and advice, to ſet him forward on his journey. It is barbarous, either to make ſport with him, or to hinder is buſineſs.

Speak no ill either of the deaf, or the abſent.

If one man ſtrikes another upon a ſudden quarrel, and not with a ſword, let juſtice be immediately done upon the aggreſſor, by the ſame number of blows that he gave the other. If he that was ſtruck be carryed home, laid up ſick for ſeveral days, and then die, there ſhall lie no action of murder in the caſe; but, if he recovers, the other ſhall bear the whole charge of his cure, doctors, apothecaries, ſurgeons, keepers and the like.

If any man ſhall kick a woman with child, ſo that ſhe * miſcarries, the judges ſhall condemn him in a ſum of money for the loſs of a ſubject: Beſide another ſum by way of fine to her huſband. But if ſhe dies of the ſtroke, the man muſt die too, for life muſt anſwer for life.

If there ſhall be found in the poſſeſſion of an

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* *Philo* and others appear to have underſtood this law, *Exod.* xxi. 22, 23. better than *Joſephus*: who ſeems to allow, that though the infant in the mother's womb, even after the mother were quick, and ſo the infant had a rational ſoul, were killed by the ſtroke upon the mother, yet if the mother eſcaped, the offended ſhould only be

Iſraelite, the preparation of any mortal or dangerous † poiſon, he ſhall ſuffer death for it, to anſwer for the lives of thoſe againſt whom it ſhall appear to have been deſigned.

He that ſtrikes out another man's eye ſhall forfeit his own, and make ſatisfaction in kind, an eye for an eye, unleſs he ſhall otherwiſe think fit to compound for it with money. ‡ For the law will ſo far allow a man to be a judge in his own caſe, where he ſhall think fit to moderate the penalty for an injury done to himſelf.

If an ox be miſchievous, and given to goring, let his maſter kill him. If an ox kill any body let him immediately be ſtoned to death, and no man preſume to eat of his fleſh; but if it ſhall appear that the maſter had been forwarned of the fierceneſs of this beaſt, and gave no heed to it, he himſelf ſhall ſuffer death for not preventing the death of another man. If an ox ſhall kill a man or a maid-ſervant, the ox ſhall be ſtoned, and the owner of the ox ſhall ſtand condemned in * thirty ſicles to the maſter of the ſlave that was ſlain. If one ox ſhall kill another, let the living and the dead be both ſold, and the money divided betwixt their two maſters.

If any man digs a pit or a well, let him cover it with boards, and caſt up a mound about it, when he goes from it, not to engroſs the water, but to give notice of the danger, and to keep man and beaſt from falling into it; or in caſe any beaſt ſhall drop in unawares, and be loſt for want of ſuch a fence or cover, the owner of the ground ſhall make ſatisfaction to the value of the beaſt.

Whoever receives a depoſitum, that is to ſay, ſomewhat in truſt for the uſe of another man, let him preſerve it as a thing ſacred, and not to be touched by man, woman, or child, though the whole world were to be gotten by it, to the prejudice of the creditor. Witneſs or no witneſs, either to the truſt or to the fraud, doth not one jot alter the caſe. The conſcience is the only judge and evidence of what we ought to do, and of what we do, and whether we do well or ill; and according to that inward teſtimony we ſtand or fall to a God that is not to be impoſed upon. But now ſuppoſing the depoſitum *bona fide* to be loſt, and he that had it in charge not blameable; where it ſo falls out, let the truſtee apply himſelf to the ſeven judges, and there make oath, in the preſence of God, that he never employed any part of it to his own uſe, and that neither directly nor indirectly had any hand or privity in the going of it; and this ſhall be ſufficient to acquit him of having performed his truſt. But yet if it ſhall afterwards be made appear, that he ever converted any particle of this depoſitum to his proper benefit, he ſhall be obliged to make good the whole.

God will have the like ſtrictneſs of juſtice to be alſo obſerved in the punctuality of paying the labourer his hire, which conſiſts partly in not defrauding him of any por-

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be fined, and not put to death. While the law ſeems rather to mean, that if the infant in that caſe be killed, though the mother eſcape, the offender muſt be put to death, and not only when the mother is killed, as *Joſephus* underſtood it. It ſeems this was the expoſition of the *Phariſees* in the days of *Joſephus*. See *Primit. Chriſt. Revived*. Vol. IV. *pag*. 270, 271.

† What we render a *Witch*, according to our modern notion of *Witchcraft*, Exod. xxii. 18. *Philo* and *Joſephus* underſtood of a *Poiſoner;* or one that attempted, by ſecret and unlawful drugs or philtra, to take away the ſenſe or the lives of men.

‡ It was in ſome meaſure neceſſary to reſtrain quarrelſome and unruly tempers from violence, and in caſe that death did not enſue, the law was always mitagated to a pecuniary mulct.

‡ It may here be noted, that thirty ſhekels, the price our Saviour was ſold for by *Judas* to the *Jews*, *Matth.* xxvi. 15. xxvii. 3. was the old value of a bought ſervant or ſlave among that people.

tion of his due, and partly in not delaying the payment of it; but upon the ſame day he makes an end of his work, let him receive his wages.

Children are not to be puniſhed for the iniquity of their fathers; but where they are good, they deſerve rather to be pitied, for lying under the lot of having ſuch fathers; beſides the equity of reſpecting them for their own virtues, rather than making them odious for the failing of others. Neither is the lewdneſs of children in all caſes to be imputed to their parents; for there are ſome natures ſo harſh and untractable, that all the gentleneſs of good example, care, and diſcipline, can never work upon them.

There are an abominable ſort of people, that out of ſome unnatural affectation, make themſelves eunuchs *, and, in ſo doing, deſtroy, as much as in them lies, the very intent of nature and providence, in male and female; cutting off the means of encreaſing poſterity, to the diſappointment of the main end of their creation. Their minds were firſt corrupted, before they came to make this experiment upon their bodies. Theſe men are to be avoided and deteſted as the worſt of monſters; wherefore let nothing be caſtrated, neither man nor any living creature; for it is a departure from the very inſtitution of nature.

Theſe are the laws you are to obſerve in times of peace, and I hope, by the bleſſing of God, they will be continued unchangeably ſacred and inviolable to yourſelves and your children after you for ever. But if it ſhall be your fortune, either now or hereafter, to fall under the neceſſity of a war, God grant it may be a foreign one; and, for the decency of the proceeding, let it be advanced in form. You ſhall do well to let your heralds or ambaſſadors be ſent, in the firſt place, with memorials and declarations upon the matter in queſtion; for, according to the courſe of reaſon and nature, words ſhould go before blows. You may give to underſtand that your buſineſs is not to enrich yourſelves with priſoners or booty; how unwilling you are to put things to extremities, and how deſirous of peace, upon any reaſonable terms, notwithſtanding all the advantages of numbers, horſe, arms, military proviſions, and more than all the reſt, of an almighty and gracious God to fight your battles. But if your competitor ſhall yet thing fit to put the cauſe upon a trial of war, draw out your men againſt him, committing the government of the whole to God, and next under him to the braveſt man for arms, policy, and courage, that you can pitch upon, as his deputy. Have a care of many heads, for they commonly do more hurt than good; not only for want of agreement, but in the matter of execution and diſpatch. Look to the choice of your levies, for the minds of men muſt be conſidered, as well as their bodies. Let them be daring as well as robuſt, for the leaſt mixture of cowardice may be enough to diſpirit and debauch a whole army.

You ſhall except out of this militia the maſters of new-built houſes that they have not yet lived a year in; the planters of vineyards that have not as yet taſted the fruit of their own vines; and new married men that have not taken their wives home with them yet, who, when they ſhould be venturing their lives for their country, will be indulging them for their pleaſure.

Keep good order in your camp, and allow no liberties that are harſh and cruel. When you want wood at any time upon a ſiege, as for an engine, or ſome military uſe, ſpare all fruit-trees, upon this conſideration that they were both created and planted for other uſes.

When you have the fortune to overcome

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* This law againſt caſtration, even of brutes, is ſaid to be ſo rigorous elſewhere, as to inflict death on him that does it; *Contr. Apion*, II. 37. which ſeems only a *Phariſaical* interpretation in the days of *Joſephus* of that law, *Levit*. xxi. 20 and xxii. 24. only we may hence obſerve, that the *Jews* could then have no oxen, which are gelt, but only bulls and cows in *Judea*.

in battle, give no quarter to thoſe of your enemies that were obſtinate and ſtood it out, but preſerve the reſt, and make them your tributaries, ſaving only the *Canaanites*; and thoſe you are to extirpate, even the whole nation of them, root and branch.

Let no man appear in a woman's dreſs or habit, nor any woman in a man's; but eſpecially in a military action.

This was the form and policy of the *Hebrew* commonwealth as *Moſes* left it, and he delivered other laws alſo that he had written ſome forty years before; which we ſhall hereafter treat of.

He held ſeveral aſſemblies after this ſucceſſively, beſtowing his benedictions upon thoſe that lived in obedience to his holy laws, and purſuing the malicious tranſgreſſors of them with bitter maledictions. He then recited a kind of a prophetical canticle, in hexameter verſe, containing a diſcourſe of things to come, and in the very order as they fell out after, without any variation either in the matter itſelf, or in the ſeries of the ſtory. This he left in writing, to be kept in the oratory. He delivered his books to the prieſts, and alſo the ark, wherein were the ten commandments, written in two tables, leaving it in charge to the people, that as ſoon as ever they ſhould come to be maſters of the promiſed land, and ſettle their plantations, they ſhould take their revenge upon the *Amalekites*, for the indignities they had formerly put upon them in the deſart.

He commanded alſo, that upon the taking of *Canaan*, and putting the whole multitude to the ſword, they ſhould raiſe an altar to the eaſtward, not far from *Sichem*, betwixt two mountains, *Garizim* on the right hand, and *Gebal* on the left, and ſo dividing their army into twice ſix tribes, they were to diſpoſe of thoſe two diviſions upon theſe two mountains, together with the prieſts and *Levites*. They were to pray in their turns, and *Garizim* to lead the office, imploring all ſorts of bleſſings from Almighty God upon thoſe that kept his holy commandments, and walked in the ways of his ſervant *Moſes*; the tribes upon *Gebal*, by way of reſponſe, returning their acclamations, in token of approving what the other had done; and then, after the ſame manner, they followed with their maledictions, which were pronounced and ratified with the ſame ſolemnity as before. Theſe bleſſings and imprecations were at that time committed to writing, in perpetual memory thereof. He cauſed them alſo, when he was dying, to be engraven on each ſide of the altar, the people aſſiſting and offering up ſacrifices and burnt offerings; a thing not warrantable in itſelf, and therefore not to be brought into precedent. You have here the ordinances and conſtitutions of *Moſes*, which the *Hebrews* obſerve moſt religiouſly to this day.

Upon the day following, the whole multitude being gathered together, men, women, and children, the meaneſt of ſlaves themſelves not excepted, *Moſes* bound them with an oath to the obſervance of the laws, according to the will of God, and that neither favour, terror, nor any other pretence, ſhould ever make them depart from their obedience to thoſe precepts; but that if any ſingle perſon, though never ſo near or dear to them, or any body of men, ſhould ever attempt an innovation, they ſhould join as one man againſt him and them, to perſecute the people, raſe their cities, and not leave them ſo much as one ſtone upon another, if they had power to compaſs it. But otherwiſe, in caſe of inſuperable difficulties, they would, at leaſt, make a public proteſtation againſt the wickedneſs. This was the ſum and ſubſtance of the oath the multitude took upon this occaſion. *Moſes* inſtructed them further alſo, how they ſhould govern themſelves in their ſacrifices, and what meaſures they were to take in all great enterprizes, to know whether they had God's approbation or not, by obſerving the ſtones upon *Aaron*'s breaſt-plate, as is already ſet forth.

While *Moſes* was yet alive, *Joſhua* foretold, by the ſpirit of prophecy, what he himſelf was to do for the welfare of the people, either in war abroad, or in a legal adminiſtration at home; preparing the multitude by his diſcourſes for eſtabliſhing their new way of diſcipline. He told them alſo, that what he ſaid was by a divine impulſe; and that if ever they ſhould depart from the religion of their country, they ſhould fall into great calamities; their land ſhould be over-run with foreigners, their cities ſacked, their temple laid in aſhes, and themſelves ſold for ſlaves to a merciless and a barbarous people, till they came at laſt to a late and unprofitable repentance: Not but that God would be pleaſed in time to come, to reſtore them to their cities and their temple; but yet that after ſuch a reſtoration, they were ſtill, in the future, to be loſt over and over again.

Moſes being now ready to diſcharge himſelf of his commiſſion, ordered *Joſhua* to march with his army againſt the *Canaanites*, in a full aſſurance that God would proſper him in his undertaking, and not without preſages likewiſe of all kinds of bleſſings to the people, of whom he took his laſt leave in the words following.

"Since it is the will of God to call me
" to my fathers, and ſo to order it, that
" this very day is to be the laſt of my life,
" it will become me, while I am yet living,
" and in your preſence, to give him thanks
" for all his cares and providences extended
" to you and your affairs, not only in your
" deliverances from all manner of calamities,
" but in the bounty of innumerable
" bleſſings and benefits; and I muſt likewiſe
" acknowledge his infinite goodneſs to
" myſelf, in proſpering and aſſiſting all my
" reaſonable endeavours for your comfort
" and advantage. My part hath been only
" ſubſervient and miniſterial, while God
" himſelf was the firſt mover and perfecter
" of it; for all which providences, his holy
" name be praiſed; and to his gracious protection,
" now as a dying man, I reckon it
" a duty to recommend you. I muſt likewiſe
" mind you of the honour and veneration
" you owe to that almighty power,
" which alone, and no other, you are to
" worſhip or adore. And pray ye have a
" care to put a true value alſo upon the
" laws he hath given you, as the moſt ſacred
" and ineſtimable of all his bounties.
" Make it the caſe but of a common lawgiver,
" to have his ordinances trampled
" upon, and his authority deſpiſed, how unpardonable
" an affront would this be, even
" from one man to another? But who ſhall
" ſtand againſt the indignation of an incenſed
" God, who is your divine lawgiver,
" when he ſhall be provoked to call you to
" account for the contempt of his commandments."

Theſe laſt words of his were accompanied with a thouſand benedictions on the tribes, and not without ſeveral prophetical preſages of things afterwards to befal them, and which accordingly came to paſs. The multitude fell all into a violent paſſion of weeping at this diſcourſe of *Moſes*; the women beating their breaſts, and their very children under a miſerable impatience of lamentation. Such was the tenderneſs that even theſe poor innocents had for the dignity and virtue of ſo great a man, upon the apprehenſion of his approaching end. The grief, in fine, was univerſal, and without diſtinction of either ſex, age, or quality. Some of them were afflicted to think what would become of them for the time to come; others to conſider how ill they had treated him in time paſt, and that they never underſtood the value of the bleſſing they enjoyed, till they were now to loſe it. But the force of this impreſſion did not appear in any thing ſo much as in the effect it had upon the conſtancy and magnanimity even of the comforter himſelf. For after all his philoſophizing upon the contempt of death, and his conſolatory counſels of reſignation and ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and to the law of nature, he yielded himſelf up at laſt to the weakneſs he condemned, and wept for company. While he was now moving toward his laſt retreat, and the multitude all in tears attending him, he gave a ſign with his hand to thoſe at a diſtance to ſtop where they were, and deſired thoſe nearer hand not to trouble the peace of his laſt hour with thoſe fruitleſs and unſeaſonable importunities. So they kept back according to his intimation, but ſtill looking after him with weeping eyes and ſad hearts, as far as they could ſee him. He took along with him only the elders, *Eleazar* the high prieſt, and *Joſhua* his ſucceſſor. When he came to *Abarim*, a very high mountain over againſt *Jericho*, he took a view of the fair and fruitful country of *Canaan*, diſcharged the ſenators, and, after a final leave taken of *Eleazar* and *Joſhua*, with mutual embraces, *Moſes* was taken away from them in a cloud, while they were yet diſcourſing, and tranſlated into a certain valley. The holy ſcripture ſays he died, leſt people ſhould imagine him, becauſe of the excellency of his perſon, to be yet alive, and with God. He lived a hundred and twenty years; and within one month of a third part of that time in his command over the *Hebrews*. He departed this life in the laſt month of the year, and the firſt day of the month, which the *Macedonians* call *Dyſtrus*, and we *Adar*.

He was a man of admirable wiſdom, and one who made the beſt uſe of what he underſtood, an excellent ſpeaker, and no man better ſkilled in moving the affections of the people than himſelf; ſo great a maſter of his paſſions, that he lived as if he had none, and as if he had known them only by their names; never a greater captain, nor a prophet equal to him; for all his words were oracles. The people mourned for him thirty days, and the death of this holy man was the moſt ſenſible mortification they ever felt. This was not only his character among thoſe who knew him in his life and death; but he has made himſelf as famous to poſterity in his writings, as he was to the age he lived in for his actions.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK V.

From the Year of the World 2493, to 2850.

CHAP. I.

Joſhua *ſucceeds* Moſes; *fights and ſubdues the* Canaanites.

MOSES being now tranſlated, *Joſhua* ordered the people to be in readineſs to march, ſending away his ſpies to *Jericho*, to learn how they ſtood affected, and to view the ſtrength and condition of the town, drew out his army, with a deſign to paſs the river *Jordan* by the firſt opportunity.

Upon this occaſion, he convened the princes of the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſes*; (for one half of *Manaſſes* was allowed to plant and ſettle in the country of the *Amorites*, which was a ſeventh part * of the land of *Canaan*,) reminding them of their promiſes to *Moſes*, and deſiring them, both for his ſake and their own, that they would now be as good as their words, and do it chearfully too, as a juſtice to the memory of their glorious patron, who had been ſo particularly careful for them even with his laſt breath. They came in with their aſſiſtance very frankly; inſomuch that *Joſhua* marched from *Abila* with fifty thouſand men, ſixty furlongs, toward the banks of the river *Jordan*. Immediately upon their encamping, the ſpies brought *Joſhua* an account of the ſtate of *Jericho*, and what the *Canaanites* were a doing. They came thither as ſtrangers, and ſo went whither they would, without any ſtop or queſtion. They took a view of the walls, the gates, and the ramparts; all the weakneſſes and ſtrengths of the town, paſſing the whole day for men of curioſity only, without any deſign. They took up towards evening in a little quarter near the wall, where they refreſhed themſelves; and, after eating came the news, as they were diſcourſing how to get back again, that intelligence was brought to the king, as he was at ſupper, of certain ſpies, who were come out of the *Hebrew* camp, and lay hid in the houſe of *Rahab*; and that order was given immediately for the ſeizing of them, and putting them to the torture to know their buſineſs.

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* The *Amorites* were one of the ſeven nations of *Canaan*. Hence *Reland* is willing to ſuppoſe, that *Joſephus* did not here mean that their land beyond *Jordan* was a ſeventh part of the whole land of *Canaan*, but meant the *Amorites*, as a ſeventh nation. His reaſon is, that *Joſephus*, as well as our Bible, generally diſtinguiſh the land beyond *Jordan*, from the land of *Canaan*. Nor can it be denied, that in ſtrictneſs they were different. Yet after two tribes and a half came to inherit it, it might, in a general way, be well included under the land of *Canaan*, or *Paleſtine*, or *Judea*. Of which we have a clear example here before us in *Joſephus*, whoſe words evidently imply, that, taking the whole land of *Canaan*, as inhabited by the twelve tribes together, and parting it into ſeven parts, the part beyond *Jordan* was, in quantity of ground, one ſeventh of the whole. And this well enough agrees with *Reland*'s own map of that country. Although this land beyond *Jordan* was ſo peculiarly fruitful, and good for paſturage, as the two tribes and an half took notice, *Numb.* xxxii. 1, 4, 16. that it maintained about a fifth part of the whole people.

So ſoon as *Rahab* underſtood that the houſe was to be ſearched, ſhe covered the ſpies under a parcel of flax that lay a drying upon a wall; and, upon the coming of the meſſengers to look for theſe people, *Rahab* told them indeed of certain ſtrangers that came thither the evening before, about ſunſet, and went their way again after ſupper; and if they were dangerous men, they might eaſily be overtaken. The woman talked and looked ſo innocently *, that the officers preſently poſted away toward the river *Jordan*, without ever ſearching the houſe, in hopes to catch them that way in their return; but having loſt their labour, without making any diſcovery, they returned.

When the hurry was over, *Rahab* called forth her gueſts, and informed them of the riſk ſhe had run for their ſakes; for if they had been diſcovered, it would certainly have coſt her and her family their lives. "Where-
"fore," ſays ſhe, "whenever you come to
"take this place, (as I have a revelation
"from God that it will be ſo,) do you take
"as much care of mine and my people's
"lives as we have done of yours." The ſpies promiſed, with oaths, that her kindneſs ſhould be punctually requited, and therefore adviſed her on that account, whenever ſhe found the town in danger, ſhe ſhould withdraw, with what friends ſhe had, into her own houſe, and hang out a red ſtring before her door. The general, they ſaid, ſhould be told of the token, and of the meaning of it: who would undoubtedly provide for her ſafety and whatever ſhould be found within thoſe walls. She might depend upon it, they ſaid, that they would be true to what they had ſworn; only if any of them ſhould be found in actual hoſtility, they would not undertake for their ſafety.

Upon theſe conditions they parted; *Rahab* having provided a rope to let them down from the wall, by which means they made their eſcape, and returned to the camp with the intelligence of what they had ſeen and obſerved, and the whole buſineſs of *Rahab*, with all the circumſtances; that of the oath eſpecially; in which caſe the general conſulted *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, and the elders, who pronounced the promiſe to be binding, and ratified the oblagation.

The *Hebrews* were now encamped upon

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* It plainly appears by the hiſtory of theſe ſpies, and the innkeeper *Rahab*'s deception of the King of *Jericho*'s meſſengers, by telling them what was falſe, in order to ſave the lives of the ſpies, and yet the great commendation of her faith in the New Teſtament, *Heb*. xi. 31. *Jam*. ii. 25. as well as by many other parallel examples in *Joſephus*, that the beſt men did not then ſcruple to deceive thoſe public enemies, who might juſtly be deſtroyed; and this by telling direct falſehoods, where no oath was required of them. It is likewiſe worth notice, that this woman *Rahab* is here called an *innkeeper*, not an *harlot*. It was indeed ſo frequent a thing that women who were innkeepers, were alſo harlots, or maintainers of harlots, that the word commonly uſed for real harlots was uſually given them.

the banks of the river *Jordan*, on their way to *Jericho*; but the waters being out, the current of itſelf rapid and impetuous, not ſo much as a boat or a bridge to help them over, nor the means of building any, with an enemy ſo near, and the town on the oppoſite ſide of the water: The general's heart was ready to ſink under the apprehenſion of ſo many ſeemingly invincible difficulties, till it pleaſed God to aſſure him by a comfortable revelation, that thoſe obſtacles ſhould be removed, and the river made fordable for the tranſporting of his troops.

After two days expectation of this miraculous providence, *Joſhua* paſſed the river with his army. In the firſt place went the prieſts, with the ark: The *Levites* after them, with the tabernacle, and the holy veſſels: After the *Levites* followed the whole army, which was ranged according to the order of the ſeveral tribes: The women and children in the middle, to ſecure them againſt the violence of the ſtream. It was obſerved upon the prieſt's firſt entrance into this paſſage, that the fierceneſs of the current abated. They found the bottom firm, and by degrees the channel came to be as dry as a pavement; ſo that the whole multitude forded it over, without any farther doubt or trouble, when they ſaw every thing ſucceed according to what God had foretold them. But the prieſts continued ſtill in the middle till the people were all paſſed over, and landed on the other ſide. When the army was got aſhore, the prieſts followed them, and left the river to its natural courſe again, which immediately filled up the channel, and put every thing into the ſame ſtate as before.

The army marched from thence fifty furlongs towards *Jericho*, and there encamped within ten furlongs of the town. Here it was that *Joſhua* erected an altar of the twelve ſtones, which twelve princes of the ſeveral tribes brought along with them out of the bottom of the river, by the prophet's order and command, for a token and a memorial to future ages of this miraculous ſeparation of the waters; and upon this altar did *Joſhua* ſacrifice, celebrating the feaſt of the paſſover alſo in the ſame place; and in a ſtate of plenty and abundance, equal to the degree of want and miſery that they had hitherto endured; for the *Canaanites* harveſt was now ripe upon the ground; cattle, and other booty, every where expoſed, and the *Hebrews* had all at their mercy, only the manna failed them now at laſt, after a ſubſiſtence of forty years upon it in the wilderneſs.

The *Iſraelites* living thus at diſcretion upon the *Canaanites* country, without any ſort of check or control, gave the *Hebrew* general to underſtand; that the enemy was not to be drawn out of their holds, though but to the hazard of a ſkirmiſh or a ſally, by any provocation or affront whatſoever; he therefore bethought himſelf of making ſome trial rather what might be done by a ſiege. Upon the firſt day of the feſtival, the prieſts took up the ark, and ſo marched forward with it, in the middle of a guard of ſoldiers, ſeven other prieſts going before them, with ſeven horns or trumpets ſounding, to animate the army to behave themſelves like men: and thus they went round the walls of the city, with the elders after them, the prieſts only ſounding. When they had gone the circuit of the city, they went back again to their camp, without any more ceremony. This was the firſt day's work; and when they had done the like over again, for ſix days ſucceſſively, *Joſhua* called the army and the people together on the ſeventh, and told them, that the town ſhould that day be delivered up to them, without any hazard or trouble; for the very walls ſhould fall down of their own accord, and leave the place naked; giving them in charge at the ſame time, not to ſpare any creature that had life in it; and that neither wearineſs of doing execution, tenderneſs of nature, or any other conſideration of booty or flight ſhould prevail upon them to hold their hands; but that they ſhould put all to the ſword, without reſerving any thing of the ſpoil to their own advantage. What gold or ſilver ſoever ſhould be found, they were ordered to lay it in one maſs all together; for it ſhould be dedicated to God, as the firſt fruits of the victory obtained over that city; ſaving only, that *Rahab*, with her family and relations, ſhould be preſerved for the ſake of the ſpies oath and promiſe.

With theſe words, he marched with his army towards the city, and went the round of it, with the prieſts, the ſenate, and the ſoldiers, in the ſame order as before. Upon the ſeventh time going about it, they made a little ſtop, and the wall fell down all on a ſudden, without any engine or force bent againſt it. This terrible ſurprize put the people into ſuch an amazement, that they had not the hearts left them to ſtrike a ſtroke. The *Hebrews* entered the breach, and cut off all before them, without the leaſt hazard or reſiſtance; ſo that the city was only a pile of dead bodies in the concluſion, there being no way of eſcaping the common fate. This deſolation ended in the burning of the city, and the country about it; only *Rahab*, and her friends and family, were reſcued by the ſpies, who, being brought to the general, received his acknowledgments for the good office ſhe had done his agents; promiſing that ſhe ſhould receive a ſuitable reward, which he ſuddenly made good to her by the honour of conſiderable favours. What the fire had ſpared was deſtroyed by the ſword, with a prophetical curſe upon any man who ſhould ever preſume afterwards to rebuild it, wiſhing that whoever ſhould take upon him to lay the firſt ſtone of a new foundation, might loſe his eldeſt ſon, and he who ſhould finiſh the work his youngeſt; and God would not ſuffer this malediction to paſs in vain, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. There was taken in this town to an ineſtimable value in gold and ſilver, and likewiſe of braſs; without any diminution of it for the profit of any particular perſon: But *Joſhua* delivered it up to the prieſts, to be depoſited in their treaſury. And this was the fate of *Jericho*.

But it ſo fell out, that one *Achar*, the ſon of *Zebedee*, and of the tribe of *Judah*, had gotten a rich cloak of the king's, of cloth of gold, and a huge maſs of the ſame metal, weighing two hundred ſhekels. This man thought it ſomewhat unreaſonable to give that to God which he had no need of; that which he had ventured his life for, and had ſo much occaſion to make uſe of. On this preſumption, he dug a hole in the ground, under his tent, and there hid it; imagining that ſo long as his fellow-ſoldiers knew nothing of it, the concealment might paſs upon God himſelf. The army at this time was encamped at a place called *Gilgal*, which ſignifies *Liberty*; for being now paſſed the river, they reckoned themſelves ſecured from the ſlavery of *Ægypt*, and the miſeries of the deſart.

Some few days after the razing of *Jericho*, *Joſhua* ſent out a detachment of three thouſand men to *Ain*, a city a little above, where they engaged the enemy, and were beaten back, with the loſs of ſix and thirty men. The tidings of this repulſe put the *Iſraelites* to a terrible anxiety of thought, not ſo much for the number of the ſlain (though their near relations, and men of honour and experience), but for the ill-boding of the diſappointment; for they looked upon the difficulties of the war, even according to God's promiſe, to be as good as over, when they were poſſeſſed of the land. But their enemies had taken heart again, they ſaid, and and immediately, upon this reflection, they put on ſackcloth, and ſpent the whole day in faſting, weeping, and mourning; ſo grievous was the ſenſe they had of the diſgrace which was befallen them. The ſpirits of the army were ſo ſunk upon this diſaſter, and caſt into ſuch a deſperation of better things for the future, that *Joſhua*, upon this occaſion, addreſſed himſelf with a more than ordinary aſſurance to God Almighty, ſaying,

"Lord, it is not any temerity or ambition of our own that has brought us hither to make war upon theſe people, but a pure deference and reſpect to the perſuaſion of thy ſervant *Moſes*, which hath incited us to this undertaking, and not

" without the warrant of many ſigns and miracles, to convince us that he had reaſon and authority on his ſide, when he told us that thou thyſelf had'ſt promiſed us the poſſeſſion of this country, and to give us victory over all our enemies. But what a change is here all on a ſudden, in the diſappointment of our hopes, and the loſs of our friends! as if either *Moſes*'s predictions had not been of divine inſpiration, or otherwiſe thy promiſes and purpoſes vary If this be the beginning of a war, we cannot but dread the further progreſs of it, for fear this miſcarrige upon the firſt experiment ſhould prove only the earneſt of greater evils to come: But, Lord, thou alone who art able to give us relief, help us, and ſave us. Vouchſafe unto us comfort and victory; and be graciouſly pleaſed to preſerve us from deſpairing for the future."

Joſhua delivered this ejaculatory prayer grovelling, with his face upon the ground, till God bid him riſe, and purge the army from a pollution which had defiled it; for there was a ſacrilegious fraud which lay unaccounted for among them, and that corruption was the true cauſe of the miſchief which had lately befallen them. But, ſays the oracle, let there be lots caſt to find out the criminal, and then let him be puniſhed, and the *Iſraelites* ſhall certainly carry their cauſe, and be victorious.

Joſhua made a report of all this to the people, and calling to him *Eleazar* the high prieſt, and the princes of the tribes, he put the tribes to the firſt teſt of the lot; and the lot falling upon the tribe of *Judah*, they caſt lots next upon the ſeveral families of that tribe, and the lot fell upon the family of *Zacharias*. Bringing the queſtion, in fine, to the individual perſon who committed this ſacrilege; and it fell then, on a perſonal examination of man by man, upon *Achar* *. Hereupon he was taken into cuſtody; and finding that there was no trifling with divine juſtice, his conſcience alſo riſing up in judgment againſt him, he confeſſed the ſacrilegious theft, and delivered it up in the ſight of the people. Whereupon he was immediately put to an ignominious death, and his body committed to the earth in a ſcandalous manner, like a common malefactor.

When the army was purged, *Joſhua* drew them out toward the city of *Ain*; planted his ambuſhes, and, early next morning, preſented himſelf in ſight of the enemy with his main body. The *Ainites* were ſo elevated with their former ſucceſs, that, as ſoon as they had the *Iſraelites* in their eye, they immediately advanced, in a furious manner, to give them battle; the one giving way by degrees, as through fear, and the other preſſing upon them, in full aſſurance of victory. By this ſtratagem, the *Ainites* were drawn into the toil; for immediately upon a ſignal given, *Joſhua* put a ſtop to the army; and the ambuſh, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, entered the town, with little or no oppoſition; for the inhabitants were moſt of them gotten together upon the walls, out of a curioſity to ſee the action, inferring from the countenance of things, that the day was as good as their own already. It came however to a terrible ſlaughter, and the army being totally routed before the town, had no other retreat left them, but to fly back again to the city for ſanctuary. But when they came to find it taken, their houſes rifled and burnt, and their wives and children either deſtroyed or priſoners, the miſerable remainder of them who eſcaped the ſword were forced to betake themſelves to the fields and woods for refuge. There was an incredible booty taken upon this occaſion: a world of women, children, and bond-ſlaves; plate and coſtly furniture to a prodigious value; a great many flocks and herds of cattle, and mighty ſums of current money. The country, in ſhort, was exceſſively rich, and the whole ſpoil of it was divided among the ſoldiers, who were then encamped in *Galgala*.

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* That the name of this thief was not *Achan*, as in the common copies, but *Achar*, as here in *Joſephus*, is evident by the alluſion to that name in the curſe of *Joſhua*, *Why haſt thou troubled us? The Lord ſhall trouble thee*; where the *Hebrew* words allude only to the name *Achar*, but not to *Achan*. Accordingly this valley of *Athar* or *Achor* was and is a known place, a little north of *Gilgal*, ſo called from the days of *Joſhua*, till this day. *Joſh.* vii. 24, 26. *Iſa.* lxv. 10. *Hoſ.* ii. 15.

Soon after this overthrow of the *Ainites*, the *Gibeonites*, near neighbours to *Jeruſalem*, came to underſtand the miſerable condition of *Jericho* and *Ain*, and began to conſider that their own turn might be next; but however, being prepoſſeſſed with an expectation that the whole nation of the *Canaanites* were to be rooted out, they thought it not worth their while to make any barefaced application to the *Hebrews* for favour. They called indeed upon their neighbours, the *Cheperites*, and thoſe of *Kirjath jearim*, to join with them in the propoſal of a fair alliance with the *Hebrews*, and diſpatched away an embaſſy to *Joſhua*, of the fitteſt men they could pick out to manage ſuch a commiſſion. They had it in their inſtructions, not upon any terms to own themſelves for *Canaanites*, but rather that they lived a great way off, and had no manner of dealing with thoſe people. They had heard much, it is true, of the reputation of the *Hebrews*, and they were now come to attend their general upon this occaſion. It might be ſeen by their cloaths, that they had come a great way; for they were new when they ſet out, and they were now worn all to pieces in their journey. And the ſtuff of them was coarſe and the thread bare too, for the better credit of the impoſture. In this habit they preſented themſelves before the aſſembly, with their teſtimonials, that they came as commiſſioners from the *Gibeonites*, and their neighbouring cities, to enter into a treaty of friendſhip with them, ſaving only the rights and privileges of their country; for they found that by God's grace and bounty, they were put into the land of *Canaan*, wherein they greeted their good fortunes, deſiring only to be admitted as their friends and confederates; making an oſtentation of their rags all this while, as the evidence of their ſincerity. *Joſhua* taking for granted they were not *Canaanites*, he concluded an amity with them: The high-prieſt, and the elders, at the ſame time giving them the oaths of friends and allies, and that they ſhould never do any thing contrary to the tenor of that obligation. The agreement was therefore ſolemnly executed, in the preſence, and with the approbation of the whole multitude. By this artifice they gained their point, and returned to their own home. It happened not long after this, that upon *Joſhua*'s drawing his army to that quarter of the *Canaanites*, that looks toward the plains; he was given to underſtand that theſe *Gibeonites* did not live far from *Jeruſalem*, and that they were of the ſame ſtock with the *Canaanites*: He accordingly ſent for ſome of the chief men of the country to come to him, and told them plainly that they had not dealt with them like men of truth and honour. They excuſed themſelves upon the neceſſity of the caſe; for they had no way elſe to be ſafe, they ſaid, Upon this difficulty, the high-prieſt, and the elders were conſulted, as to the obligation of the treaty, and were all poſitive in their opinion, that the oath ſo circumſtanced, and ſo ratified, was abſolutely ſacred, and inviolable: But that the point might yet in ſome ſort be modified, by ſetting them apart for the doing of ſervile offices in the public drudgery: Which was the condition they ſtood afterwards condemned to; and upon thoſe terms they were well enough content to compound for their lives.

When the King of *Jeruſalem* came to be informed that the *Gibeonites* were revolted, and gone over into alliance with the *Hebrews*, he took it ſo heinouſly, that he preſently ſent to four neighbouring kings to join with him in war againſt them. They came immediately to a reſolution, drew their troops together, and encamped near a certain fountain, not far from the city, which they were then preparing to beſiege. The *Gibeonites*, in the mean time, applied themſelves to *Joſhua* for aſſiſtance. Matters being now come to this paſs, that they were to be ruined by their own people, or forced to fly for protection to thoſe who were in arms expreſsly to deſtroy them; and had no hope of ſafety but in their new friendſhip.

Upon the firſt intelligence of this enterprize, *Joſhua* marched with his whole army, night and day, to ſuccour the *Gibeonites*, and fell upon the enemy early in the morning, as they were juſt about to attack the town, routed, and had the chace of them along the hills, till they came to the valley of *Bethora*. The hand of God was never more viſible in any human action than it was in this battle; for, over and above the dreadful thunder and lightning of that day, with a violent tempeſt of hail-ſtones of a prodigious ſize, there was yet one prodigy ſtranger than all the reſt, and ſuch a one as was never heard of before: The ſun itſelf ſtood ſtill in the firmament, * that the *Hebrews* might not want day-light for the perfecting of their victory. Upon this rout, the five kings were purſued to the cave of *Makkeda*, where they were found by *Joſhua*, taken, and all put to death. The miracle of the lengthening of this day beyond the uſual meaſure, and of the ſun's ſtopping in its courſe, is moſt expreſsly atteſted in the holy ſcriptures, according to the copies reſerved in the temple.

After this defeat of the five kings, *Joſhua* went back again to the mountainous part of *Canaan*; where he put great numbers of people to the ſword, ſeized abundance of cattle, and marched the army to *Gilgal*.

The fame of the *Hebrews* for their martial exploits, and the numbers of the ſlain, made ſo great a noiſe every where, that the very reputation of their arms carried a terror along with it. This however did not yet hinder the *Canaanite* kings of mount *Libanus*, and thereabouts, nor thoſe of the plains, together with the *Philiſtines*, from joining in a confederacy againſt them; for they drew their forces together, and encamped at *Berothe*, a city of *Galilee*, not far from the *Upper Cædeſa*, which is alſo in the country of *Galilee*. Their whole ſtrength was computed to amount to three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and two thouſand chariots. The thought of this power caſt ſuch a damp not only upon the ſpirits of the *Iſraelites* in general, but upon *Joſhua* himſelf, that the dread they had entertained at ſo unequal an encounter, was little ſhort of downright deſpair. But, upon God's reproving them for their faintheartedneſs and diſtruſt, and encouraging them with freſh aſſurances of victory and protection, commanding them likewiſe to hamſtring the enemies horſes, and burn their chariots, the general took reſolution, and marched, with a full aſſurance of ſucceſs, toward the enemy. Upon the fifth day he came up to them, and fought them. The engagement was ſo obſtinate and bloody, that the truth of the action would be almoſt incredible; but however the confederates were abſolutely broken, vaſt numbers killed, all the kings ſlain, and the whole army, in effect, entirely cut off; nay, ſuch was the rage of the victors againſt the conquered party, that, when they had no more men to kill, they wrecked their fury upon the horſes and chariots of the enemy. The fortune of this day, in ſhort, made *Joſhua* abſolute maſter of the country. He took their towns, killed all he could come at; did what he thought fit, and no creature left to oppoſe him. Their country, by this dreadful ravage, was wholly depopulated, and the very nation itſelf extirpated, ſave only a few ſtragglers, who had the good fortune to get out of the way, into ſtrong holds, or to hide themſelves. And all theſe diſtreſſes were but the miſerable devaſtations of a five years war.

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* Whether this lengthening of the day, by the ſtanding ſtill of the ſun and moon, were phyſical and real, by the miraculous ſtoppage of the diurnal motion of the earth, for about half a revolution; or whether only apparent, by aerial phoſphori, imitating the ſun and moon, while clouds and the night hid the real ones; and this parhelion or mock ſun affording ſufficient light for *Joſhua*'s purſuit and compleat victory; cannot be determined. Philoſophers and aſtronomers will naturally incline to this latter hypotheſis. In the mean time, the fact itſelf was mentioned in the book of *Jaſher*, now loſt, *Joſh*. x. 13, and is confirmed by *Iſa*. xxviii. 21. by *Habac*. iii. 11. and by the father of *Sirach*, *Ecclus*. xlvi. 4.

Upon this fatal overthrow, *Joſhua* moved his camp from *Gilgal* up the mountains toward *Siloe*, where he planted the holy tabernacle, with an intent to wait a while there, for the firſt opportunity of erecting a temple, the ſituation of the place being both commodious and delicious, and, in all reſpects, agreeable to the deſign. From thence he took all the people along with him to *Sichem*, where he erected an altar, as *Moſes* in time paſt had foretold and appointed. This being done, he divided his army; one half he ordered to mount *Garizim*, and the other to mount *Gebal*, where there was likewiſe another altar built; the prieſts and *Levites* being alſo divided. Here they offered ſacrifices, and when they had denounced the maledictions formerly mentioned, and engraven them upon the altar, they returned to *Siloe*.

Joſhua was now far gone in years, and conſidering that the *Canaanites* had yet ſeveral places of ſtrength left them, which, betwixt art and nature, were in a manner impregnable; (for the *Canaanites* had a forewarning by tradition from their fathers, that a people out of *Ægypt* had a deſign to overrun them, and therefore let no time ſlip to ſecure and fortify themſelves:) *Joſhua*, I ſay, being aware of all this, called a general aſſembly of the people to meet at *Siloe*, where the appearance was very great, and all the people wonderfully unanimous and chearful. *Joſhua*, upon this occaſion, ſummed up what he had to ſay in few words, and laid the matter in hand before them. He gave them a ſhort hiſtory of the great things they had done and ſucceeded in already, by the aſſiſtance of God's favour and protection, as a people who religiouſly obſerved his laws. He minded them how God had given them victory over one and thirty kings, rooting out the very generation of their moſt mighty oppreſſors. But, in regard that the conqueſt was as yet but imperfect, only ſome of their cities being already taken, and a great many others remaining in their hands that were better manned and fortified; and that it would be a work of time to reduce them, he thought it adviſeable, in the firſt place, to diſmiſs thoſe of their friends who came from beyond *Jordan*, to join in the riſk of the common cauſe, and, with all due reſpects and acknowledgments, to ſend them back to their own lot again; and, ſecondly, that commiſſioners ſhould be choſen reſpectively out of every tribe, men of approved ſkill and integrity, and their buſineſs ſhould be, to take an exact ſurvey of the country, and to make a full end true report of it without fraud or delay.

The people being highly pleaſed with the motion, *Joſhua* preſently ordered his agents to enter upon the work, and appointed them for their aſſiſtants men who were well ſkilled in ſurveying.

They had it in their inſtructions alſo, notwithſtanding the ſurvey upon meaſure, to make a final eſtimate upon the quality or goodneſs of the land, as one piece might fall out to be better or worſe than another; for there are in *Canaan* a great many fair large fields, that being put in balance with ſome others, might be allowed a preference of profitable and fruitful; but upon confronting them with *Jericho* or *Jeruſalem*, they would be found comparatively to be little worth. The country indeed is not large, and a good part of it mountainous; but for the plenty, growth, and beauty of the productions, no place whatſoever goes beyond it. For this reaſon it was concluded not to value the lots barely by the meaſure, but by the virtue of them; for one acre ſometimes might fall out to be worth a thouſand.

There were ten men employed upon this commiſſion, to anſwer the ſame number of tribes concerned in the queſtion. Theſe ten commiſſioners took both a view and an eſtimate of the country, and, within ſeven months after, they came back again, with the whole ſtate of the computation, to *Siloe*, which was at that time the ſeat of the tabernacle.

Joſhua then calling to his aſſiſtance *Eleazar* the high prieſt, with the elders and princes of the tribes, made a partition of the whole into ſo many ſhares, to be divided among nine tribes and one half tribe of *Manaſſes*, every one to have in proportion, according to the rate and enquiry of the diſtribution.

Upon putting it to the lot, the tribe of *Judah* had for their lot all the *Upper Judæa*, reaching in length to *Jeruſalem*, and in breadth to the lake of *Sodom*, comprehending alſo the cities of *Aſcalon* and *Gaza*.

The tribe of *Simeon* had that part of *Idumæa* which borders upon *Ægypt* and *Arabia*.

The tribe of *Benjamin* had that part of the country which ſtretches out in length from the river *Jordan* to the ſea, and in breadth from *Jeruſalem* to *Bethel*. This is a ſmall territory, but the quality makes amends for the quantity; for *Jericho* and *Jeruſalem* are comprized in it.

The tribe of *Ephraim* had for their lot the country in length from *Jordan* to *Gadara*, and in breadth from *Bethel* to the large plain.

The half tribe of *Manaſſes* had their lot in length from *Jordan* to the city *Dora*; and in breadth to *Bethſana*, which is now known by the name of *Scythopolis*.

The tribe of *Iſſachar* had for their lot all betwixt *Jordan* and mount *Carmel*, which reaches out in breadth to mount *Itabyr*.

The tribe of *Zabulon* had for its lot the whole country bordering upon mount *Carmel* and the ſea, and ſo far as *Genezareth*.

The tribe of *Aſſer* had for their lot the country behind mount *Carmel*, over-againſt *Sidon*, reckoning alſo the city of *Arce*, otherwiſe *Actipus*.

The tribe of *Nephtali* had for their lot the *Upper Galilee*, and the country eaſtward to the city of *Damaſcus*, mount *Libanus*, and the head of the river *Jordan*, which has its riſe from that ſide of it which borders upon the city *Arce* toward the north.

The tribe of *Dan* had the vallies toward the weſt, which are bounded by *Azotus* and *Dora*; and to them likewiſe belong the cities of *Jamnia* and *Gittha*, and the whole country from *Aceron* to the mountain, where the portion of the tribe of *Judah* begins.

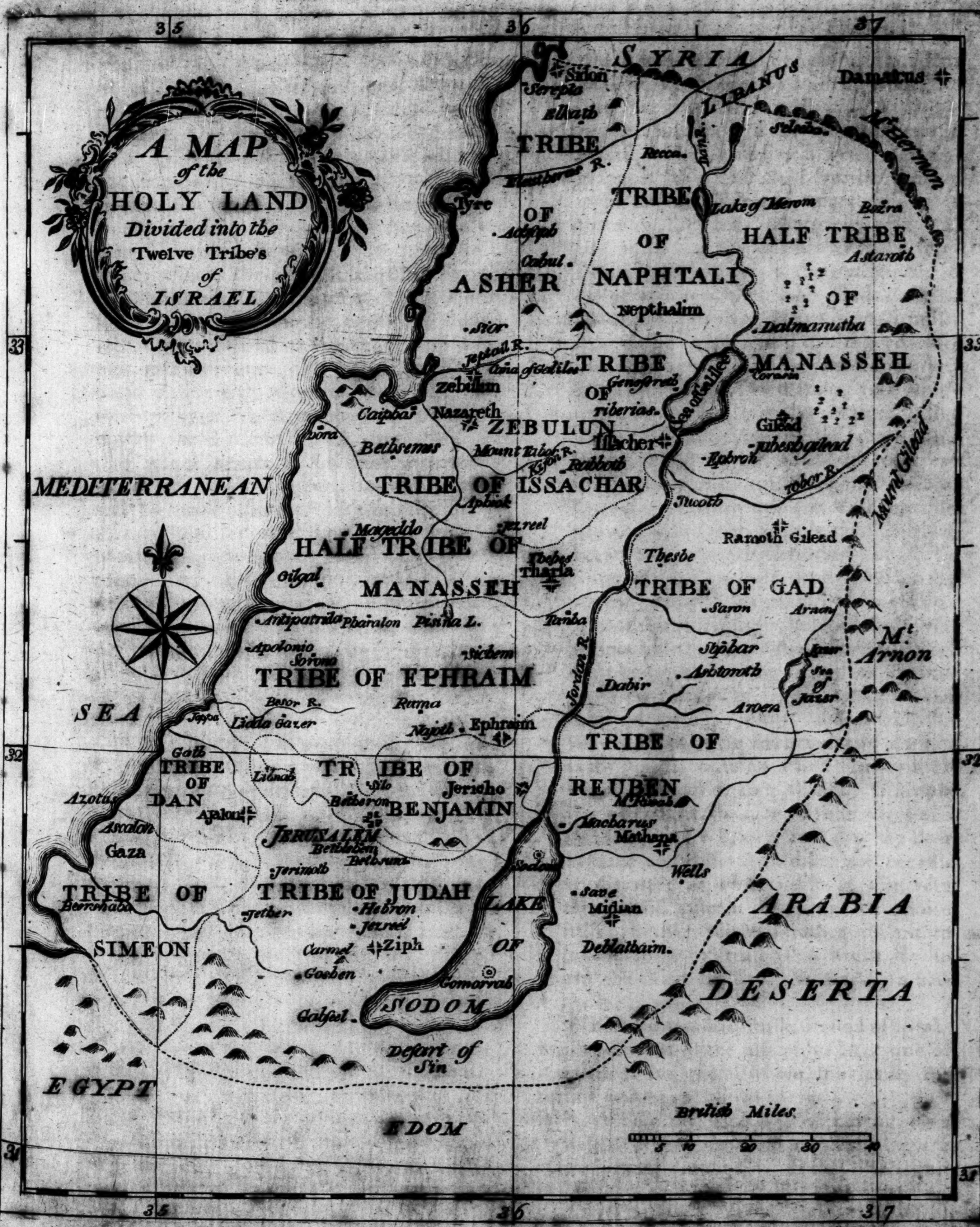
This was the diviſion which *Joſhua* made of ſix provinces of the *Canaanites*, which took their names from ſo many of the ſons of *Canaan*; and of this country did he deliver the poſſeſſion to the aforeſaid nine tribes and a half. But as to *Amorrhæa*, ſo called from one of the ſons of *Caaaan*, *Moſes* had diſpoſed of it long ſince to the other two tribes and a half, as we have ſhewed above. But then the regions of the *Sidonians*, the *Arucæans*, *Amathæans*, and *Arithæans*, are not to be reckoned into this diviſion, not being at that time inhabited.

While *Joſhua* was now ſtruggling with the infirmities of old age, and the cares of the government, he found evidently that as he was no longer able to diſcharge the offices of his function in his own perſon, ſo there was no depending, either upon thoſe that acted for him, or thoſe that were to ſucceed him in the public adminſtration; for they had no regard at all, he ſaw, to the common good. Wherefore he gave it in charge to every tribe reſpectively, not to ſuffer any thing of the race of the *Canaanites* in the land where they had to do; minding them how ſolemnly *Moſes* had declared himſelf in this matter, to whoſe advice and opinion he doubted not of their giving both heed and credit: Beſide, that their own ſecurity, and that of their laws, rights, and religion, depended all upon it, and that he had experience, as well as authority for what he ſaid. He enjoined them farther, to deliver up to the *Levites* the thirty eight cities that were deſigned them, being in poſſeſſion of ten already in *Amorrhæa*, on the other ſide of the river. Three of theſe were to be cities of privilege or refuge. In the tribe of *Judah*, the city of *Hebron*; in that of *Ephraim*, *Sichem*; and in the third of *Nephthali*, *Cedeſe* in the upper *Galilee*: To all which they readily agreed, out of a veneration they had for the obſervance of the laws and cuſtoms of *Moſes*. He proceeded after this, to a diſtribution of the booty, which, in herds and flocks, money, plate, furniture and other pillage, amounted to a value not to be imagined, for it was a large and plentiful country, and the *Iſraelites*, one and all, from the higheſt to the loweſt, made their fortunes out of the ſpoil.

The next thing *Joſhua* had to do, was the calling together of his auxiliaries that came to him from beyond *Jordan*, and had their part in the honour of his late conqueſt. They were computed to be a matter of 50,000 men, and upon their meeting, *Joſhua* delivered himſelf to them to this effect:

“ Since it hath been the good will and pleaſure of our heavenly Lord and father, firſt to put us in the poſſeſſion of this land; and then to promiſe the continuance of it to our poſterity; and ſince God has been likewiſe pleaſed to make uſe of your ready and chearful aſſiſtance toward the execution of this holy purpoſe, it is but reaſon for you that have born ſo great a part in the danger and difficulties of this war, to put in for a ſhare alſo in the comforts and bleſſings of a common peace: To which end, we think it but juſtice to diſcharge you from any farther attendance at preſent; not doubting of the ſame affection and good-will from you for the future, if ever there ſhould be ſuch another occaſion. We are now to give you a thouſand acknowledgements for all the toils and hazards you have hitherto undergone with us; and pray let the ſenſe of good offices paſt, be improved into a mutual, and inviolable league of friendſhip for time to come; remembering that we ſtand indebted for the advantages that at this inſtant we enjoy, next under God, to the force of this reciprocal aſſiſtance; and that providence hath evidently made us neceſſary one to another. It may be conſidered alſo, after all you have done and ſuffered, that your ſervices are not unrewarded, ſo far at leaſt as an ineſtimable booty in gold, ſilver, and whatever elſe is moſt precious, may paſs for a recompenſe: Beſide the engaging of a friend, in me, that will never forget the reſpect; for you have moſt religiouſly executed the laſt will of *Moſes*, and left nothing undone that I could take kindly at your hands. Wherefore I ſhall now leave you at liberty to depart to the lot of your inheritance, which I wiſh you much joy in. But pray ye, let no diſtance of place ſet limits to our friendſhip; the interpoſition of rivers muſt never divide our affections; for on which bank ſoever, we are all *Hebrews* ſtill. *Abraham* was the common father of us all, let our abode be where it will, and it was from one and the ſame God that all our forefathers received their being: And that God we are all to worſhip, according to the ordinances and inſtitutions left us by *Moſes*. So long as we ſtand firm to that way of religion, we may be ſure of the favour and protection of that God for our comfort. But whenever you apoſtatize into a hankering after ſtrange Gods, the God of your father will caſt you off.” With theſe words, he took a ſolemn leave, both of the princes, and of the people to whom he addreſſed his ſpeech; who upon this diſmiſſion returned to the place whence they came.

The tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* were no ſooner paſſed the river with thoſe of *Manaſſes* that followed them, but they erected an altar upon the farther bank to remain as a monumental record to poſterity, of the alliance that was then contracted betwixt the borderers on both ſides of the *Jordan*. The news of this altar was immediately carried over to their friends on the other ſide of the water, without one word of the intent and meaning of it; which put their aſſociates into ſo outragious a jealouſy of their confederates, as apoſtates and innovators, that they preſently betook themſelves to their arms, for the vindication of the worſhip and religion of their forefathers; and to avenge the


A MAP of the HOLY LAND Divided into the Twelve Tribe's of ISRAEL
SYRIA
Sidon
Sarepta
Ellath
LIBANUS
Damascus
Selcaba
Mt. Hermon
Recca
Jor R.
Dan R.
Eleutherus R.
Tyre
TRIBE OF ASHER
Achshab
Cabul
TRIBE OF NAPHTALI
Nepthalim
Lake of Merom
Bozra
HALF TRIBE OF MANASSEH
Astaroth
Dalmanutha
Corazin
Sior
Jeptail R.
Cana of Galilee
TRIBE OF ZEBULUN
Zebulun
Genesereth
Tiberias
Sea of Galilee
Caiphas
Nazareth
Dora
Bethsemes
Mount Tabor
Kison R.
Rabboth
Issacher
Gilead
Jabesh gilead
Ephron
Jobor R.
Mount Gilead
MEDETERRANEAN SEA
TRIBE OF ISSACHAR
Aphiek
Jezreel
Succoth
Mageddo
HALF TRIBE OF MANASSEH
Ramoth Gilead
Thebes
Tharsia
Gilgal
Thesbe
TRIBE OF GAD
Saron
Aroer
Antipatrida
Pharalon
Pisina L.
Tanba
Apolonio
Sorona
Sichem
Sophar
Ashtoroth
Jazer
Mt. Arnon
TRIBE OF EPHRAIM
Jordan R.
Dabir
Sea of Jazer
Besor R.
Rama
Aroer
Joppa
Lidda
Gazer
Najoth
Ephraim
Gath
TRIBE OF DAN
Libnah
TRIBE OF BENJAMIN
Silo
Jericho
TRIBE OF REUBEN
Mt. Pisgah
Azotus
Ajalon
Betheron
Ascalon
JERUSALEM
Bethlehem
Machærus
Mathana
Gaza
Bethsura
Sodom
Jerimoth
Wells
TRIBE OF SIMEON
Beersheba
Jether
TRIBE OF JUDAH
Hebron
Jezreel
LAKE OF SODOM
Save
Midian
ARABIA DESERTA
Carmel
Ziph
Deblathaim
Goshen
Gomorrah
Galsel
Desart of Sin
EGYPT
EDOM
British Miles
5 10 20 30 40
35
36
37
33
32
31

Kitchen Sculpt. Geogr. to his Majesty.

cauſe of God upon the heads and authors of this defection. In this heat they took up a reſolution, with ſword in hand to paſs the river, and to do juſtice upon the principals of this deſertion, without any reſpect to the dignity of perſons, or the nearneſs of relations; for it was God's cauſe, they ſaid, and in the caſe of his ſervice, they were abſolved from all other obligations. In the flame of this tranſport, the general, the high-prieſt, and the elders, betwixt authority and advice, ſo far prevailed upon the headſtrong multitude, as to ſuſpend the execution of ſo extravagant a revenge, till they might be certainly informed, whether their brethren were guilty of this abomination or not: And if they found them guilty they ſhould be then left at liberty to fall upon them without mercy. They agreed to the motion, and ſo made choice of *Phineas*, the ſon of *Eleazar*, and ten other perſons of eminent note among the people, to go over to their contrymen, and learn what was the true end of building that altar. They departed upon this errand, and as ſoon as ever they got croſs the water, there was ſummoned an aſſembly, wherein *Phineas* diſcharged himſelf of his commiſſion, in words to this effect:

“We underſtand very well, that the crime charged upon you at preſent is too heinous to be puniſhed only with words; but yet we have not taken up arms now, hand over head, to execute a vengeance according to the degree of the iniquity; for it is out of reſpect to our allies, and in hope that ſecond and ſounder thoughts may bring you to better reaſon, that we are engaged upon this embaſſy, and to ſpeak in this aſſembly. We do but deſire to be ſincerely informed upon what motives, and with what deſign, you have now raiſed this altar. If you have done it out of any pious end, we have no quarrel to you; but if you are gone over to a falſe worſhip, it is for our God and our religion that we muſt draw our ſwords againſt you. We ſpeak our fears; for we cannot think it credible yet, that a people ſo well inſtructed in the will and laws of God, our friends and allies, whom we have but juſt now parted with, a people newly eſtabliſhed in the lot of a plentiful poſſeſſion, by God's ſpecial grace and providence: We cannot, I ſay, believe you to be ſo inſenſible and ungrateful, as to abandon the holy tabernacle, the ark, the altar, and the worſhip of your forefathers, to join with the *Canaanites*, in the adoration of their falſe Gods. Or if unhappily you ſhould have been ſo miſsled, do but repent and diſclaim your error, and return to that reverence you owe to the laws of God and of your country, and you ſhall yet be received. But if you ſhall obſtinately perſiſt, there is no labour or danger we ſhall think too great for the defence of our laws and worſhip. Do not perſuade yourſelves, that becauſe you are out of our bounds, and a river betwixt us, you are therefore out of the reach of God's power and providence; for you are upon his ground wherever you are, and under his juriſdiction. If you are not able to reſiſt the temptations of the place you live in, take your fortune in a new diviſion of lands, and quit the country, let it be never ſo fruitful. Be wiſe and temperate in time, and do not ſuffer yourſelves to be carried away with a hankering after new things. This we beg of you, for the ſake of your wives and children, and whatever elſe may be dear to you; do not force us upon the neceſſity of a war, as we tremble at the very thought of. But it is at your own choice ſtill, whether you will rather ſubmit to be overcome by reaſonable words, or to put the main cauſe to the dint of a battle.”

When *Phineas* had made an end of ſpeaking, the rulers of the aſſembly, in name of themſelves and of the whole multitude, returned anſwer as follows:

“We are not conſcious of having ever departed from your alliance; neither are we, in any ſort guilty of that affectation of novelty in the erecting of this altar, "which is now charged upon us. We know but one God, and that God is the God of all the *Hebrews;* and but one altar, which is the brazen altar before the tabernacle. As for this altar here, which we are ſuſpected for, it was never intended for any religious uſe, but only for a civil memorial to future times of our fellowſhip and alliance; and rather to keep us ſteady to our ancient religion, than to be any ways introductive to the violation of it. We can ſafely appeal to God, that we had no ſuch thought in the ſetting up of this altar as is imputed to us: Wherefore, pray have a better opinion of your brethren for the future, than to think us guilty of ſo mortal an apoſtacy from the rites and cuſtoms of our progenitors; a ſin not to be expiated in any of the ſons of *Abraham*, but with the loſs of his life."

Phineas was overjoyed at ſo firm and ſatisfactory a declaration, and returning immediately to *Joſhua*, gave him a particular account of every thing, in the hearing of the people; who were all infinitely pleaſed with the reſult of this embaſſy, when they ſaw things brought to ſo amicable a concluſion, without any danger of a civil war or of bloodſhed. Hereupon they ſacrificed, and gave God thanks; after which *Joſhua* diſmiſſed the multitude to their ſeveral homes; while he himſelf took up his abode in *Sichem*.

In the twentieth year after this, *Joſhua* being now extremely old, and quite out of condition for public buſineſs, he called a general aſſembly of the heads of the cities, the elders, and magiſtrates, and as many of the common people as could poſſibly be gotten together upon that occaſion. At this meeting he made them a pious and a pertinent diſcourſe, upon the ſubject of God's infinite mercies and providences towards them; ſetting forth, how he had preſerved them in all their calamities, relieved them in all their wants and diſtreſſes; and now advanced them at laſt out of the moſt deſpicable condition of ignominy, penury, and oppreſſion, to the higheſt degree of reputation and plenty. He laid it as an injunction upon them for the future, ſo to behave themſelves toward that God, that they might not loſe his favour; and minding them, that they had no other way of preſerving themſelves, than by leading their lives in the love and fear of that Almighty power, and in the obſervance of his commandments. He conjured them alſo to take thoſe his laſt words and counſels in good part; for he was now leaving the world, and could not end his days better than in the diſcharge of that duty.

With theſe words betwixt his lips, he departed this life in the hundred and tenth year of his age, having ſpent forty of them under the diſcipline of *Moſes*, and twenty-ſix years more in the adminiſtration, as his ſucceſſor. He was a man of political prudence, and endued alſo with a ſingular felicity of popular eloquence in expreſſing his thoughts; brave and indefatigable in war, and no leſs juſt and dextrous in peace; in ſhort he was a perſon qualified for all great purpoſes. He was buried in *Thamna*, a city belonging to the tribe of *Ephraim* *. *Eleazar* the high prieſt died alſo about the ſame time; and the prieſthood deſcended by ſucceſſion to his ſon *Phineas*. His ſepulchre is at this day to be ſeen in the city *Gabatha*.

After the death of *Joſhua* and *Eleazar*, the people conſulted *Phineas* about God's farther will and pleaſure in the proſecution of the war againſt the *Canaanites*; whoſe anſwer[*] was, that they ſhould go on with it, but that the ſovereign command and direction of it ſhould be committed to the tribe of *Judah*, who, engaging that of *Simeon* to their aſſiſtance, undertook the war, upon condition, that after a total extirpation of the *Canaanites* out of the former tribe, the other ſhould ſee the ſame thing done in theirs likewiſe, according to their example.

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* Since not only *Procopius* and *Suidas*, but an earlier author, *Moſes Chorenenſis*, p. 52, 53, and perhaps from his original author *Mariba Catina*, one as old as *Alexander* the Great, ſets down the famous inſcription at *Tangier*, concerning the old *Canaanites*, driven out of *Paleſtine* by *Joſhua*, take it here in that author's own words: "We are theſe thoſe exiles that were Governors of the *Canaanites*, but have been driven away by *Joſhua*, the robber, and are come to inhabit here." Nor is it unworthy our notice what *Moſes Chorenenſis* adds, p. 53. and this upon a diligent examination, *viz.* that one of thoſe eminent men among the *Canaanites* came at the ſame time into *Armenia*, and founded the *Genthunian* family or tribe; and that this was confirmed by the manners of the ſame family or tribe, as being like thoſe of the *Canaanites*.

CHAP. II.

Adonibezek *defeated. A diſmal Story of a* Levite *and his Wife. A dreadful civil War.*

THE *Canaanites* were at this time very ſtrong, and waiting with a great army near the city of *Bezec*, under the command of *Adonibezec*, (that is to ſay in *Hebrew Lord of* Bezec) to give the *Iſraelites* battle. The thing they moſt depended upon for encouragement and hope of ſucceſs, was the *Iſraelites* diſappointment in the loſs of their general; but the two tribes encountering them, after a glorious combat, killed ten thouſand upon the ſpot, and routed the reſt. Their leader, *Adonibezec*, they took priſoner, and cut off his fingers and toes. This circumſtance he acknowledged to be the juſt judgment of God upon him, having formerly ſerved ſeventy-two kings[†] himſelf after the ſame manner. They carried him off alive, thus maimed, towards *Jeruſalem*, where he died, and was buried.

The *Iſraelites* roved up and down, after this, and ravaged the country, taking and deſtroying town after town, till they laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem*. They made themſelves maſters of the lower town, putting all they found in it to the ſword; but the city itſelf being well fortified, with the ſtrength of the walls, and the natural ſite of the place, forced them to quit it, and remove to *Hebron*, which they entered by aſſault, and cut of all before them, without giving any quarter.

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[*] By *prophecying*, when ſpoken of an high prieſt, *Joſephus*, both here, and frequently elſewhere, means no more than conſulting God by *Urim*; which the reader is ſtill to bear in mind on all occaſions. And if St. *John*, who was contemporary with *Joſephus*, and of the ſame country, made uſe of his ſtyle, when he ſays, that "*Caiaphas* being high prieſt that year propheſied, that *Jeſus* ſhould die for that nation; and not for that nation only, but that he ſhould gather in one the children of God that were ſcattered abroad," *John* xi. 51, 52. he may poſſibly mean, that this was revealed to the high prieſt by an extraordinary voice from between the Cherubim, when he had his breaſt-plate, or *Urim* and *Thummim* on, before or in the moſt holy place of the temple; which was no other than the oracle of *Urim* and *Thummim*.

[†] This great number of ſeventy-two *Reguli*, or ſmall kings, over whom *Adonibezec* had tyrannized, and for which he was puniſhed according to the *Lex Talionis*; as well as the thirty-one Kings of *Canaan*, ſubdued by *Joſhua*, and named in one chapter, *Joſh*. xii. and thirty-two Kings, or royal auxiliaries, to *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, 1 *Kings* xx. intimate to us what was the ancient form of government among ſeveral nations before the four monarchies began, *viz*. That every city or large town, with its neighbouring villages, was a diſtinct government by itſelf. Mr. *Addiſon* is of opinion, that "It would certainly be for the good of mankind to have all the mighty empires and monarchies of the world cantoned out into petty ſtates and principalities; that, like ſo many large families, might lie under the obſervation of their proper governors; ſo that the care of the Prince might extend itſelf to every individual under his protection." *Remarks on* Italy, 4*to*, *p*. 151.

There were ſound among the ſlain divers bodies of the race of the giants, which, for bulk, ſtature, and countenance, were ſo much different from other men, that the very people who ſaw them could hardly believe them to be of human extraction; and their bones are expoſed for a prodigy even to this day. This town, being a place of conſideration, was given to the *Levites*, with two thouſand cubits of ground about it, the remaining part of the territory belonging to it being given to *Caleb* by the previous appointment of *Moſes*. *Caleb* was one of the ſpies who had been formerly ſent by *Moſes* for diſcoveries into the land of *Canaan*. There was a dividend alſo given to the ſons of *Jethro*, the *Madianite*, *Moſes*'s father-in-law, who abandoned their native country to join in the expedition, and to bear their part with the adventurers in all the difficulties and hazards of the war and of the deſert.

Theſe two tribes took ſeveral of the *Canaanite* cities upon the mountains, and ſome others upon the plain near the ſea, as *Aſcálon* and *Azotus*; but for *Gaza* and *Acaron*, that lay in the flat country, and were ſtrong in chariots, which was a deſperate way of fighting, theſe cities made good their defence, and eſcaped better than many of their neighbours.

The two enterprizing tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon*, being now grown prodigiouſly rich by the ſpoil of the war, withdrew by degrees to a private retreat; laid down their arms, and betook themſelves to arts and buſineſs of good huſbandry and peace. The *Benjamites*, to whoſe lot *Jeruſalem* fell, came to an agreement with the inhabitants, upon a compoſition, and ſo, under the protection of tributaries, both ſides thought themſelves ſecure, the one from violence, and the other from ſedition; and in this proſpect of tranquility, they applied themſelves to the cultivating the land under their care. The ſame thing was alſo done by other tribes after the example of the *Benjamites*, contenting themſelves upon the ſame conditions of taxes and tributes, to let the *Canaanites* enjoy themſelves in peace.

The tribe of *Ephraim* had been a long while before *Bethel*, without making any great advance toward the taking of it, conſidering how much time and trouble the ſiege had coſt them; for they made a very obſtinate defence on the one ſide, and the work was as reſolutely carried on by the other: But it ſo fell out at laſt, that a townſman of the place fell into the hands of the *Ephraimites*, as he was conveying proviſions into the city. They treated with him, and came to an agreement upon oath on both ſides; the citizen to let them ſecretly into the town, and the *Ephraimites* to ſave him, his friends, and relations, upon entering the city, which was performed on both parts. The *Ephraimites* being introduced, and the citizen and his friends preſerved, but all the reſt put to the ſword, the *Ephraimites* now remaining maſters of the city.

The hearts of the *Iſraelites* began now to ſoften toward the people of *Canaan*; and, inſtead of extirpating them by the proſecution of a war, they bethought themſelves rather how to make advantage of their labour, in planting and tillage, by the good huſbandry of an induſtrious peace; but their hearts being ſet upon wealth and pleaſure, they preſently gave themſelves up to their luſts and appetites, without any regard to God's will and worſhip, or to the laws and diſcipline of their anceſtors. God, in his wrath, for theſe indignities, gave them to underſtand that they had none of his commiſſion for the ſparing of the *Canaanites*, and that it would not be long before they ſhould pay for that unſeaſonable mercy, by cruelties they ſhould ſuffer from the *Canaanites* themſelves. They were ſtartled at this revelation, but not enough yet to advance a war upon it, religion being the leaſt thing in their thoughts; and as to the matter of any military exploit, their luxury had quite unmanned them, through the temptation of the great advantage they made of the *Canaanites* tribute and labour.

The form of the government was depraved, the authority of the elders ſlighted, the choice of the ſenators, and other magiſtrates, nothing ſo regular as formerly, but every man endeavouring for his own private ends, and no care taken for the public. In the courſe of this diſſolution of government and good manners, there happened an occaſion of a terrible ſedition, which ſoon after broke forth into a civil war.

There was within the lot of *Ephraim* [*], a certain *Levite*, of an ordinary extraction, who married a wife of the city of *Bethlem*, belonging to the tribe of *Judah*, who was wonderfully beautiful, and the man had a paſſionate tenderneſs for her; but, to his great affliction, ſhe made him little or no return of his kindneſs. This diſagreement begot daily diſputes and wrangles, inſomuch, that the woman, under an impatience of theſe expoſtulations, went away from her huſband in the fourth month after they were married, to her own parents.

The huſband, out of his infinite affection, poſted after to her father's houſe, where he was received with all hoſpitality and affection, and matters made up again betwixt him and his wife. When he had been there preciſely four days, he propoſed upon the fifth to be going home again: But friends were loth to part, and ſo they made it late before they ſet out; they went their way however, he and his wife together, with only one ſervant, and an aſs for the woman to ride upon.

When they had travelled thirty furlongs, and being not far from *Jeruſalem*, the ſervant adviſed them to take up a lodging near at hand, before it was too late, to avoid the danger of travelling in the night, eſpecially in an enemy's country; beſides that late hours are ſuſpicious even among friends: But the huſband had no mind to put himſelf among ſtrangers, and the city was at that time in poſſeſſion of the *Canaanites*; ſo that he choſe rather to venture twenty furlongs farther, where he might lodge among his friends and allies.

Travelling forward to *Gabaa*, a city belonging to the tribe of *Benjamin*, it was ſo late, that he was at a loſs for a lodging. It happened however, that an ancient man of the tribe of *Ephraim*, coming juſt at that time out of the country to a houſe he had at *Gabaa*, ſaw this man, and aſked him what he was, and what made him abroad at ſo unſeaſonable an hour. He told him that he was a *Levite*, and carrying his wife home with him from her father's, to his own houſe in the lot of *Ephraim*. The old man, for tribe and relation-ſake, and likewiſe for the ſake of hoſpitality itſelf, took the *Levite* along with him.

Some young men of the town taking notice of the *Levite*'s wife in the ſtreet for a very beautiful woman, traced her to the houſe of this ancient man, rapped at the door, and demanded the woman. The old man ſpared for no importunities to perſuade them quietly to go their ways, without offering any violence or indignity to his gueſt. All the anſwer he could get was, "Let him "deliver up the woman, and he ſhall have "no farther trouble." The other pleaded the relation of a kinſwoman, the wife of a *Levite*, and laid great ſtreſs upon the hideouſneſs of ſo brutal an outrage, under ſo many tender circumſtances, againſt all the laws of religion, honour, humanity, and common juſtice. But the gravity of theſe reaſonings and counſels ſerved only for matter of deriſion, with bloody oaths in the concluſion, that they would either have the woman, or cut his throat.

When the good man found himſelf brought to the laſt neceſſity, either of yielding or compounding, he made them an offer of his own daughter, in exchange for the ſtranger, as the leſs evil of the two; for this way, he did but ſacrifice the reputation of a private family; whereas, in violating the rights of hoſpitality, he ſhould have been guilty of an affront upon the public faith of human ſociety. But ſupplications and arguments were to no manner of purpoſe with men ſo peremptorily reſolved upon that woman, and that no other ſhould content them. In this heat, they took her away by force, to their own quarters, where they ſpent that whole night in all manner of beſtial liberties, and then ſent her back again next morning. She fell into ſuch a confuſion of thought upon her return, for what had befallen her that night, that, betwixt ſhame and indignation, it broke her heart. As to her huſband's part, ſhe looked upon the wound to be utterly incurable, and had not the confidence to look him in the face after it; but as ſhe came near him, ſhe fell down upon the ground, and died. Her huſband took it at firſt only for an oppreſſion of wearineſs, for want of ſleep; or, at the worſt, but ſome fainting fit; and ſo he tried to wake her, and bring her to herſelf again, by telling her for her comfort, that this violence had not at all derogated from her unſpotted innocence and virtue. But all this came too late; for ſhe was dead. And the *Levite* behaved himſelf with a wonderful preſence and conſtancy of mind upon it, conſidering the quality of ſo mortal a ſurprize.

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[*] *Joſephus*'s early date of this hiſtory, before the beginning of the judges, is ſtrongly confirmed by the large number of *Benjamites* in the days of *Aſa* and *Jehoſaphat*, 2 *Chron*. xiv. 8. who yet were here reduced to ſix hundred men. Nor can thoſe numbers be at all ſuppoſed genuine, if they were reduced ſo late as the end of the judges.

He packed up the body of his dead wiſe, and laid it upon his aſs, and carried it directly home with him. Being come to his own houſe, he divided the body into twelve parts, to be diſtributed among the twelve tribes, ſending every tribe one of them. The ſeveral bearers had their inſtructions to acquaint the tribes where they went with the whole hiſtory of this villainy, the authors of it, and the barbarous circumſtances of the fact itſelf. They all agreed the wickedneſs to be ſo far beyond example, that the like was never ſeen nor heard of before. The horror, in ſhort, of this action, tranſported them into ſuch a rage, that they immediately gathered together in *Siloe* before the tabernacle, with a reſolution, the firſt thing they did, to aſſault *Gabaa*.

The elders, upon this, put a little check to the firſt heat, by telling them, that it would not do well, hand over head, thus to make war upon their allies, without a ſtrict enquiry firſt into the merits of the cauſe; a thing that the laws and practices of the *Iſraelites* would not allow even towards ſtrangers, without ſome previous treaty to bring the matter itſelf, if poſſible, to ſome reaſonable terms of ſatisfaction or compoſition. "Wherefore the beſt way would be, "to ſend to the *Gibeonites*, to demand the "criminals who committed this inſolence; "in caſe they give them up you may puniſh them; but if they refuſe, you are "then at liberty to do yourſelves right by "force of arms."

Upon this motion they ſent to the *Gibeonites* to deliver up the profligate malefactors who had committed this brutal violence upon the *Levite*'s wiſe, that juſtice might be done upon them. They demanded thoſe individual men, they ſaid, becauſe they would not involve the public in a particular cauſe. Upon the reſult the *Gibeonites* would not give up the malefactors, nor did they think it honourable, for fear of a war, to ſubmit to rules of other peoples preſcribing. They wanted neither courage, ſkill, nor numbers, they ſaid; the whole tribe declaring themſelves to be all of a piece and of a mind, and reſolved to ſtand by one another to the laſt man, in the cauſe of a common defence.

The *Iſraelites* were ſo diſguſted upon the report of this anſwer, that they preſently entered into an oath not to intermarry with the tribe of *Benjamin*, and to carry on as fierce a war againſt the *Benjamites*, as ever their foreſathers did againſt the *Canaanites*. Upon this occaſion they took the field with an army of four hundred thouſand fighting men. The ſtrength of the *Benjamites* was twenty-five thouſand ſix hundred, in which number there were five hundred left-handed ſlingers, who were all excellent markſmen.

The two armies fought near *Gabaa*, where the *Iſraelites* were routed by the *Benjamites*, with the loſs of two and twenty thouſand upon the place, and the ſlaughter had been much greater, if the night had not parted them. The *Iſraelites* returned to the body of their army in confuſion, while the *Benjamites* went back again to the city in triumph.

It came to a ſecond battle the next day again, when the *Iſraelites* loſt eighteen thouſand men more; and theſe two diſaſters ſtruck them into ſuch a terror, that they quitted their camp, and moved a little way off to *Bethel* *, where they ſpent the next day in faſting and prayer, beſeeching Almighty God, by the mouth of *Phineas* the high prieſt, that he would be pleaſed, after the judgment of two ſuch overthrows, to put a ſtop to the courſe of his high diſpleaſure, and grant them victory over their enemies.

Their prayers being heard, and a favourable anſwer returned to them by the ſame prophet, they divided their army into two bodies; one half they planted in certain ambuſhes about the city, while the other ſtood drawn up in readineſs to give the enemy battle. The *Iſraelites*, upon the firſt charge, gave way, with a deſign to draw the *Benjamites* farther off from the town; ſo that the *Iſraelites*, by little and little, loſt ground; inſomuch, that the people of the town looked upon it as a defeat, rather than a diſpute, came trooping out, young and old, without any doubt of a victory, to put in for the ſpoil. When the *Benjamites* were gotten far enough from home, and within the reach of the ambuſh, the *Iſraelites* faced about, rallied, and charged, giving the ſignal at the ſame time to their companions to fall upon the rear. This ſurpriſe put the *Benjamites* into ſo deſperate a ſtreight, that they were forced to retire into a bottom, where they were ſurrounded and deſtroyed like ſo many beaſts in a toyle: only a ſelect body of ſix hundred reſolute men cut their way through the middle of the enemies troops up to a mountain there at hand, where they poſted themſelves for the preſent, and ſo eſcaped: All the reſt periſhed, to the number of about five and twenty thouſand men. The *Iſraelites*, after this, burnt *Gabaa*, ſparing neither men, women, nor male-children, and they did the like too in ſeveral other of the *Benjamite* cities. Nay, ſo mortal was the animoſity they had contracted in this quarrel, that they ſent twelve thouſand men againſt *Jabes*, a city of *Gilead*, who took the town, and put all in it to the ſword, men, women, and children, ſave only four hundred virgins; and all this barely for refuſing to join with the *Iſraelites* againſt the *Benjamites*.

This was the bloody event of a revenge for the abuſe of a woman, upon a punctilio of honour in the *Benjamites*, to puſh the cauſe on to a war. The *Iſraelites* were come now to bethink themſelves, and in ſome degree to repent of the calamities they had brought upon the *Benjamites*; that tribe being in a manner cut off from the main body. Upon the whole matter, they propoſed a faſt, but not as conſcious of having done an unjuſt thing in puniſhing the breach of the law. In this tenderneſs of thought, they ſent commiſſioners to invite the ſix hundred men back again, that were fled into the mountains where they found them upon a rock called *Rhoa*, in the deſert. Theſe miniſters condoled with them, not for their own miſery alone, but for that of their relations and friends, adviſing them to bear their lot like men returning to their ſociety, and as much as in them lay to prevent the utter extermination of that tribe, which would be the conſequence of withdrawing themſelves from the fellow-

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* *Joſephus* ſeems here to have made a ſmall miſtake, when he took the *Hebrew* word *Beth-El*, which denotes the *Houſe of God*, or the *Tabernacle*, for the proper name of a place, *Bethel*. It no way appearing that the tabernacle was ever at *Bethel*. Only ſo far it is true, that *Shiloh*, the place of the tabernacle in the days of the judges, was not far from *Bethel*.

ſhip. Theſe commiſſioners told them that for their lands and cattle, every thing ſhould be reſtored, and themſelves put in poſſeſſion as before. Theſe men could not but confeſs themſelves to have been in the wrong, and acknowledged the righteous judgment of God in what they had ſuffered, and ſo returned to their obedience, and to their tribe upon this invitation.

The next queſtion was how to provide them wives; the *Iſraelites* having bound themſelves by an oath before the war, not to marry any of their daughters into the tribe of *Benjamin.* Some would have the oath to be a nullity, as being an oath under a kind of force, and an oath of paſſion, without due conſideration or judgment. Others were of opinion, that the very neceſſity diſcharged the oath, and that it would not be pleaſing to God to hazard a whole tribe rather than diſpenſe with ſuch an obligation; making perjury without malice to be no ſin: But the elders would not endure any thought of perjury, under what cover or countenance ſoever. They had provided wives already for four hundred of the ſix out of the virgins that were taken at *Jabes*; and for the remaining two hundred, one of the ſenators offered this expedient, for the doing of the buſineſs without ſtraining an oath.

“ Here is (ſays he) a cuſtomary ſolem-
“ nity or public feſtival that is celebrated
“ thrice a year in *Siloe,* and our wives and
“ daughters are commonly part of the compa-
“ ny. Leave the *Benjamites* upon this oc-
“ caſion at liberty to ſeize, and take to wiſe
“ as many of the virgins as they can catch,
“ without your meddling in it either one
“ way or another, for or againſt it. If the
“ fathers ſhall complain, and appeal for juſ-
“ tice, the anſwer will be ſhort, that they
“ ſhould have looked better to their daugh-
“ ters; and that it is not good to exaſperate
“ the *Iſraelites* againſt the *Benjamites,* as
“ we have found by woſul experience al-
“ ready.”

Upon this motion it was agreed that the *Benjamites* ſhould be connived at, in providing themſelves of wives after this manner, by force.

The ſolemnity being now at hand, the two hundred men who wanted wives planted themſelves about the town in vineyards, and other hiding places, by twos or threes, and ſuch numbers as they thought fit, to watch for the coming of the virgins. The *Benjamites* took their opportunity, as the virgins came ſporting along, and ſtarted out among them, every man ſeizing one for his wife, and carrying her off to his plantation, where they made it their buſineſs, by induſtry and good huſbandry, to eſtabliſh themſelves happily in the world once again. By this means, and by the prudence of the *Iſraelites,* was the tribe of *Benjamin* recovered out of a hopeleſs condition, and came ſoon after into a flouriſhing eſtate, both for wealth, people, and power.

This was the end of the *Benjamites* war, and the affairs of *Dan* were not in a much better poſture neither. The *Iſraelites* being now quite gone over from the ſtudy and practice of arms, to the country entertainments of huſbandry and tillage, the *Canaanites* made advantage of this degenerate change of humour, and entered into a formed conſpiracy againſt them, though with the greateſt contempt imaginable, not for fear of any hurt they could do them at preſent, but in hopes of bringing them ſo low, that they ſhould never be able to give them any further trouble for the time to come. They made mighty levies of men, and proviſions of chariots, trained up their people to martial diſcipline, and had already drawn over to them *Aſcalon* and *Accaron* from the tribe of *Judah*, and ſeveral cities of the plains; inſomuch, that the *Danites* were forced up to the mountain for ſanctuary, and not one foot of ground in the champain which they could call their own. Their circumſtances, briefly, were ſuch, that they were neither ſtrong enough to do themſelves right by war, nor had they land enough for their people to ſubſiſt upon in a ſtate of peace; wherefore they ſent five of their people into the inland countries, to find out ſome commodious place of reſidence, where they might plant and ſettle.

When theſe commiſſioners had travelled the matter of a day's journey from the great plain of *Sidon*, (and not far from mount *Libanus*, and the head of the leſſer *Jordan*) they found themſelves in a fruitful and well-conditioned country, and gave their tribe an account of their opinion of the place, who forthwith marched with their army directly thither, erecting a city there by the name of *Dan*, ſo called from one of the ſons of *Jacob* of that name, from whence the whole tribe alſo had its appellation.

The *Iſraelites* were at this time ſo abandoned to ſloth and luxury, and without any regard to religion or buſineſs, that all their affairs went to wreck upon it; the government looſe and out of frame; men lived without any reſtraint either of ſhame or of law; the corruptions of the *Canaanites* reigning every where without controul.

CHAP. III.

Chuſarth *ſubdues the* Iſraelites.

THIS general defection was ſo provoking in the ſight of God, and the *Iſraelites* being left to themſelves by a total diſſolution of piety, diſcipline, and good manners, put a ſhort end to all the hopes and pretences of happineſs, that with much toil and induſtry they had been ſo long a raiſing. While they were in this abandoned ſtate of looſeneſs and debauch, *Chuſarth*, the King of the *Aſſyrians*, made war upon them, killed them a great many men in battle, ſeized their towns, ſome by force, others by treaty, and laid heavy taxes upon the people; plaguing them, in fine, with all variety of indignities whatſoever. This was the wretched ſtate they were in for eight years; after which time they were delivered out of the hands of their oppreſſors, in manner as follows.

There was one *Kenaz*, of the tribe of *Judah*, a man of ſenſe, buſineſs, and courage. This perſon being animated by a ſecret impulſe from heaven to make ſome bold and generous attempt for the relief of the *Hebrews* in this extremity of diſtreſs, communicated the privacy to ſome few of his particular friends, whom he knew to be men of honour and reſolution, and likewiſe diſſatisfied with the preſent ſtate of things. Upon concerting the matter, they came to this concluſion, that the firſt thing to be done toward eaſing the *Hebrews*, muſt be the ſurprizal of the King's guards, and cutting the throats of the garriſon. This was agreed upon, and accordingly executed; and the ſucceſs of this exploit gave ſuch a reputation and brought ſo many over to that intereſt and party, that, in a ſhort time they gave the *Aſſyrians* a fair battle, routed, and drove them over the *Euphrates*, and ſet the people at liberty, who, in acknowledgment of the obligation they had to *Kenaz* for the deliverance, by the means of his bravery and conduct, made him a preſent of the government, which he accepted of; and, when he had ruled them forty years, in the quality of a judge, he ended his life in that ſtation.

By the death of *Kenaz*, the *Iſraelites* were left once again without a head; and then, as they fell more and more off from their duty to God and the laws, they were conſequently ſtill more expoſed to freſh and greater afflictions. Their converſation was ſuch, that *Eglon* himſelf, the King of the *Moabites*, had them in contempt for their want even of policy and order; and this very conſideration encouraged him to make war upon them. In ſhort, he worſted them, upon ſeveral encounters, and humbled them to that degree, that he made them his tributaries. After which he removed his court to *Jericho* *; and, for eighteen years ſucceſſively, omitted nothing of rigour and oppreſſion that might make the people miſerable, even to the degree of almoſt ſtarving them. But it pleaſed God, at laſt, in compaſſion to their ſufferings, and in mercy to their prayers, to deliver them from the tyranny of the *Moabites*.

There was a certain young man, who dwelt at *Jericho*, the ſon of *Gera*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and his name was *Ehud*. He was a vigorous and daring man, of a robuſt force of body, and of a make, in fine, for any bold and hazardous undertaking. This *Ehud* ordered the matter ſo as to make himſelf familiarly known to *Eglon*, by the means of preſents, and other court offices; inſomuch that his particular favour with the King had made him a great many friends at court.

Being one day to make the king a preſent, the firſt thing he did was to gird a ſhort poniard to his right ſide, and taking two ſervants along with him, to keep it under his cloaths, out of ſight; and in this manner of addreſs, he was admitted to the king. This was in the heat of the ſummer, and in the middle of the day, none of the guards ſtirring, and moſt of the people being retired to dinner. When this young man had made his preſent, the king being withdrawn into a cool place of refreſhment, *Ehud* deſired a word in private with him; whereupon the king ſent away his ſervants out of the preſence, being himſelf ſeated upon his throne. *Ehud* was all this while in pain for fear of miſſing his aim, when he came to do the execution; ſo, in order to give the king occaſion to riſe, that he might have the fairer mark at him, he told him, that he had ſomewhat to ſay to him from God Almighty, about a certain dream of his. The king had a kind of impatient curioſity upon him to hear what it was; and ſo ſtanding up to hearken to it, *Ehud*, in that very inſtant, plunged a dagger into his heart, and forthwith went his way, ſhutting the doors after him, and leaving the dagger in the wound. The attendants continued ſilent for ſome time, for fear of waking the king, who they ſuppoſed might be aſleep.

Ehud went away upon this directly to *Jeruſalem*, where he put it about in private that he had killed the king, in order to the ſetting of the people at liberty. The news was ſo welcome to them, that they ſent their trumpets immediately upon it all over the whole country; this being their way of calling the people together.

It was a long time before the court knew any thing of the matter; but, towards evening, ſome of the king's ſervants took upon them an apprehenſion of ſome accident more than ordinary, and, upon opening the chamber-door, they found the king dead, which was ſo ſurpriſing a ſpectacle, that it ſtruck them all dumb and ſenſeleſs. The guards were preſently ſent for; but the *Iſraelites*, in great bodies, forced into the palace, before they could be drawn together. Some they killed in the firſt heat; others, to the number of ten thouſand, made away to the river, toward the country of *Moab*, but the *Iſraelites* having prepoſſeſſed themſelves of all the fords and paſſes, intercepted them in their flight, ſo that they were wholly cut off, without ſo much as one man of them getting over.

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* It appears by the ſacred hiſtory, *Judg*. i. 26. iii. 13. that *Eglon*'s pavilion, or palace, was at the city of palm trees, as the place where *Jericho* had ſtood is called after its deſtruction by *Joſhua*; that is, at or near the demoliſhed city. Accordingly *Joſephus* ſays it was at *Jericho*; or rather in that fine country of palm trees, upon or near to the ſame ſpot of ground on which *Jericho* had formerly ſtood, and on which it was afterwards rebuilt by *Hiel*, 1 *Kings* xvi. 34.

By this means the *Hebrews* ſhook off the yoke of the *Moabites;* and *Ehud*, for an acknowledgment had the honour of the government conferred upon him by the people; and, at the end of eighty years adminiſtration, there he died. He was a perſon who, over and above the merit of this generous exploit, deſerved, upon ſeveral other accounts, to have his name and memory celebrated to poſterity. *Shamgar* the ſon of *Anath* ſucceeded him, who died within the firſt year of his government.

CHAP. IV.

The Iſraelites *are delivered by* Deborah *and* Barak.

THE *Iſraelites* degenerating from iniquity to iniquity, and conſequently from one calamity to another, would not yet be brought to underſtand that the hand of God was over them, for their diſobedience to the laws both of God and man; inſomuch, that before they were well quit of one ſlavery, they fell into another; as upon this revolution, they only exchanged the tyranny of *Eglon*, king of the *Moabites*, for that of *Jabin*, king of the *Canaanites*, who was their next maſter. *Jabin* kept his court at *Azor*, upon the lake *Samochonitis*, having an army in pay of three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and three thouſand chariots, under the command of *Siſera*, a great favourite of the king's, for the ſervices he had done in reducing the *Iſraelites*, whom he worſted in ſeveral encounters, and would never give over the purſuit, till he brought them at laſt to be abſolute ſlaves and tributaries to his maſter.

When they had languiſhed out the matter of twenty years in this ſcandalous ſervitude, without daring ſo much as to open their mouths againſt their oppreſſors, and without growing wiſer by experience, (God in his providence having thought fit alſo to continue theſe judgments upon them for their impiety and ingratitude); they came at laſt, by a kind of neceſſity, to ſome ſort of repentance, and to a conviction that theſe miſeries had befallen them as a juſt puniſhment for their contempt of the laws of their forefathers. In this fit of contrition, they went to a famous propheteſs, one *Deborah*, (in *Hebrew* a *Bee*), deſiring her interceſſion, on their behalf, that God would be pleaſed in mercy to forgive them, and reſcue them out of the hands of their cruel oppreſſors.

At her mediation God was prevailed upon to promiſe them a deliverance, and made choice of *Barak*, of the tribe of *Nephthali*, for the inſtrument, as general of the army, to do the work. So *Deborah* ſent for *Barak*, (which word in *Hebrew* ſignifies *Lightning*), and ordered him to draw out a body of ten thouſand choice men, and march directly with them toward the enemy; the propheteſs never heeding the number, ſo long as providence had undertaken for the ſucceſs. *Barak* expoſtulated the matter with *Deborah*, flatly refuſing to meddle with the command, unleſs ſhe herſelf would go along with him. "Well," ſays *Deborah*, "and "are not you a doughty captain now, to "turn over the honour of a command to a "woman, when God has given it to your"ſelf! But however, I am content to "make one." So they drew out their number, and pitched their tents upon mount *Tabor; Siſera*, by the king's order, marching out to meet them.

The two armies lay encamped within ſight of each other; but the *Iſraelites* were ſtruck with ſuch a terror at the infinite odds of the enemy in number, that both general and ſoldiers were once upon the very point of ſhifting for themſelves, without ſo much as ſtriking a blow; but upon *Deborah*'s aſſurance that it was the cauſe of God, and that he himſelf would aſſiſt and bring them off, they were prevailed upon to ſtand the ſhock of a battle.

The armies were no ſooner engaged but there aroſe a violent wind, with a moſt impetuous tempeſt of rain and hail along with it. This ſtorm being juſt in the face of the *Canaanites*, made their bows and flings uſeleſs to them, as well as their other weapons for a cloſs fight; for they could not ſo much as open their eyes againſt the weather, and their fingers were ſo numbed with cold, that they could not handle their arms. The *Iſraelites*, with this tempeſt at their backs, had every wiſhed for advantage, which, in the concluſion, turned ſo much in their favour, that the *Canaanites* were broken, diſperſed, or cut to pieces, and this prodigious army, in effect, totally deſtroyed.

Siſera, finding the day irrecoverably loſt, and his men flying every where before the enemy, he leaped from his chariot, and betook himſelf to the houſe of one *Jael*, a *Kenite*, for ſanctuary, who received him with a countenance of readineſs to do him a good office. *Siſera* was quite ſpent with the toil and fatigue of the day, and calling for ſomewhat to drink, *Jael* brought him a draught of ſour milk, which he drank off very heartily, and fell aſleep.

When *Jael* found that ſhe had him ſecure, ſhe took a hammer, with an iron nail, and drove it in his temples, ſhewing him for a ſpectacle to the *Iſraelites* who came to look after him, where ſhe had pinned him to the ground. This made good *Deborah*'s preſage, when ſhe told *Barak* that a woman ſhould have the honour of a title to the victory.

Barak was now marched with the army toward *Azor*, where he encountered *Jabin* by the way, and ſlew him. The king being killed, *Barak* laid the city level with ground, and afterwards governed *Iſrael* forty years.

CHAP. V.

The Midianites, Amalekites, *and* Arabians *over-run the* Iſraelites.

DEborah and *Barak* died much about a time. Not long after their death, the *Midianites* entered into an aſſociation with the *Amalekites* and the *Arabians*, againſt the *Iſraelites*, marched with an army againſt them, fought, and overcame them, deſtroying the fruits of the ground, and carrying away their cattle, with a great booty. The ravages of theſe uſurpers continued full ſeven years, forcing the *Iſraelites* from the plains to the mountains for refuge, where they digged vaults and caves, partly for the ſecurity of their perſons, and partly for the concealment of what ſtores and proviſions they were able to ſave from the hands of the enemy. The *Midianites*, it is true, were well enough content to let the *Iſraelites* till the ground in the winter, as they themſelves were ſure to reap the fruits of their labours in the following ſummer. By theſe means the *Iſraelites* were brought to a morſel of bread, and no hope of relief left them in this ſtarving extremity, but prayers and ſupplications, which were always their laſt refuge.

It happened however that as *Gideon* the ſon of *Joas*, and a leading man in the tribe of *Manaſſes*, was thraſhing a little corn by ſtealth, at a wine preſs, which he durſt not venture to do in a public place, for fear of diſcovery, there appeared a viſion to him in the figure of a young man, that greeted him as a perſon exceedingly in God's favour. "One would "hardly think ſo, " ſays *Gideon*," of a "man under my circumſtances, that is fain "to make a preſs to do the office of a floor." The apparition bade him have a good heart; and immediately ſet his thoughts to work how he might deliver his country. "Alas," ſays "*Gideon*, it is impoſſible for me to do any "thing toward it: We have not men enough in our tribe for ſuch an attempt; "neither am I a perſon of practice and experience enough to manage ſuch a de"ſign." The apparition made him anſwer, that whatever he fell ſhort in, God would ſupply; and that if he would but frankly take upon him the command of a body of men, the *Iſraelites* ſhould gain a victory under his conduct. *Gideon* communicated this affair, with all the circumſtances, to ſome young men of his acquaintance, who aſcribed ſo much to the authority and credit of this revelation, that they had preſently an army of ten thouſand choice men in readineſs.

While this was in agitation, the voice of God ſpake to *Gideon* again in a dream, in words to this effect, "To ſhew you that vic"tory is influenced from above, and that the "arm of fleſh is not able to do any thing "without a divine aſſiſtance, take your men "to the river *Jordan*, in the parching heat "of the ſun at mid-day, and make your ob"ſervations upon the manner of the ſoldiers "drinking. Thoſe that lye down upon the "bank, and compoſe themſelves to drink at "leiſure, you may depend upon to be for "your purpoſe, and men of courage; but "for them that take their drink in a hurry, "and with diſtraction, they have the fear of "an enemy in their heads, and there's no "truſting to them." *Gideon* did as he was ordered, and found but three hundred in the whole army, who drank out of the hollow of their hands, without ſtaring about them.

With this pittance of three hundred men God commanded *Gideon* to attack the enemy in the night; he poſted himſelf upon the ſide of the river, the day before the exploit was to be put in execution, but not without great apprehenſions of what might be the iſſue of that enterprize. The voice, upon this diffidence, bade him take a ſoldier with him, and ſteal over that night to the camp of the *Midianites*, where he ſhould learn ſomewhat that ſhould put him in heart again.

He went as he was bid, and taking his own ſervant *Phuran* with him, they crept up to one of the enemies tents, where they were yet waking, and there over-heard a ſoldier telling his comerade of a ſtrange dream he had. "Methought," ſays he, "I ſaw a barley loaf, the coarſeſt of all "grains, and not fit for a man to eat, come "tumbling into the camp, where it over"ran all the tents which ſtood in the way, "the king's tent in the firſt place, and ſo "the reſt indifferently, one after another." "Well," ſays the dreamer's fellow-ſoldier, "and what can this overturning of all the "tents ſignify, but the total deſtruction of "our army? Barley, is, as you ſay, the "coarſeſt of grains, and ſo are the *Iſrael*"*ites* the vileſt and moſt abject of all the "people of *Aſia*. *Gideon* is now in the "head of the army againſt us, and I am a"fraid that the barley-loaf overthrowing our "tents will be expounded by *Gideon*'s over"running us with his *Iſraelite* army."

Upon the good omen of this dream, *Gideon* returned preſently to his people full of hope and comfort at the preſage, and his men were no leſs animated upon the hearing of it; for they put themſelves immediately in readineſs for the word of command, toward any hazardous adventure.

About the fourth watch, *Gideon* advanced toward the enemy, with his little army in three diviſions, a hundred men in each, and every man carrying an empty pitcher, with a burning lamp in it, that they might fall upon them unawares, before they could be diſcovered; and they carried likewiſe in their right hands rams horns, which ſerved them for trumpets. The enemy had ſuch a multitude of camels, and ſo many ſeveral nations in their diſtinct lodgments, that the camp took up a vaſt extent of ground, but ſtill one common line encloſed the whole. Upon the *Hebrews* approach toward the enemy, it was given them in command, that, upon the ſignal of ſounding trumpets, and breaking pitchers, they ſhould make a ſally with ſhouts, and their lamps in their hands, as to an aſſured victory, by the bleſſing of God upon *Gideon*.

They acted according to their order, and, by this ſtratagem, the enemy were ſtruck with ſo judicial a conſternation, betwixt ſleeping and waking, (the horrors of the night aſſiſting the imagination), that, being in the dark, in a medley of ſeveral languages, and under a terror which knew no difference between friend and foe, they fell, in the confuſion, upon one another; every man taking him that was next him for an enemy. There was a prodigious ſlaughter, but the greateſt execution was done by themſelves upon one another.

As ſoon as the fame of this notable defeat came to the ears of the reſt of the *Iſraelites*, they preſently ſent out armed troops to all the difficult paſſes upon the mountains, rivers, and torrents, to obſtruct and cut off their retreat, putting all to the ſword they could lay hands on, and two kings, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, among the reſt; but for the remainder, to the number of eighteen thouſand men, who had made a ſhift to get off in a body, under the command of their proper officers, thoſe troops poſted themſelves as far from the *Iſraelites* camp as they could.

Gideon's troops had been extremely harraſſed in the late action; but this did not yet hinder him from preſſing this party of the enemy upon the rear, and engaging them ſoon after with his whole army. In this encounter he put them to an abſolute rout, deſtroying the whole body of them to a man, and taking their two leaders, the princes *Zebin* and *Hezarbon*, priſoners. There were ſlain of the *Midianites* and their aſſociates, in theſe encounters, near a hundred and twenty thouſand men. The booty in gold, ſilver, rich ſtuffs, camels, aſſes, *&c.* which fell to the *Hebrews*, was immenſe.

When *Gideon* came afterwards into his own native country of *Ephraim*, he put to death the two kings of the *Midianites* above mentioned; but the tribe of *Ephraim*, thro' envy at the glory of his atchievements, were like to pick a quarrel with him, for engaging in a public act of hoſtility, being a member of that tribe, without their privity and conſent. They were near upon the point of making war upon him, without juſtly conſidering the conſequences. But *Gideon*, who was a man of modeſty and prudence, as well as bravery, averted the ſtorm, by telling them that this was God's war, and not *Gideon*'s; for what he did he was commanded to do; and that the honour of the victory was theirs ſtill, though the labouring part of the action fell by providence to his lot. The ſoftneſs and diſcretion of theſe words was of more effect with the *Hebrews* than the defeat; for it prevented the great miſchief of a civil war, which was then ready to break out. This invidious ſpiteful cavil however coſt them dear in the concluſion.

When *Gideon* had ſet his country at liberty, he would fain have diſcharged himſelf of his commiſſion; but the people were ſo unanimouſly reſolved not to part with him, that he was forced to continue it, which he did for the ſpace of forty years, exerciſing all the parts of a careful ruler over them, in preſcribing laws, adminiſtring juſtice, deciding controverſies. and doing right betwixt man and man; acquitting himſelf upon the whole with the character of his reputation, that no man ever complained of or appealed from his ſentence. He lived to a great age, and was buried in his own country at *Ephraim*.

CHAP. VI.

The Tyranny of Abimelech. Iſrael *enſlaved by the* Ammonites *and* Philiſtines. Jephtha *ſets them free.*

GIdeon had ſeventy legitimate ſons by ſeveral women, and one natural ſon, by *Druma* his concubine, whoſe name was *Abimelech*, who, after the death of his father, went to *Sichem*, to the relations of his mother, who was born there. They ſupplied him with money; and *Abimelech* finding them to be men for his turn, and lewd and deſperate enough to adventure upon any thing, immediately returned back again to his father's houſe, and took a cabal of theſe deſperate companions along with him. His firſt exploit there was to murder all his brothers, ſave only *Jothan*, who ſlipped out of the way. When *Abimelech* had by this means poſſeſſed himſelf of the government, he knew no other law than that of his own will, profeſſing an open enmity to juſtice itſelf, and all abettors; neither was he himſelf leſs hateful to all good men than they were to him.

It happened on a great day of ſolemnity in *Sichem*, that *Jothan*, who had made his eſcape upon this feſtival, was got up to the top of the mountain *Garizim*, which overlooks *Sichem*, and thence called out aloud to the multitude, deſiring only their patience for a few words he had to ſay. They put themſelves preſently into a poſture of attention, and he proceeded:

"There was a time," ſays he, "when "the trees had their meetings and conferences, and talked after the manner of "men. In thoſe days, and in a great aſſembly, upon the ſubject of who ſhould "command, the major part of the plants "made their addreſs to the fig-tree to take "care of the government; but the fig-tree "modeſtly declined the honour, as being "amply ſatisfied with the eſteem it had in "the world, for the fruit it bare; ſaying "alſo, that it had no ambition to be greater or other than it was. The trees, after "this refuſal, made the ſame requeſt to the "olive-tree, and to the vine, and they both "agreed in returning the very ſame anſwer. They went next to the bramble, "with the ſame propoſals, being an excellent ſort of fuel. Well, ſays the bramble, if you are in earneſt, I will take the "government upon me; but then you "muſt reſolve to reſt quietly under my ſhadow; for if you offer to be unruly, there "ſhall come a fire out of me which ſhall "deſtroy you." "This is no tale told," ſays *Jothan*, "to make you merry, but to "move you to bethink yourſelves what you "are now a doing; that after ſo many ſacred obligations to *Gideon*, you can yet "ſuffer *Abimelech*, the murderer of the children of your deliverer, to uſurp and reign "over you. This *Abimelech* is the very "fire in the fable I have told you."

Upon theſe words he withdrew, and was forced, for three years after, to lie ſkulking up and down the mountains, and keep out of the way of *Abimelech*'s rage and revenge. The *Sichemites* came however, in a ſhort time, to be ſenſible of the wickedneſs of that horrid barbarity upon the ſons of *Gideon*, and ſo forced *Abimelech* out of the city and tribe; who, upon this indignity, ſet his wits at work how to be even with them again.

The ſeaſon of the vintage was now at hand, and the people durſt not venture out of town to gather grapes, for fear of ſome ſurprize or affront from *Abimelech*. There came to *Sichem*, juſt at that time, a certain prince of the country, whoſe name was *Gaal*, with a band of ſoldiers, and ſeveral of his relations. The townſmen petitioned him for a guard, only to ſecure them, during the time of the vintage, and he allowed it them. They entered upon the work, and brought off their grapes at firſt, without interruption, laſhing out againſt *Abimelech* the bittereſt things that could be thought of, and cutting off ſeveral of his men who fell into their ambuſhes.

While matters were in this ſtate, *Zebul*, one of the chief of the *Sichemites*, and *Abimelech's* hoſt, gave him intelligence how buſy *Gaal* was to irritate the people againſt him; "but," ſays he, "if you can but diſ-" poſe of an ambuſh in ſome convenient "place near the city, I will undertake to "put *Gaal* into your power to requite him "as he deſerves; and, when all this is "done, I will become anſwerable to ſettle "a fair underſtanding betwixt you and the "people."

Abimelech followed *Zebul's* advice, and planted his ambuſh. *Gaal* unwarily ſtaying longer in the ſuburbs with *Zebul* than he ſhould have done, and ſome of *Abimelech's* troops being within ſight of the town, *Gaal* called out to *Zebul* that the enemy was there upon their march. "No, no," ſays *Zebul*, "that is only the ſhadow of the mountain." "Well, but I tell yon again," ſays *Gaal*, upon their coming nearer, "that they are "bands of men, and not ſhadows." "Nay," ſays *Zebul* again, "and if it be as you ſay, "how comes it that you, who will have "*Abimelech* to be a coward, do not now "prove yourſelf to be the braver man of "the two, and go out and fight him?" *Gaal* preſently advanced toward the enemy, though in ſome little diſorder, and received the firſt ſhock; but finding himſelf too weak, and having loſt ſeveral of his men, he fled into the town.

Zebul laid hold of this occaſion to calumniate *Gaal* with cowardice, and ſo got him expelled the city. *Abimelech*, in the mean time, being informed from very good hands, that the *Sichemites* would yet go on with the gathering of their vintage, had ſeveral ambuſcades in readineſs to ſurprize them. And accordingly, upon their firſt coming out, he ſent a third party of his army to take poſſeſſion of the city gates, and by that means to cut off the retreat of thoſe who were out of the town; who were ſo hard preſſed, and ſcattered up and down, that there was a very great ſlaughter made upon the purſuit; the city itſelf, in this interim, being taken upon the firſt aſſault, levelled with the earth, and ſowed with ſalt, as the laſt inſult of a triumphing enemy.

Thus was the end of this miſerable place and people. There were yet remaining conſiderable numbers of ſtragglers and fugitives, who had hitherto eſcaped the edge of the ſword, and theſe gathered themſelves into a body, flying to a rock for ſanctuary. The place was naturally ſtrong, and they ordered the running up of a wall about it, to make it impregnable. This they deſigned for a retreat of refuge; but *Abimelech* was upon them with his army, before they could fortify it, and ſurrounding it with a mighty pile of dry wood and faggots, they ſet fire to it, ſo that men, women, and children were all burnt to aſhes, without ſo much as one creature eſcaping. The calamitous fate of this wretched people would have deſerved compaſſion, if it had not been a juſt judgment upon them, for their brutal ingratitude to a perſon who had deſerved ſo highly at their hands.

It was not long after this, when he marched with his army againſt *Thebes*, where he took the out-town by aſſault, but the garriſon made their retreat into a ſtrong caſtle belonging to it; *Abimelech* puſhing the attack up to the very gates, with a reſolution either to force or ſet fire to it. As he came under the wall, a woman from above dropped a heavy piece of mill-ſtone upon his head, which ſtruck him to the ground. Upon coming a little to his ſenſes, and finding that the wound was mortal, he called for his armour-bearer, and bid him kill him immediately, that it might not be ſaid *Abimelech*

melech fell by the hand of a woman. The officer did according to his order; and upon *Abimelech*'s death, the army diſbanded, and every man went to his own home.

The government of *Iſrael*, after this, fell to *Jair*, a *Gileadite*, of the tribe of *Manaſſes*, a man every way happy, but moſt of all in the bleſſing of a numerous and a virtuous iſſue. He was the father of thirty ſons, good and brave men every one of them, and of eminent authority and reputation in their country. He lived two and twenty years in this poſt, died ancient, and was buried at *Camon*, a city in *Gilead*.

The *Hebrews* were by this time exceedingly degenerated in their manners and religion; for they had neither moral honeſty, nor a ſenſe of civil obedience, religion, law, or common juſtice left them. The *Ammonites* and the *Philiſtines* holding them in contempt upon this account, made ſuch advantage of their weakneſs, that they invaded their country with a great army, and laid it waſte; and prepared alſo to croſs the river, and make a thorough conqueſt of it on both ſides.

Theſe afflictions brought the *Iſraelites* again to their prayers and ſacrifices, which they ever made uſe of as the laſt reſort upon all their miſdoings. By theſe ſupplications and penitent addreſſes, God was prevailed upon for a grant and promiſe of mercy and relief.

The *Ammonites* being now entered with an army into the country of *Gilead*, the inhabitants put themſelves in arms, with a reſolution to oppoſe them; but, wanting a head, there was one *Jephtha* propoſed, a perſon in high eſteem for conduct and valour, both upon his father's account and his own; for he had at that time a conſiderable army of his own which he kept in pay. They applied themſelves to him by an humble deſire that he would be pleaſed to join forces with them, and accept of a commiſſion from them, as general for his life, of the whole army.

Jephtha ſeemed unwilling at firſt, and ſtruck with admiration, that they ſhould come to him for help now, when they were in diſtreſs, who had formerly deſerted him ſo meanly, when he ſtood in need of them, and was withal ſo manifeſtly wronged by his brothers. "I was," ſays he, "the ſon of a ſtrange woman, you told me, that came into the family you knew not how, and you would have nothing to do with me. Upon this pretence was I driven out from among you, and forced into the land of *Gilead*, where I have continued ever ſince, liſting all people who offered themſelves to my ſervice, and in ſuch condition as you now find me."

The *Iſraelites* apologized for their behaviour, ſtill preſſing him with further importunities and profeſſions, until he was wrought upon to eſpouſe their cauſe, and to take charge of the army, upon their oaths of fidelity to him as their general.

Upon this agreement, the two bodies were immediately incorporated, and when *Jephtha* had given the neceſſary orders for what was firſt to be done, he marched away with the army to *Miſpeh*, from whence he ſent an expoſtulatory embaſſy to the King of the *Ammonites*, taxing him with an unjuſt invaſion of his country. The anſwer was only a retort of the ſame charge upon the *Iſraelites*, who, coming out of *Ægypt*, took poſſeſſion, by force of arms, of the land and territories of other people; and therefore warned them to depart out of the country of the *Ammonites*, as belonging to them in the right of their fathers. *Jephtha* replied, that inſtead of charging the *Iſraelites* with taking away *Amorrhæa* from them, they ſhould rather have acknowledged the obligation of giving them *Ammon*, and *Moſes* might have had that too: But the laſt reſult was this, that as for the lands which they had been now three hundred years poſſeſſed of, they would not part with them, but, by God's aſſiſtance, defend them with their ſwords. This peremptory declaration put a ſhort end to the the treaty, and the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed.

The matter reſted here, and the controverſy was to be decided by arms. *Jephtha* made a vow *, that if ever he returned alive and victorious from the battle, he would offer up to God in ſacrifice, the firſt living creature he ſhould meet with after he came home again. The preparations went on, and he fought the enemy, gave them a total overthrow, and routed them to the city of *Maniath*, forcing his paſſage alſo into the country of *Ammon*, where he laid ſeveral cities waſte, and gave the ſoldiers the ſpoil. This glorious action ſet the people at liberty, after a ſlaviſh ſervitude of full eighteen years.

Jephtha acquitted himſelf in this war with great honour; and on his return home, the firſt living creature he ſet his eyes upon was his only virgin daughter, juſt coming out of the door, big with joy, to receive and bid him welcome. This encounter greatly troubled him, and exceedingly diminiſhed the glory of his ſucceſs. He told her the ſtory of the vow, by which he had obliged himſelf, upon ſuch terms, to offer her to God as a ſacrifice. Not at all dejected at the tidings, ſhe told her father, with a generous conſtancy, That ſhe ſhould never think much to part with her life, upon the condition of ſecuring her father's honour and ſucceſs, and the liberty of her country; only ſhe begged two months time firſt, for a parting lamentation with her companions, and after that he might be pleaſed to perform his vow. Her requeſt was granted, and at the end of the two months, this innocent devotee was made a ſacrifice, without reverence to religion, law, or common fame; ſo far was *Jephtha* tranſported with a blind zeal into a contempt of all other conſiderations.

After *Jephtha*'s victory over the *Ammonites*, and the ſettling of the people in a ſtate of peace and freedom, the envious *Ephraimites* ſtarted a freſh cauſe of quarrel. Why ſhould he engage in ſuch an expedition without them, they cried, but only out of an ambitious, covetous deſign, of engroſſing the honour and profit of the adventure wholly to himſelf, without allowing them any ſhare or part in it? *Jephtha* made anſwer, That they knew very well their allies were oppreſſed; nay, and that they themſelves were ſollicited to come to their aſſiſtance, but never came; though men of honour, in ſuch a caſe, would not have ſtaid for an invitation. And then he charged them farther with a moſt ſcandalous piece of injuſtice, for men who durſt not look the common enemy in the face, now when the work was done without them, to fall ſo inſolently foul upon their friends: Concluding with a menace, that if they went on with clamour and outrage, he would make them ſmart for it.. Finding words alone inſufficient to bring them to reaſon, he betook himſelf to the more convincing argument of a powerful army, with which he advanced toward the enemy's main body, took poſſeſſion of all the forts and paſſes upon the river *Jordan*; and, in ſhort, followed the purſuit ſo hard, that, betwixt the battle and the chace, they cut them off near two and twenty thouſand men.

Jephtha, after theſe exploits, departed this life in the ſeventh year of his government, and was buried at *Sebeth*, the place of his nativity, in the land of *Gilead*. *Abſan*, of the city of *Bethlem*, in the tribe of *Judah*, ſucceeded him, and ruled for the ſpace of ſeven years, without doing any thing worth ſpeaking of. He had ninety children, ſixty males, and the reſt daughters, which he left all living and married. He died ancient, and was buried in his own country. *Elon*, of the tribe of *Zebulon*, had the government for ten years after him, and yet nothing memorable happened in his reign. *Abdon* *, the ſon of *Heliel*, ſucceeded *Elon*, of the tribe of *Ephraim*, and native of the city of *Pharathon*; a man of a numerous iſſue, and as little remarkable for any thing elſe. The times, indeed, being peaceable, gave him little or no occaſion for the exerciſe of his bravery and courage. He had forty ſons, and thirty grand-children, all excellent horſemen, and theſe ſeventy were his conſtant guard. He died far in years, and was buried at *Pharathon*, with great magnificence and ſtate.

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* *Joſephus* juſtly condemns *Jephtha*, as do the apoſtolical conſtitutions, vii. 37. for his raſh vow; whether it were for ſacrificing his daughter, as *Joſephus* thought, or for dedicating her, who was his only child, to perpetual virginity, at the tabernacle, or elſewhere, which I rather ſuppoſe. If he had vowed her for a ſacrifice, ſhe ought to have been redeemed, *Levit.* xxvii. 1---8. but of the ſenſe of *v.* 28, 29. as relating not to things vowed to God, but devoted to deſtruction.

N. B. It here deſerves highly to be remarked, that in the apoſtolical conſtitutions, vii. 37. we have it diſtinctly obſerved, among the many prayers of good men that were heard of God, that the ſacrifices and prayers of *Gideon*, both at the rock and the fleeces, were accepted only before his ſin; of *Sampſon*. in his thirſt before his tranſgreſſion; of *Jephtha*, in the war, before his raſh vow; of *Manaſſeh* in the land of the *Chaldeans*, after his tranſgreſſion was repented of; but not otherwiſe: which facts are all true in the old teſtament hiſtory.

CHAP. VII.

The Birth of Sampſon. *His Amours and Encounters.*

AFTER the deceaſe of *Abdon*, the *Philiſtines* had the better of the *Iſraelites*, and kept them tributaries for forty years; but, in the end they were ſet at liberty by *Manoah*, of the tribe of *Dan*, and the firſt man of credit and quality in his country. This *Manoah* had for his wife a lovely woman; but, to his unſpeakable affliction, he had no children by her. In this uneaſineſs, he frequently took his wife to a country-houſe, where he[†] ſpent much time in prayers to Almighty God, for the bleſſing of children. He was paſſionate to the higheſt degree, and in proportion jealous of her.

As the woman was there alone once, there appeared an Angel to her in the reſemblance of a tall young man, who told her, that God, in his providence, would give her a male-child, who ſhould come in time to be a man of a very graceful preſence, and a prodigious ſtrength; and one that ſhould take down the pride and ſtomach of the *Philiſtines*; charging her in the name of God to let his hair grow uncut, and to ſee that he drank nothing but water.

Upon her huſband's coming in, ſhe told him of this apparition of the Angel, wonderfully enlarging upon the comely ſtature, and lovelineſs of the ſhape it appeared in; inſomuch that the huſband grew jealous of ſome unwarrantable love under that pretence. The poor woman was at her wit's end how to cure him of this unreaſonable ſuſpicion, and, in the anguiſh of her ſoul, made it her ſupplication to Almighty God to ſend his Angel yet once again, and in ſuch a manner, that her huſband might be convinced of the authority of the revelation, as well as herſelf.

Upon this prayer of hers, the Angel, a while after, preſented himſelf a ſecond time to the woman alone, in the ſame place as before; who, immediately upon the appearance, beſought the Angel's patience till ſhe might fetch her huſband. Her requeſt was granted, and ſo *Manoah* was called and came; and ſuch was the force of his jealouſy, that though he actually ſaw the Angel, he would hardly be brought to believe his own eyes; preſſing to have the ſame thing ſaid to them over again, that had been ſpoken to his wife. "Let it ſuffice, ſays the "Angel, that it is known to your wife." *Manoah* then deſired him to declare who he was; to the end, that when God ſhould ſend him a child, he might know who to thank for't, and where to pay his acknowledgements for the bleſſing. The Angel told him, "That he had no need of re-"wards, neither did he expect any for his "news." "Why then, ſays *Manoah*, be "pleaſed to accept of an hoſpitable, homely "treat." The Angel declined it at firſt; but by prayer and importunity he was over-perſuaded to ſtay till ſomewhat might be provided. *Manoah* immediately killed a kid, and gave it to his wife to dreſs; and when every thing was ready, the Angel commanded the bread and the fleſh to be laid looſe upon a Rock there, without diſhes. This being done, he touched the fleſh with a rod he had, and preſently there ſtarted a fire from it that devoured fleſh, bread and all; and as the ſmoke mounted, the Angel was ſeen to be wafted up to Heaven in the vehicle of that cloud. *Manoah* lay under a ſuperſtitious dread of ſome great miſchief that might betide them, upon this viſion; but his wife kept up his heart by a confident aſſurance that it would turn to their comfort, and prove the greateſt bleſſing imaginable to them both in the concluſion. She found herſelf ſoon after to be big, and from that time forward kept punctually in her mind the orders the Angel had given her.

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* The number of the years of *Abdon*'s government, which, in the other copies are eight, are here wanting in all our preſent copies of *Joſephus*, in the ſame manner as was *Tola*'s entire government; nor is there any room to doubt but this is an omiſſion of the Scribes.

[†] I can diſcover no reaſon why *Manoah* and his wife came ſo conſtantly into theſe ſuburbs, to pray for children, but becauſe there was a ſynagogue or place of devotion there.

The child ſhe went with proved to be a ſon, and they gave him the name of *Sampſon*, that is to ſay, *Robuſt*. He improved every day wonderfully as he grew up, in the advantages both of his body and mind; inſomuch, that betwixt the dignity of his looſe flowing hair, and the ſobriety of his way of living, in the government of his appetite, he ſeemed to have ſomewhat in him that was more than human.

On a ſolemn feſtival day in *Timnah*, a city belonging to the *Philiſtines*, being there with his parents upon that occaſion, he fell in love with a damſel of the country, and was very earneſt with his father to procure her for him in marriage. His parents told him that it was againſt the rules of their religion to marry with ſtrangers; and that there was choice enough of matches among the *Hebrew* women, that were fitter for him. But the will and humour of the ſon prevailed over the reaſon and authority of the father, and the love proceeded to a contract. It was *Sampſon*'s fortune, as he was once upon the way on a viſit to his miſtreſs, to encounter a Lion directly in his paſſage: He never ſhrunk, but advanced up to the very throat of him; and, unarmed as he was, with his naked hands ſtrangled the Lion, and caſt the body into a thicket by the way ſide. As he was upon the ſame journey ſome few days after, and upon the ſame errand, he ſtepped into the wood to look at the carcaſs of the Lion, and there he found a ſwarm of bees, working their wax and honey in the breaſt of him. He took out three honey-combs, and with ſome curioſities that he had gotten together, made a preſent of them to his bride elect. The nuptials being now to be ſolemnized, his wife's relations, and the people of the place that were invited, aſſigned him thirty of their ſtouteſt young fellows to wait upon him, as an inſtance, in pretence, of the great honour and reſpect they had for him; but in truth as ſo many ſpies and guards upon him, in caſe he ſhould be troubleſome in his cups, being a man of unruly and incredible ſtrength. As the gueſts grew warm and chearful, paſſing from one merriment to another, *Sampſon* told the company that he had a riddle to propound; and if any of them ſhould reſolve it in ſeven days, he would be bound to give every man a ſhirt and a coat, as a reſpect and a reward; ſo that they ſhould have both honour and profit. They accepted the propoſal by conſent, through the thoughts of reward and appearing wiſe, and bad him put the queſtion. "Why then," ſays he, "the parable is " this: [Out of the Eater came forth meat, " and out of the ſtrong came forth ſweet- " neſs.]" The *Philiſtines* laid their heads together about it for three days, and were never the nearer; they fell to work at laſt, by fair means and by foul, upon the new bride, to draw the ſecret from her huſband; threatening to burn her unleſs ſhe obtained and made a full diſcovery of the ſecret. *Sampſon* ſtood off ſome time, but in the end, betwixt tears, importunities and reproaches, (for ſhe imputed his refuſal to his want of love) he was prevailed upon to give her the whole ſtory of his killing the Lion, and of the honey-combs he brought her; and ſo expounded the riddle, without ſo much as dreaming of any myſtery or intrigue: Yet whatever he told her, ſhe told it again to the *Philiſtines.* The ſeventh day was now come, which was the preciſe term appointed for the ſolution of this difficulty; ſo that the *Philiſtines* met before ſunſet, and told *Sampſon* by way of anſwer to his queſtion, that " nothing is ſtronger than a lion, or ſweet- " er than honey. "No," ſays *Sampſon*, " nor falſer than the woman that has given " you the key to this cypher." This did not hinder *Sampſon* yet from making good what he had promiſed, for he ſtripped thirty men of *Aſkalon*, (which are reckoned among the *Philiſtines*) and made payment of the ſhirts and coats he had undertaken for. He caſt off his wife upon't; and ſhe, in ſpite, married his friend that ſollicited the match, which *Sampſon* took for ſo unpardonable an affront, that he determined a revenge, not only upon the woman, but upon the whole nation for it. It was now towards harveſt time, and the corn being ripe upon the ground, *Sampſon* got three hundred Foxes, and tying them tail to tail, with firebrands between them, turned them looſe into the fields of the *Philiſtines.* In the hurry of this fright they carried the fire from place to place, all over the grounds, and wherever they came they deſtroyed all the fruits of the earth. When the *Philiſtines* came to underſtand that it was *Sampſon*'s doing, and what it was provoked him to it, they ſent the princes of the country to *Thama*, who took up the wife of *Sampſon*, and all her relations, and burnt them alive as the authors of this calamity.

Sampſon made ſeveral bloody inroads into the land of the *Philiſtines*, and took up his habitation at *Etam*, a rock of great ſtrength, and in the tribe of *Judah*; againſt which tribe the *Philiſtines* were now upon the point of declaring war. The people pleaded for themſelves, that they lived quietly, and paid their taxes, and they hoped they ſhould not be puniſhed for *Sampſon*'s fault; but it was retorted upon them, that nothing could diſcharge them of *Sampſon*'s guilt but the delivering up of his perſon. They were ſo much concerned to clear themſelves of this ſuſpicion, that they drew together three thouſand armed men, and marched to the place of his retreat; where they entered into expoſtulations with his people, what a miſchief *Sampſon*'s violence had drawn upon the *Hebrews*, in ſtirring up an enemy againſt them that might bring ruin, perhaps, upon the whole race. Their coming, they ſaid, was only to take poſſeſſion of his perſon, and give him up to the *Philiſtines*, which they deſired him to ſubmit to, both for their ſakes and his, as his own voluntary act. Upon this overture *Sampſon* came down from the rock, and upon their ſolemn oath that they would do him no farther hurt, than barely to deliver him up into the hands of the enemy, he rendered up his perſon to his countrymen, who led him away, according to the agreement, near to a place that was formerly obſcure, but ſince made famous by a memorable exploit of *Sampſon*'s there. Not far from the enemy's camp, the people came out in troops to meet them, with ſhouts of joy and exultation, for the good fortune that had befallen them. *Sampſon* in the mean while brake his cords to pieces, and with the jaw bone of an aſs that lay there upon the ground, fell upon the *Philiſtines*, and defeated them;

killed a matter of a thouſand upon the place, and routed all the reſt. *Sampſon* was ſo tranſported upon the thought of this victory, that he had the vanity to aſſume the honour of the action to himſelf, without aſcribing the glory of it to God's power and providence, as he ought to have done. But while this arrogant and overweening humour was yet upon him, he found himſelf ſeized with a violent parching thirſt, which gave him to underſtand, that after all his ſucceſſes he was but fleſh and blood ſtill, and liable to human infirmities. The ſenſe of this diſorder brought him to the knowledge of himſelf, and to a penitent confeſſion, that the victory was God's, and that he was able to do nothing of himſelf, without the divine aſſiſtance. He begged pardon for his paſt vanity and preſumption, and caſt himſelf wholly afterwards upon God's infinite power and goodneſs, as his only dependance for deliverance out of all his diſtreſſes. His prayers were not in vain, for there guſhed immediately out of a rock near at hand, a ſtream of delicious water, to relieve him in his raging drought; which rock, from the exploit of *Sampſon*, bears the name of the *Jaw* [*], unto this very day. After this combat, *Sampſon* made nothing of the *Philiſtines*, but went publicly to *Gaza*, and took up his lodging there in a common inn. The governor of the town getting notice of it, had guards and ſpies ſet at the gates to watch him, that he ſhould not give them the ſlip; but *Sampſon* having ſome hint of the deſign, got up at midnight, and taking the gates off the hinges, carried them away upon his ſhoulders, frames, bolts, locks, and every thing that belonged to them, to mount *Hebron*, and there he left them.

Sampſon was now come by little and little to a great abatement of the reverence he formerly had for the laws of his country, and conſequently to a hankering after the laws and cuſtoms of other nations, which proved in time the foundation of his ruin. It was his hap to fall paſſionately in love with a common proſtitute of the *Philiſtines*, whoſe name was *Dalilah*; and the amour was gone ſo far, that they lived and cohabited together. The judges finding how great a power this mercenary woman had over him, made uſe of her intereſt, by flattery and corruption, toward the betraying of him. It was their buſineſs, ſome way or other, to deſtroy *Sampſon*, and the part ſhe had to play was to find out his weak ſide, and to diſcover where that invincible ſtrength of his lay. This was the ſtate and condition of affairs betwixt the *Philiſtines* and the harlot; and as there wanted neither art nor bribery on the one ſide, ſo neither was there any failing in the matter of treachery and good will on the other. For the bringing of it about, ſhe took all occaſions in his cups and dalliances, to be ſtill admiring his ſtrange activity and vigour, and nothing would ſerve her but ſhe muſt needs know where that excellency lay, which put ſuch an unaccountable difference betwixt *Sampſon* and all other men. Now *Sampſon* had as yet ſo much wit in his freaks as to put off his miſtreſs at preſent with a trick, and ſo told her, that if his hands were bound with ſeven green withs, or creepers of a vine, he would not be found of more ſtrength than other men. *Dalilah* ſaid no more, but went away preſently to the magiſtrates with the ſtory. Upon this report, there were ſoldiers ordered privately into the houſe, who, upon the firſt opportunity of finding *Sampſon* drunk and drowſy, laid hold of him, and bound him according to their inſtructions. But *Dalilah* awakened him immediately with an outcry that the *Philiſtines* were upon him. *Sampſon*, upon the very inſtant, took the alarm, and ſnapping the withs like twine threads, put himſelf in a poſture of defence. There followed a heavy ſquabble betwixt *Dalilah* and *Sampſon*. If he had loved her, ſhe ſaid, he could never have denied her a thing her heart was ſet upon; but ſhe found he durſt not truſt her, and ſo fobbed her off with a tale, as if ſhe could not keep a ſecret as well as another woman. At this rate ſhe went on, putting the ſame queſtion to him over again, and as often he fooled her with a mock ſtory, as if he were tied up with a band of ſeven cords, it would do the work; but upon trial, that experiment failed likewiſe; and ſo did a third alſo, of filleting and twiſting up his locks. *Dalilah* having been now thrice impoſed upon, was not at all diſcouraged yet, but, betwixt ſpite and wilfulneſs, preſſed him ſo hard with freſh charms and importunities, that he was now brought to the fatal neceſſity of yielding up what he could hold no longer. "That God," ſays he, "who gave me my being, hath been "pleaſed, in his goodneſs, to take me into "his particular care, and to give me in ſpecial charge not to ſuffer my hair to be "cut, for that in the preſervation of that "hair conſiſted my ſecurity and ſtrength." Upon this diſcovery ſhe cut off his locks in his ſleep, and when he was no longer able to defend himſelf, delivered him up to his enemies, who put out his eyes, and carried him up and down in bonds, for a ſpectacle. Some conſiderable time after this, when *Sampſon*'s hair was full grown again, there was a great meeting of the princes and nobility of the *Philiſtines*; the feaſt was held in a building that had only two large pillars to ſupport the roof of it. While they were together at this feſtival, blind *Sampſon* was ſent for to make ſport for the company. Nothing went nearer his heart than the indignation of finding himſelf out of condition to be revenged of his inſolent enemies. He ſpoke to the boy, however, that led him, to let him lean againſt one of the pillars, for he was weary, he ſaid, of ſtanding. The boy did ſo; and *Sampſon*, with all his might, gave the pillar ſuch a ſhake, that he brought down the houſe upon the heads of three thouſand men, beſides himſelf, and they were all cruſhed to death under the ruins.

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[*] This fountain, called *Lehi*, or *the Jaw Bone*, is ſtill in being, as travellers aſſure us, and was known by this very name in the days of *Joſephus*; and hath been known by the ſame name in all theſe paſt ages. See *Antiq.* vii. the Annals of *Glycas*, and the Itinerary of *Antoninus*, *ap. Reland. Paleſtin. tom.* ii. *p.* 752.

This was *Sampſon*'s end, in the twentieth year of his government. He was a man of wonderful ſtrength and courage, and to his immortal honour, he employed his utmoſt force to the confuſion of his enemies. It is true, that it was his hap to be inveigled by a woman; and where is he that has not been ſo, more or leſs, that carries fleſh and blood, and human frailty, about him? To ſay nothing of his other excellent qualities, that deſerve eternal memory: His dead body was under the care of his kindred, who cauſed it to be tranſported to *Saraſa*, and there laid by his father's.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Naomi, Ruth, *and* Booz. *The Birth of* Samuel.

ELI, the high prieſt, ſucceeded *Sampſon* in the government of the *Iſraelites*, in whoſe time there happened a miſerable famine. *Abimelech*, a citizen of *Bethlehem*, in the tribe of *Judah*, fearful of the famine, took *Naomi* his wife, and two ſons, *Mallon* and *Chellion*, and ſo withdrew into the land of *Moab*, where they lived proſperouſly. Their ſons married two women of the country, *Chellion* married *Orpha*, and *Mallon* *Ruth*. Within the compaſs of ten years, *Abimelech* and his two ſons died in a ſhort time one after another. Upon their deceaſe, *Naomi*, who had now, to her inconſolable affliction, loſt thoſe dear friends and relations, for whoſe ſake ſhe was prevailed upon to quit her country, reſolved to go back again; eſpecially being informed that matters at home were now in a better ſtate than ſhe left them. Her ſons widows could not endure to think of parting with her, but preſſed her with importunities to admit them to bear her company. She wiſhed them all manner of good fortunes, and that they might be happier in their next huſbands than they had been with her ſons; but, alas! ſhe was not in a condition, ſhe ſaid, to be any way helpful to them; and for them to venture from the places of their nativity, and undertake ſuch a journey, only to conſole a wretched mother-in-law, ſhe was utterly againſt it. *Orpha* agreed to remain; but for *Ruth*'s part, come life, come death, nothing ſhould ever make her forſake her mother, ſhe ſaid: So *Naomi* went her way, and took *Ruth* along with her.

When they came to *Bethlehem*, they were received by *Booz*, a kinſman of *Abimilech*'s; the people calling *Naomi* by her name, nay, ſays *Naomi*, let it be rather *Mara*; the former in *Hebrew* ſignifying felicity; the other ſorrow. It was now harveſt time, and *Ruth*, with her mother's leave, being gone out a gleaning for ſomewhat to eat, ſhe happened into a field of *Booz*, who a while after came himſelf, and upon the ſight of this young woman, enquired more particularly of his head ſervant what he knew concerning her. So he told his maſter what he had heard from her before. *Booz* was wonderfully pleaſed with the tenderneſs of her affection for her mother-in-law, and for the memory of her dead huſband; and therefore ordered his ſervant, not only to ſuffer her to glean what ſhe could, but to let her reap, and carry away whatever ſhe had a mind to, and to ſupply her with meat and drink ſufficient, in common with his own people. *Ruth* ſaved part of the bread and proviſions they gave her, for her mother-in-law, and at night carried it to her, with her gleanings, all together; *Naomi* doing the like for *Ruth*, in what ſhe had received that day from her charitable neighbours. As they were together in the evening, *Ruth* gave her mother the whole hiſtory of what paſſed betwixt her and *Booz*; and the mother gave her to underſtand that *Booz* was her near relation; who being a conſiderable perſon, and a man of great piety, ſhe did not know but he might take his poor kindred into his care. So that *Ruth* went on ſtill, day after day, into the fields a gleaning with the maid ſervants of *Booz*, till the harveſt was over; and then, after ſome few days, when the corn was threſhed out, *Booz* took up his lodging in his own barn; which coming to *Naomi*'s knowledge, put her upon a contrivance how ſhe might bring him and *Ruth* to lie together, to the advantage of them both; Which was, that *Ruth* ſhould convey herſelf into the barn, to the feet of *Booz*, and there lie down to take her reſt. *Ruth* making a conſcience of obeying her mother, did as ſhe was commanded: But *Booz* being faſt aſleep, knew nothing at all of the matter, till waking about midnight, he found that he had gotten a companion; and calling out to know who it was, *Ruth* told him her name, and begged his permiſſion in the quality of his ſervant, that ſhe might ſtill lie at his feet. There paſſed no more words at preſent, but early in the morning, before any of the ſervants were gotten up to their work, he called to *Ruth*, and bad her take as much corn as ſhe could carry, and be gone immediately to her mother with it, before any notice could be taken where ſhe had been that night; for, ſays he, in caſes of this nature, people cannot be too cautious, let them be never ſo innocent, "But "in one word," ſays he, "before you go, "there is a perſon nearer to you in blood "than myſelf. My advice is, that you de-"mand him for your huſband: If he agrees "to it, you are bound to follow him; if he "refuſes, I can lawfully take you to wife "myſelf." With this ſhort word of comfort *Ruth* returned to her mother, who, upon hearing the ſtory, bleſſed the providence of finding her affairs in ſo good hands.

About the noon-time of the day, *Booz* was back again at the city, where he called a court, and ſummoned *Ruth* and her kinſman to make their appearance. "Well," ſays *Booz* to the kinſman, "if I am not miſtaken, you are at preſent poſſeſſed of the eſtate of *Abimelech* and his ſons." I am ſo, ſays the other, and the law has put me in poſſeſſion of it by virtue of a right I have to it by nearneſs of blood. Pray, ſays *Booz*, do not talk of law by halves; but whether it be for you, or againſt you, take your lot in the one part as well as in the other. Here ſtands before you the widow of *Mallon*, and you are bound by the law to marry the woman, or to quit the inheritance. The kinſman excuſed himſelf from marrying her, by ſaying that he had a wife and children of his own already; and ſo, by a public declaration in court, rendered both the one and the other to *Booz*, he being then next a-kin to the deceaſed. *Booz* had this declaration recorded, and then commanded the woman to looſen her kinſman's ſhoe, and ſpit in his face, agreeable to a formality of law. This being done, he took *Ruth* for his wife, and within the compaſs of a year ſhe brought him a ſon, which he committed to the care of *Naomi*, and by advice of the woman called him *Obed*, which in *Hebrew* is as much as *Service*, or *Aſſiſtance*; applying the name to the aſſiſtance they expected from him to *Naomi* in her old age. From *Obed* came *Jeſſe*, and *Jeſſe* was the father of King *David*, in whoſe family the government continued for one and twenty generations. I have been the more particular in this hiſtory of *Ruth*, to ſet forth the power and diſpenſations of God in his providence, that brings the greateſt things to paſs, even by the meaneſt inſtruments; advancing to the throne, many times, men of the loweſt condition, acording to his good pleaſure: This we find verified abundantly in the genealogy of *David*.

Matters at this time went very ill with the *Hebrews*, having engaged themſelves afreſh in a war with the *Philiſtines*. *Eli*, the high prieſt had two ſons, *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, who were libertines to the higheſt degree, in contempt of religion and common juſtice: The ordinary way of gratuities and honorary preſents, would not ſatisfy, unleſs every thing were extorted from them by violence and rapine. They made it their buſineſs to debauch women, even at their devotions, and to corrupt them by bribes and flattery at the very altar; and all this with an inſolence equal to any tyranny that ever was heard of. The profligate wickedneſs of theſe licentious men went to the very ſoul of their father, by reaſon of the daily dread and apprehenſion he lived in, of ſome terrible judgment that would befal them. But when it came ſoon after to be revealed by God to the Father, and to the Prophet *Samuel*, who was at that time but a child, what would be the wretched fate of theſe men; *Eli* gave them quite over, and mourned for them as already loſt, or dead: But for order ſake, I ſhall firſt ſpeak a word of the prophet, and paſs afterward to the wretched end of theſe lewd young men, and ſo to the true cauſe of the miſeries that befel the *Hebrews*.

Elkanah, a *Levite*, and an inhabitant of *Ramath*, in the lot of *Ephraim*, had two wives, *Hannah* and *Phenannah*: By the latter he had children, but by the former, for a good while, none at all: But this diſappointment however did not leſſen his affections to her. Coming one day with his family to *Shiloh* to worſhip, the holy Tabernacle being there, *Elkanah* made a diſtribution of part of his own portion and proviſion to his wives and children; *Phenannah* and her little ones feeding together. This ſight made ſuch an impreſſion upon *Hannah*, that ſhe looked upon it as a tacit reproach of her barrenneſs, and upon that thought, betwixt grief and envy, burſt out a weeping. Her huſband and friends did what they could to comfort her; but ſhe rejected all, and in that paſſion went away directly to the Tabernacle, where ſhe beſought God, with earneſt ſupplications, to grant her the comfort of a ſon, vowing, with a moſt religious ſolemnity, to dedicate him wholly, and in a moſt peculiar manner, to his worſhip and ſervice. The length and earneſtneſs of her prayers gave *Eli*, who was then ſitting before the Tabernacle, an occaſion to ſuſpect ſhe was in drink; inſomuch that he called out to that drunken woman to be gone. She made anſwer, that ſhe drank nothing but water, only her heart was heavy for want of children; and that ſhe was now imploring God in his mercy to make her a mother. *Eli* bad her ſet her mind at reſt then, for God would ſend her children. Upon this encouragement ſhe went back chearfully to her huſband; fell to her meat again, with a better appetite, and returned with him into the country, where, after a while, ſhe conceived, and in due time brought forth a ſon, whom they called *Samuel*; that is to ſay, *Aſked of God*. The parents returning to *Shiloh*, to offer up ſacrifice, and pay their tenths, according to cuſtom, and to give God thanks for the bleſſing of a ſon, the woman was not unmindful of her vow, but delivered the child up to *Eli*, and dedicated him to God. They let his hair grow; his drink was altogether water, and his ſtation about the Temple, where he officiated, and was in time to become a prophet. *Hannah*, after this, brought *Elkanah* other ſons, and three daughters.

When *Samuel* was juſt entered into the thirteenth year of his age, he began to propheſy; and as he lay aſleep one night, God called him by name. He took it for *Eli*'s voice, and ſo went to know his pleaſure; but *Eli* had not called him, he ſaid; and ſo he told him over and over again, upon a ſecond and a third call after the ſame manner: But *Eli* finding at laſt where the miſtake lay, told him that it was God that called him; wherefore, my ſon, ſays *Eli*, whenever thou heareſt the voice again, let this be thy anſwer: "Here Iam, Lord; ſpeak, for thy ſervant heareth, and is ready to obey thee." The words that *Eli* put into his mouth *Samuel* made uſe of at the next call, and the voice then went forward, ſaying, "Since thou art here at hand, I will now give thee to know, that the *Iſraelites* are at this inſtant upon the brink of ſo dreadful a calamity, as is not to be expreſſed, or believed, and hardly to be conceived. The two ſons of *Eli* ſhall be cut off in a day; the high prieſthood taken away for ever, from himſelf and his family, and transferred to *Eleazar*; for *Eli* (ſays the voice) hath had more regard to his ſons than to my worſhip, though to the common deſtruction of them all." *Samuel* was not willing to be the reporter of theſe diſmal tidings to *Eli* and his family; but being adjured by the high-prieſt to give him a faithful account of of the whole revelation, he delivered it in order from point to point, and left the old man no room to doubt of the inevitable deſtruction of his ſons. *Samuel*'s reputation encreaſed daily, for a [*] prophet that never failed.

At this time the *Philiſtines* marched with an army againſt the *Iſraelites*, and encamped in *Ampheck*; but meeting there with no oppoſition, they advanced farther, and came ſoon after to battle, wherein the *Hebrews* were routed; and having loſt 4000 upon the place, the remainder fled, and were purſued to their very tents. This blow ſtruck the *Hebrews* with ſo mortal a dread, that they gave up all as loſt, and ſent immediately to the high-prieſt, and the elders, to cauſe the Ark of God to be brought into the army, that by its preſence they might obtain a victory; little dreaming that they were doomed to deſtruction by a higher power than that of the Ark; nay, by that divine Original, for whoſe ſake alone the Ark itſelf was had in veneration. The Ark however was brought into the field, the ſons of the high-prieſt attending it, with a charge, that if it ſhould happen to be loſt they ſhould never look their father in the face again. *Phinehas* aſſiſted only as the old man's deputy, who was far gone in years, and out of condition for that ſervice.

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[*] Although there had been a few occaſional prophets before, yet was this *Samuel* the firſt of a conſtant ſucceſſion of prophets in the *Jewiſh* nation; as is implied in St. *Peter*'s words, *Acts* iii. 24. "Yea, and all the prophets from *Samuel*, and thoſe that follow after, as many as have ſpoken, have likewiſe foretold of theſe Days." See alſo *Acts* xiii. 20. The other were rather ſometimes called righteous men. See *Matt.* x. 41. xiii. 17. Conſtitut. VIII. 12. *Herm. Simil.* IX. 15.

The preſence of the ark inſpired the *Hebrews* with new courage, as if the very appearance of it brought victory along with it, while the other ſide looked upon it as a foreboding of their ruin; but upon the event, they both found themſelves miſtaken; for the hopes of the one were diſappointed, and ſo were the fears of the other, if an error to their advantage may be called a diſappointment. In ſhort the *Hebrews* turned their backs upon the firſt encounter, loſt thirty thouſand upon the ſpot; the two ſons of *Eli* fell in the number, and the ark itſelf remained in the poſſeſſion of the enemy.

The ſad news of this overthrow, and the taking of the ark, being brought to *Shiloh* by a young *Benjamite*, that made his eſcape out of the battle, filled the city with mournful cries and lamentations, which coming to the ear of the high-prieſt, as he ſat mounted upon a high chair at one of the gates, gave him reaſonably to preſume that ſome miſerable diſaſter had befallen the army. He called for the young man to ſpeak with him, from whom he underſtood the particulars, and the event of the battle. As for the loſs of men, and for the death of his ſons, he ſupported that part of the ſtory with conſtancy enough, being, in truth, prepared for it by a revelation, which gave him foreknowledge of ſo much of the calamity, and he bore it the better, in regard that it was no ſurprize to him: But when he came to the circumſtance of the ark being taken, the ſtroke was ſo unexpected, that he ſunk under the weight of it, dropped down from his ſeat, and gave up the ghoſt, in the ninety-eighth year of his age, and the fortieth of his government. The wife of *Phinehas*, that was ſeven months gone with child, fell in labour upon the news of her huſband's death, and died the ſame day; but the child lived, and was called *Ichabod*, (that is to ſay, *Shame* and *Ignominy*), pointing at the diſgrace of that defeat.

Eli was the firſt of the family of *Ithamar*, (another of the ſons of *Aaron*,) that exerciſed the function of high-prieſt; for till then it paſſed from father to ſon, in the line of *Eleazar*, who left it to *Phinehas*, and he to his ſon *Abiezer*: from him it went to his ſon *Bocejas*, and thence to his ſon *Ozis*, whence afterwards to *Eli*, of whom we are now ſpeaking; and in his family it continued till the reign of king *Solomon*; after which it returned again to the houſe of *Eleazar*.

JEWISH

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK VI.

From the Year of the World 2850, to 2890.

CHAP. I.

The taking of the Ark. Dagon *falls down before it. The plagues that attended it.*

AFTER the rout of the *Hebrews*, and the taking of the ark, the *Philiſtines* carried it to *Azotus* in triumph, and there lodged it among other trophies, in the temple of their god *Dagon*. Upon coming thither next day to their morning-devotions; there was *Dagon* tumbled down from his pedeſtal, and lying flat upon the ground before the ark. This accident put them into a ſuperſtitious confuſion; however they reinſtated him in his former place: And ſtill as often as they ſet him right one day, they were ſure to find him proſtrate upon the floor, and in a poſture of adoring the ark, next time they came, which ran in the people's heads, as the worſt of omens. The city and province of *Azotus*, not long after, was viſited with a moſt judicial plague of the guts, which rotted them alive, and carried them off by a violent dyſentery, with vomitings and torments not to be expreſſed. They had another plague in the fields too; that is to ſay, ſuch ſwarms of mice *, that they laid all waſte, wherever they came; plants, fruit, corn, and, in ſhort, nothing eſcaped them. While the people of *Azotus* lay groaning under theſe afflictions, without any hope or proſpect of eaſe or remedy, they came to underſtand, that theſe peſtilences had befallen them for their ſacrilegious violence upon the ark; and that, at this rate, they had paid dear for the victory. They ſent a meſſenger, by general deſire, with a requeſt to the people of *Aſcalon*, that they would be pleaſed to take the ark into their city, who moſt thankfully admitted it. In a ſhort time they found that the judgment went along with the ark; for the very plagues of *Azotus* were now tranſported to *Aſcalon*, where it did not long remain, but was ſent away from place to place, till it had travelled through five of the *Philiſtines* cities, conveying, wherever it went, the ſame calamities, with ſuch a mortality, as if divine juſtice had impoſed a tribute upon the violators of God's holy worſhip. The ark was carried, in fine, ſo long, and ſo far, that people were grown ſhy of it; therefore it was now the queſtion how to get quit of it entirely.

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* *Spanheim* informs us here, that upon the coins of *Tenedos*, and thoſe of other cities, a field mouſe is engraven, together with *Apollo Swintheus*, or *Apollo the driver away of field mice*, on account of his being ſuppoſed to have freed certain tracts of ground from thoſe mice. Which coins ſhew how great a judgment ſuch mice have ſometimes been; and how the deliverance from them was then eſteemed the effect of a divine power. Which obſervations are highly ſuitable to this hiſtory.

To this end, a council was called of the principal men of the five cities; that is to ſay, of *Gath*, *Ekron*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, and *Aſhdod*, to adviſe what meaſures to take upon this occaſion. Some were of opinion at firſt, for ſending the ark back again to the owners of it; for the God, they ſaw, that had it under his care, would vindicate it, having already, upon that account, deſtroyed their people with peſtilential diſeaſes, and laid ſeveral of their cities deſolate. There were ſome again, that would not allow the ark to be a thing of moment enough to make all this buſtle about. "If "God," they cried, "had ſuch kindneſs "for it, why did he ſuffer the enemy to take "it, and an enemy of another religion too?" So that this party was abſolutely againſt the ſending of it home again, adviſing them rather to bear the common chances of human life with courage and patience; to conſider, like wiſe men, that there was nothing in all this, but according to the courſe of nature, that has a power over men's bodies, plants, ſeaſons, and the like, to do greater wonders than any thing here amounted to. There remained yet another ſort, and men of gravity and experience too, that adviſed a middle courſe betwixt either ſending it home or detaining it; and this expedient carried it from the former, as being more congruous to the preſent humour and affair. The propoſal was this, that there ſhould be made five golden images, one for each of the five cities, and dedicated to God, in acknowledgment of his goodneſs in delivering them from a plague by his almighty power, which was out of the reach of any natural remedy to relieve. They propounded alſo five golden mice, alluding to the vermin that devoured their plants; all to be put in a box, and laid upon the ark; the ark itſelf to be put into a new waggon, made expreſsly for that ſervice, and ſo to be drawn by * two milch-kine, their calves ſhut up and left behind, to keep them from lingering upon the way; this waggon, with the ark, to be conducted to the parting of three ways, and the cattle there left at liberty to go whither they pleaſed: If they took the *Hebrew* road, and went forward in it, the calamities they ſuffered might be imputed to the ark; but if they bent their courſe any other way, they might conclude there was nothing of the ark in the caſe. This advice was the ſenſe of every man there preſent, and it was ſoon after put in execution; every thing being provided according to order, and the waggon drawn out to the croſs way, where the company left it.

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* This device of the *Philiſtines*, of having a yoke of kine to draw this cart. into which they put the ark of the *Hebrews*, is greatly illuſtrated by *Sanchoniatho*'s account, under his ninth generation, that *Agrouerus*, or *Agrotes*, the huſbandman, had a much worſhipped ſtatue, and a temple carried about by one or more yoke of oxen or kine, in *Phenicia*, in the neighbourhood of theſe *Philiſtines*. See *Cumberland*'s *Sanchoniatho*, p. 27, and 247.

CHAP. II.

The joy of the Iſraelites *at the return of the Ark.*

THE beaſts being left to themſelves, ſtruck directly into the *Hebrew* way, and went forward in it as directly as if they had been led, or driven; divers *Philiſtines* following at a diſtance, out of a curioſity to ſee whither they would go, and where they would take up. They went travelling on till they came to *Bethſhemeth*, a village in the tribe of *Judah*, and there they ſtopt, notwithſtanding the temptation of a large plain in ſight to invite them further. It was now ſummer harveſt, and the people all buſy about their corn; but upon this occaſion there came great multitudes thronging in, ſome from their work, others from their houſes in the village, to ſee the ark, and overjoyed they were at the occaſion. Upon coming to the waggon, they took down the ark and the box, with the images and mice in it, and ſet them down upon a great ſtone that was there in the field. After this they ſacrificed and feaſted, preſenting both the waggon itſelf, and the beaſts that drew it, to God for a burnt-offering. So ſoon as this ceremony was over, the *Philiſtines* that had followed them thus far, returned into their own country. Upon this occaſion ſeveral of the *Bethſhemites*, to the number of ſeventy, fell under God's diſpleaſure for the temerity of laying prophane hands upon the ark, without the due authority and qualification of the prieſthood. This judgment caſt a terrible damp upon the ſpirits of the multitude in the middle of their rejoicings, to ſee ſo many of their friends and companions taken away from them by ſo judicial a ſtroke. By this calamity they became conſcious to themſelves of their own unworthineſs, to have the ark of God lodged under their care; ſo that they ſent meſſengers up and down to all the *Hebrews*, with advice that the *Philiſtines* had brought it back again. Upon this notice, it was forthwith tranſported to *Kiriath-Jearim*, not far from *Bethſhemeth*, in the houſe of *Aminidab*, a *Levite*, a man of great repute for religion and integrity, and therefore the fitter for the care of ſo ſacred a truſt. It was committed to the charge of himſelf, and his ſons, and with them it reſted twenty years (ſaving only the four months that it was detained by the *Philiſtines*) to the great honour of themſelves, and the ſatisfaction of the people. For the twenty years that the ark continued at *Kiriath-Jearim*, the people ſpent their whole time almoſt in prayers and ſacrifices, attendances upon God's worſhip, and the exerciſe of holy duties. *Samuel* took occaſion from this good diſpoſition of the multitude, to harangue them upon the ſubject of liberty, and the bleſſings that attend it; accommodating his diſcourſe very pertinently, both to the ſeaſon and to his buſineſs.

"Ye men of *Iſrael*, ſays he, ſince you "find by experience that the malice of your "enemies is implacable, and that your earneſt ſupplications to God for relief, are "graciouſly received; you ſhall do well to "conſider, that your wiſhing for the freedom you want will never do your buſineſs, without exerting your power and "ſtrength to the utmoſt, upon the proper "means of procuring it; for to do otherwiſe, is but praying one way and acting another. Wherefore, in the firſt "place, be careful not to bring a ſcandal "upon your profeſſion by ill manners, but "inure yourſelves to the love and practice "of juſtice, without partiality or corruption. "Purge your minds of all groſs affections; "turn to God, call upon him, and adore "him; and honour him in your lives and

" converſations, as well as with your lips. " Do good things and good will come of it; " that is to ſay, liberty and victory; for " theſe are bleſſings not to be obtained by " force of men, ſtrength of body, or bands " of ſoldiers; but God, who is truth itſelf, " hath promiſed them, as the rewards of " probity and righteouſneſs; and you may " depend upon it he will never diſappoint " you." This diſcourſe was followed with the acclamation of the whole multitude, who with one voice made a ſolemn profeſſion of their readineſs to do or ſuffer any thing that it ſhould pleaſe God to command them.

Samuel, after this, ſummoned the people to a congregation in a city called *Mizpeh*, (that is to ſay *Conſpicuous*) where they drew water, and ſacrificed, ſpending the whole day in faſting and prayer. The *Philiſtines*, in the mean time, were not without intelligence of this meeting of the *Hebrews*; and advanced toward them with a very great army, deſigning to fall upon them, while they were utterly unprepared for action, and not ſo much as dreaming of any occaſion for it. This ſurprize put them in the greateſt terror imaginable; inſomuch that they went trembling, and half dead to *Samuel* for advice what to do; telling him flat and plain, that they had neither hearts nor ſtrength to encounter an enemy by whom they had been ſo often worſted. They ſhould be glad to be quiet, they ſaid, without provoking ſo powerful an adverſary. They told him that they came thither in obedience to his order, and to offer up prayers and ſacrifices, and to enter into a military oath of fidelity; and " here are " we," they ſaid, " naked and unarmed, " at mercy, without any hope or poſſibility " of coming off, unleſs you can prevail with " God to reſcue us miraculouſly out of the " hands of the *Philiſtines*." *Samuel* bid them fear nothing, for God had promiſed them his protection and aſſiſtance, and he would moſt certainly make good his word. So *Samuel* ſacrificed a ſucking lamb to God, in the name of the people, imploring his aid againſt the power of the *Philiſtines*, in favour of the *Hebrews*, who put their whole truſt in him, and not to forſake them at preſent, in the danger of a ſecond general defeat, and probably a final ruin. God accepted of the ſacrifice, and anſwered *Samuel's* requeſt, with the comfortable aſſurance of giving the *Hebrews* an entire victory. But while the ſacrifice was yet upon the altar, and not wholly conſumed, the *Philiſtines* drew out in a body, and preſented themſelves in order of battle, in ſuch hopes and aſſurances of a victory, as if the *Jews* were already taken and ſurprized, without either arms or order, or the leaſt thought or deſign of fighting: The event however proved ſo contrary to what they expected, that if the iſſue had been foretold by an oracle, it would not have been believed.

In the firſt place, God ſhook the foundations of the earth under the feet of the *Philiſtines*, ſo that they could not ſtand without ſtaggering; elſewhere it opened and ſwallowed them up alive, and all this accompanied with ſuch dreadful claps of thunder, and flaſhes of lightening, that their very eyes and limbs were ſcorched to the degree that they could neither ſee their way before them, nor ſtand to their arms. In this conſternation they fled, in as defenceleſs a condition as if they had been ſo many naked men without their arms; *Samuel* and his people following them with a terrible ſlaughter. till they came to a place called *Chore*; and there he fixed a kind of monumental ſtone, in the nature of a trophy, for a mark of the bounds, both of the victory and of the chace, calling the place the *Strong*, in remembrance of God's powerful aſſiſtance of his people in the action. The *Philiſtines* were ſo diſmayed with this diſaſter, that betwixt the dread they had of the *Hebrews*, and the memory of what they ſuffered, they never had the courage afterwards to lift up their hands againſt them; but contented themſelves to ſit down loſers, and to keep within their bounds. The ancient courage of the *Philiſtines* was now gone over to the other ſide; and *Samuel* would not give them over, till by inroads upon them, and frequent executions, he had brought down the whole nation to the loweſt degree of deſpondency and abjection. In this courſe of ſucceſſes, he retook the country that lies betwixt *Gath* and *Ekron*, which the *Philiſtines* had formerly taken from the *Jews*. But there was peace at this time betwixt the *Hebrews* and the *Canaanites*.

CHAP. III.

Samuel *transfers the Government to his two Sons*.

WHEN *Samuel* had put the people in tolerable order, and reinſtated them in the poſſeſſion of their lands and cities, he appointed public meetings at certain times and places, for hearing of cauſes and adminiſtration of common juſtice; taking a progreſs twice a year into all thoſe towns of appeal and law buſineſs, to ſee right done; making it his principal care not to depart from the laws of his country. This was the policy and method of his management for a long time; but in the end, when old age, and the weakneſſes that attend it, had put his body out of condition for the perſonal performance of theſe publick offices, he devolved the authority and care of the whole upon his two ſons, *Joel* and *Abiah*; the former, the elder; and the other, the younger; directing them to make a diſtribution of the people in two diviſions, and the two brothers to go ſeveral circuits; the one to have his court of judicature at *Bethel*, the other at *Beerſheba*.

We may learn from hence, that ſons do not always take after their fathers, either for good or for evil; but many an excellent father has a wicked wretch to his ſon; and ſo on the contrary, a ſober, conſcientious child, may be the ſon of a graceleſs father. Theſe young men, for example, without any regard to the doctrine and practice of *Samuel*, ſteered a courſe directly contrary to the prudence and equity of his inſtitutions and meaſures. They proſtituted the ſacred name of juſtice for money, making judgment to be mercenary; and in this ſtate of corruption controverſies were decided by the value of the bribe, not the righteouſneſs of the cauſe. They were ſtill guzzling at their treats and collations, when they ſhould have been upon the bench; and ſo abandoned to their avarice and pleaſure, as if they had deliberately entered into an equal defiance of the will and commands of their God, and of their father; for *Samuel* laid nothing more to heart than the care of keeping the people in the train of a dutiful obedience to their ſuperiors, and in the knowledge and obſervance of common juſtice, one with another.

The people were ſo outrageouſly tranſported againſt the ſons of *Samuel*, to ſee ſuch havock made of ſo excellent a frame of government, both in reſpect of policy and manners, that they went preſently to the father, who was then at *Ramah*, with a grievous complaint againſt his ſons for their miſgovernment in general, and the particulars at length, of their male-adminiſtration; making it their earneſt requeſt to him, in regard of his own crazineſs of body, and the intolerable extravagancy of his ſons, that he would ſet ſome king over them, under whoſe conduct they might revenge themſelves upon the *Philiſtines*, for the injuries they had done them.

Now theſe words to *Samuel*, who was naturally a lover of juſtice, and a profeſſed enemy to tyranny, went ſo near his heart (being in his judgment alſo for an *Ariſtocracy*, as a form moſt accommodate to the well being of the people) that he could neither eat nor ſleep. While he was thus labouring under an anxiety of mind, God appeared to him in a viſion, and for his comfort bade him trouble himſelf no further with this remonſtrance of the people; for, ſays the voice, they have not caſt off you, but me, to the end that I alone ſhould not reign over them: And this is no more than the ſame over again that they began with, when they were firſt brought out of *Ægypt*: Wherefore let them go their own way; but they ſhall dearly rue it e're it be long, and abhor themſelves for their ingratitude, both to me and to my prophet; but it will be then too late, and to no purpoſe; for when the thing is once done, 'tis never to be undone. Wherefore, I will have you give them a king, and he ſhall be a king of my deſigning too; but before they go any further, tell them the miſeries they are now drawing upon their own heads. Do as I bid you; but at the ſame time let them ſee how much it goes againſt you to comply with them.

Samuel, according to his commiſſion, ſummoned an aſſembly to meet the next day, paſſing them his promiſe that he would aſſign them a king; but not without letting them know before-hand what they were to endure under that form of government. " Your new king, ſays he, ſhall take your ſons to drive his chariots, and to be his horſemen, and ſome ſhall run before his chariots; others he will make tribunes and centurions; ſome again he will ſet to till his ground, reap his harveſt, dig in his vineyards, and make him inſtruments both for war, and other purpoſes. There is nothing ſo mean or extravagant, but you ſhall be forced to do it, like ſlaves bought with his money. He will make your daughters perfumers, cooks, and paſtry ſervants, compelling them to do all that upon neceſſity, which the meaneſt of your ſlaves are frighted into for fear of correction and blows. He ſhall give away your poſſeſſions to his eunuchs and his guards, and divide your flocks and herds among his favourites: But to ſay all in a word, you and yours ſhall be as much his vaſſals as his own domeſtics. When you come to find all this to be true, remember what I foretold you. When that day comes, you ſhall beg to be quit of your king, with as much importunity as ever you did to have one. You ſhall then curſe your obſtinacy, and reflecting upon your ſins, cry to God for mercy in the anguiſh of your ſouls, and not obtain it. You ſhall then deſpair under the repulſe, and ſuffer the puniſhments of your wickedneſs in the torment of a guilty conſcience."

Theſe counſels and premonitions wrought no more upon the multitude than if they had been all deaf; and nothing would ſerve them but a King. They could not defend themſelves, they ſaid, againſt their enemies, under any other form of government; and why ſhould not they have a king as well as their neighbours? When *Samuel* found them ſo untractably wilful, he diſmiſſed them all to their own homes, with this aſſurance, that he would call them together again ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould receive direction from God what king to give them.

CHAP. IV.

Saul *declared King*. Nahaſh *beſieges* Jabeſh. Saul *relieves it*.

THERE was one *Kis*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, a man well born and bred, that had a ſon whoſe name was *Saul*; a man of a proper, goodly ſtature, and a mind anſwerable to the graces of his body. The father took much pleaſure in a breed of aſſes he had, above all his other beaſts; and ſome of them being miſſing, he ſent his ſon abroad, and one ſervant with him to look after them. When he had ſought, and enquired from one tribe to another, without any tidings of them, he put himſelf upon his way home again, for fear his father ſhould be troubled to think what was become of him. As they were upon the way near *Ramah*, the ſervant told *Saul* that there was a famous prophet lived there, and adviſed him to go and enquire of him after the aſſes. Ay, but ſays *Saul*, I have not wherewithal about me to gratify him for his pains, for the ſtock is all ſpent that I brought out with me. The ſervant told him that he himſelf had a quarter-ſicle left yet, and he thought that might be ſufficient, not underſtanding that this was none of the prophets that make a trade of diſcovering things loſt, for money. So they went forward, and meeting ſeveral damſels at the gates of the town, going out to fetch water, aſked them whereabouts the prophet lived: They ſhewed them the houſe, and told them, that if they had any buſineſs with him they would do well to make haſte, and to get to him before he went to ſupper; for he had invited a great deal of company that night, and they ſtaid only for his coming, to take his place with the reſt of his gueſts.

Samuel had been cloſe at his prayers the whole day before, for directions from God what king to ſet up; and he was anſwered, that the next day he ſhould receive his order; for there ſhould come a young man to him, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, at the ſame hour. *Samuel* ſat waiting in the houſe all this while, in expectation of this *Benjamite*, till the preciſe hour was come, and then going down to ſupper, there was *Saul* in his way, whom he knew by an immediate inſpiration to be the perſon that was deſigned for the government. *Saul* went forwards toward *Samuel*, and with a fair civility told him he was a ſtranger, and ſo deſired the favour of him to know where he might find the prophet. *Samuel*'s anſwer was, that he had found him already; and ſo taking him to ſupper, he diſcovered unto him not only that the aſſes he ſought for were all ſafe, but that he himſelf was upon the point of being advanced from that employment to the higheſt pitch of ſovereign power. "Alas! my lord," ſays *Saul*, "I have no "ſuch thing in my hope or thought, as you "do me the honour to imagine; neither "am I of a tribe or family that ſets up for "kings. It looks as if you were not in earneſt, to put a fancy in my head of a dig-"nity ſo much above my condition." The ſupper waited, and the prophet took *Saul* and placed him above the reſt of his gueſts, (who were * ſeventy in number) and his ſervant next to him, giving orders to the waiters to bring *Saul* a royal meſs. There they ſat till toward bed-time, when the company broke up, and every man went to his own home, ſaving only *Saul* and his ſervant, who ſtaid with the prophet that night.

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* It ſeems to me not improbable, that theſe ſeventy gueſts of *Samuel*, as here, and in the LXXII, with himſelf at the head of them, were a *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*; and that hereby *Samuel* intimated to *Saul*, that theſe ſeventy-one were to be his conſtant counſellors; and that he was to act not like a ſole Monarch, but with the advice and direction of the ſeventy-one members of that *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, upon all occaſions; which yet we never read that he conſulted afterward.

By break of day next morning, *Samuel* called up his gueſt, and ſet him onward of his way. When they were gotten out of the city, he deſired *Saul* to bid his ſervant go a little before, for he had ſomewhat to ſay to him in private. He did ſo; and when the prophet had him alone, he took out a glaſs of oil, and pouring it on his head, he pronounced and ſaluted him him king, telling him that this honour was done him in expectation that he ſhould protect the *Hebrews*, and do them right upon the *Philiſtines*, for the injuries that had been put upon them. "Now," ſays *Samuel*, "for the better authority of what I tell you, ſatisfy yourſelf with this token. You ſhall fall into company upon your journey, with three men going to *Bethel* to worſhip: One of them carrying three loaves, the ſecond a kid, and the third a bottle of wine: They ſhall treat you with reſpect, and give you two of their loaves, which you are to receive. You will then advance to the ſepulchre of *Rachel*, where you ſhall meet the news of your aſſes being found. After that you will go to *Gabatha*, and join yourſelf to a congregation of prophets that you ſhall find there; and by aſſiſtance of the ſpirit of God, you yourſelf ſhall propheſy in company with them, to the aſtoniſhment of all that ſhall ſee and hear you: Inſomuch, that people ſhall ſay among themſelves in admiration, how comes the ſon of *Kis* to be found among the prophets? When this comes to paſs, you may conclude for a certainty, that the hand of God is in it. You may go then to your father and your kindred; and when I ſend to you, come to me to *Gilgal*, where we may offer up our prayers to God, with ſacrifices and thankſgiving." Upon theſe words they parted, and *Saul* found every circumſtance in the journey to fall as *Samuel* had foretold him.

Upon coming back to his father's houſe, his kinſman *Abner* (for whom he had a very great kindneſs and eſteem) was mightily inquiſitive into the ſtory of his late adventure, and *Saul* very frankly told him the whole buſineſs of his going to the prophet, and how he came to hear of his aſſes again, but not one word of his elevation to the throne, for fear either of drawing an envy upon him, if it ſhould be believed, or of incurring the cenſure of a vain, whimſical man, if it ſhould be miſtruſted: So that though *Abner* was his ſingular friend, and near relation, yet conſidering that mens affections are changeable, and fleſh and blood frail, he thought it ſafer and more diſcreet to reſerve himſelf upon that point; for men will naturally caſt an evil eye upon other people's proſperity, in preference to themſelves, even where the diſtinguiſhing favour of God ſhews itſelf moſt remarkably in the bleſſing. The next thing *Samuel* had to do, was to call the people together, which he did, and they met at *Mizpah*; where, in a full congregation he deliverd himſelf to this effect:

"I am now, by the command, and in the name of God, to tell you, that it was he that delivered you out of your *Egyptian* bondage, and again and again reſcued you out of the hands of your enemies, when they had you under their feet at mercy. I am likewiſe to mind you of your contumacy and ingratitude toward that God, in return for all thoſe mercies and benefits: How you have, as much as in you lay, depoſed him from his authority over you; and rather choſen a man of your own make and frailty, than the Almighty King of Kings, for your governor; as if any ruler would do better for you than he that made you: A king that ſhall treat his ſubjects like beaſts at will and pleaſure, and uſe them only as inſtruments and miniſters of his paſſions and luſts. But well! my brethren, ſince you are unalterably determined to have it ſo; and for the ſake of an inconſiderate tranſport of levity, to caſt off all manner of reverence for the duties of honour, honeſty, and conſcience: Since this, I ſay, is your final reſolution, a king you ſhall

“ have, and therefore divide yourſelves into tribes and families, and put it then to the lot who ſhall be the man.” They did ſo, and the lot of the tribe fell upon *Benjamin.* That of the families, upon *Matri;* and in concluſion, when they came to try it man by man, the perſonal lot fell upon *Saul*, the ſon of *Kis*: Who being made privy to all this before-hand, ſlipt out of the way ſo ſoon as the choice was over, that he might not be thought ambitious of the honour. It was an inſtance of great modeſty and good government in him, that being advanced from a private ſtate to a ſovereign authority over a mighty nation, he was not vain, proud, and forward to ſhew himſelf upon the promotion, but to avoid the pomp and oſtentation of his new dignity, he ſo induſtriouſly withdrew himſelf from the eyes and acclamations of his own ſubjects, that no body knew where to find him; whereas the hundreth part of this ſurprize would have turned the brain of a man leſs temperate, with joy and oſtentation.

Upon *Saul*'s not appearing, or rather upon his not being to be found, they were all at their wits end what to do without him, and how to come at him; 'till upon the application of the prophet for further light and direction, God was pleaſed to make known the place in which *Saul* lay concealed; whereupon *Samuel* cauſed him immediately to be ſent for, and brought into the field, where he was obſerved to be taller by the head and ſhoulders than the reſt of the people, and to have ſomewhat of a natural majeſty in his very perſon.

Saul being thus produced, the prophet preſented him in manner as follows. “Behold,” ſays he “the king that God hath given you, and you may read in the excellency of his perſon how well he is qualified for this honour:” The people ſeconding this recommendation with ſhouts and acclamations of God ſave the king. *Samuel* had committed to writing the prediction of what would befal this people under a kingly government, and read it over to them in the hearing of *Saul* himſelf; depoſiting the book at laſt in the tabernacle of God, to remain as a memorial to poſterity of the truth of all he foretold.

This ſolemnity being now over, *Samuel* diſcharged the congregation, and went home himſelf to *Ramah*, and *Saul* to *Gibeah*, the place where he was born. He was attended with a train of very good men, that made their court out of a pure religion and reſpect to congratulate his acceſſion to the throne, but not without mutineers and male-contents in abundance, that out of ſpite and envy made ſport of the whole matter, behaving themſelves contemptuouſly, even toward the king himſelf, as well as his dutiful followers, and without any preſents or gratulations to his dignity.

When *Saul* had been about a month in the exerciſe of his authority, a war took place with *Nahaſh* the king of the *Ammonites*, which terminated very much to his honour. This *Nahaſh* had committed ſeveral outrages upon the *Jews* beyond *Jordan*, breaking in upthem, and deſtroying their country, not ſparing even their cities, with a numerous and powerful army; not content with making ſlaves of them, they plucked out the right eyes of all they got into their power, whether by force, or treaty; ſo that they muſt either loſe the uſe of the buckler that covered the left eye, or the benefit of ſight.

Nahaſh encouraged with his wicked ſucceſs over the people beyond *Jordan*, marched with his army on a ſimilar deſign to the country of the *Gileadites*, and afterwards to *Jabeſh*, the capital city of the province, where he encamped. From thence he ſent a ſummons to the inhabitants, either to deliver up the town, and ſubmit to the loſs of their right eyes, or otherwiſe to ſtand the utmoſt peril of fire and ſword; leaving it at their choice either to compound for a part, or to run the hazzard of the whole, life and all. The men of *Jabeſh* were in the greateſt dilemma whether to give a tame or a reſolute anſwer: But upon conſideration, they divided the buſineſs, and returned for anſwer, that they deſired only ſeven days liberty ty to ſend to their friends and allies for relief: And if none came within that time, they promiſed to render themſelves up to the enemy upon their own terms, otherwiſe to fight it out. *Nahaſh* had ſo mean an opinion of theſe people, that he made no difficulty at all of complying with their conditions.

Upon this criſis, they poſted away expreſſes to all their friends up and down for immediate ſuccour, with an account of the ſtreights they were in, under the menaces of a powerful enemy. The miſerable diſtreſs of their condition drew tears and pity wherever the meſſengers came, but not a creature had the courage to come to their relief. The people of the metropolis, where *Saul* kept his reſidence, were no leſs intimidated than thoſe of other places: But having been abroad, on his coming to town again finding the people under ſome diſmal conſternation, he enquired of the couriers that brought the news, who informed him of the ſad tidings.

While things were in this deſperate extremity, the ſpirit of God came upon *Saul*; who in the heat of this impulſe ſent ſome of the meſſengers back again to the men of *Jabeſh*, with an aſſurance, that in three days they ſhould be relieved; the enemy ſhould be beaten by break of day; that the ſun ſhould ſee them totally routed and deſtroyed; and the wretched citizens ſafe againſt any further danger. Some he diſpatched away with this meſſage; others he kept for guides, to conduct him the right way upon his march to the aſſiſtance of *Jabeſh*.

Saul being now ſtreightened in time, and the people unwilling to follow him to battle, bethought himſelf of an invention how he might both quicken and encourage them; as in ſome caſes men will do more for fear of loſs, than real love of virtue: He firſt cut off the legs of his own oxen, and then publiſhed a declaration, that whoever ſhould fail of appearing the next day in arms at the river *Jordan*, in order to follow him and *Samuel*, whereſoever they ſhould lead them, he ſhould have his oxen ſerved after the ſame manner. This ſucceeded ſo well, that for fear of incurring the penalty, there were aſſembled together at the preciſe time, a body of ſeven hundred thouſand fighting men, as appeared upon a review near the city of *Balam*, where they had their rendezvous, excluſive of ſeventy thouſand men more, of the tribe of *Judah*. With this army they paſſed the *Jordan*, and after a march of about ten ſchœni that night, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the ground that *Saul* had pitched upon, before ſun-riſe next morning. From this place they broke in upon the enemy, front, flank and rear, in three diviſions, by a moſt unexpected ſurprize, cutting them down on all hands with a dreadful ſlaughter. The *Ammonites* were totally routed, their king *Nahaſh*, among others, ſlain in the battle, and the *Hebrews* remained maſters of the field, with an entire victory. This glorious action gave *Saul* a mighty reputation, both for his valour and conduct; inſomuch that it brought his very enemies over to him; and thoſe that betwixt envy, hatred, and contempt, could not before afford him a good word, were now the men that paid him the greateſt honour: For he did not ſtop, they ſaid, at the relief and delivery of *Jabeſh*, but carried on the war againſt the *Ammonites*, laid waſte their country, enriched his army with the ſpoil, and brought off the people ſafe and victorious to their own homes again.

Neither did the multitude forget to celebrate themſelves all this while, for the the notable expedient of fancying a king; for they looked upon *Saul* to be the people's king, and conſequently their inſtrument; ſo that whatever he did, they took it virtually to be their own act. Where are thoſe buſy fellows, they cry'd, that were ſo fierce againſt our having a king? Why are not thoſe traitors to their country ſtoned, or made examples of? But *Saul* interpoſed with an oath, that he would not ſuffer any thing ſo derogatory to the occaſion, as the confounding of God's mercies, with human paſſions; by polluting a day of victory over their enemies with the blood of their friends. He put a compliment however upon the good intention of a ſuitable zeal, but ſtill adjuring them to lay aſide all animoſities and grudges, and to join all as one man in the dedication of that bleſſed day wholly to joy and thankſgiving.

When matters had proceeded thus far, *Samuel* adviſed the calling of another aſſembly to ratify and eſtabliſh *Saul* in the right and poſſeſſion of the throne. A convention was accordingly appointed, and met at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was again anointed, and proclaimed king a ſecond time, in the ſight and hearing of all the people. Thus was the republican ſtate of the *Hebrews* tranſlated to a monarchy: The form of the government, military and civil, under *Moſes* and his ſucceſſor *Joſhua*, was an optimacy, or ariſtocraſy: And for a matter of eighteen years after that, it was no better than a direct anarchy, without any order at all; but returning to their old way again, of chuſing ſome eminent perſon, whom they found moſt competent for the function; the ſovereignty was lodged in magiſtrates, under the name of judges, and thus continued ſo long as the adminiſtration laſted.

The aſſembly being by this time ready to break up, *Samuel* apply'd himſelf in a diſcourſe to them, by way of appeal, to this effect. "I do adjure you," ſays *Samuel*, "in the name of the great God of your "foreſathers, that gave them thoſe incomparable brothers, *Moſes* and *Aaron*, who "brought you out of *Egypt*, to give me a "true anſwer now, in the preſence of the "king, without any reſtraint or fear, tenderneſs or reſpect, to ſome few queſtions "that I ſhall aſk you. Can you, or any of "you, charge me with ſo much as one ſingle act of corruption, partiality, or injuſtice, in my whole adminiſtration? "Whoſe ox, whoſe ſheep, or whoſe aſs, "have I taken? Not but that preſents of "good-will in the matter of neceſſaries for "life, may be received, without either "crime or ſcandal. Yet give me leave to "ſay again, if you can lay any thing of this "kind to my charge, let it be done, and do "not ſpare me." Upon this, the whole multitude acquitted him with one voice, to all manner of purpoſes, declaring unanimouſly, that his government had been faultleſs, and according to the ſtricteſt rules of piety and juſtice.

"Well!" ſays *Samuel*, "I am glad of "your acknowledgement here before the "king, that you have no cauſe of complaint againſt me. I wiſh I could ſay as "much for you too; for to deal freely, you "have been mightily to blame. What "ſhould you chooſe another king for, after "the experience of ſo many ſignal mercies, and miraculous deliverances, while "you were under God's protection, and "owned him for your governor. You have "forgotten the ſtory of your foreſather *Jacob*'s coming into *Egypt*, only with ſeventy men in his train, and purely for want "of bread; how God provided for them, "and by his bleſſing how they encreaſed "and multiplied. You have forgotten the "ſlavery and oppreſſion they groaned under, till upon their cries and ſupplications "for relief, God reſcued them himſelf, "without the help of kings, by the hands "of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, who brought you out of "*Egypt* into the land you are now poſſeſſed "of. How can you be ſo ungrateful now, "after ſo many bleſſings and benefits received, as to depart from the reverence "and allegiance you owe to ſo powerful and "merciful a protector! How often have "you been delivered up into the hands of "your enemies for your apoſtacy, diſobedience, and obſtinacy, and as often "afterward reſtored to God's favour, and "your liberty, upon your humiliation and "repentance! Who was it but God that "gave you the victory, firſt over the *Aſſyrians*, and then over the *Ammonites*, and "the *Moabites*, and laſt of all, over the "*Philiſtines*? Not by the influence and direction of kings, but under the conduct "of *Jephtha* and *Gideon*. What madneſs "has poſſeſſed you then, to abandon a heavenly governor for an earthly! But how-

“ ever, to gratiſy your aſking, a king you would have, and a king you have, whom I have only miniſterially declared, according to the over-ruling order and appointment of God.

“ But to ſhew you now, by an infallible token from Heaven, that God is highly offended at this importunity of yours, for an alteration of your government; I do now beg from Heaven, as a ſign that I ſpeak truth, and that God is infinitely diſpleaſed with you, that ſuch a tempeſt may fall now, as in the middle of ſummer * never was heard of before in this quarter.” The word was no ſooner out, but there followed ſo outrageous a ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and hail, that it looked as if the day of judgment had been come, and frighted the congregation immediately to prayers, that God would forgive them the ſins, both of their iniquity and their ignorance; deſiring the prophet alſo, out of his fatherly tenderneſs, to join with them in his mediation to God for their pardon, for this laſt, as well as for former tranſgreſſions. *Samuel* promiſed them his interceſſion, and not without hope of obtaining mercy for them: But at the ſame time gave them a ſtrict charge to lead ſober, virtuous lives, and never to forget the miſeries and calamities that had befallen them for departing from their duties, and to bear likewiſe in perpetual memory, the miracles that God hath wrought in their favour; and the laws delivered by him to his ſervant *Moſes*; and this to do, as they had any conſideration, either for the well being of their king, or of themſelves; upon the penalty, as he foretold them, of certain ruin both to the one and the other, if they acted contrary to what he had preſcribed. This ſecond confirmation of *Saul* in his government having been finiſhed, the aſſembly was diſmiſſed.

CHAP. V.

Saul *offends.* Jonathan *obtains a glorious Victory.* Saul's *raſh Vow.*

‖ SAUL being now ſettled, and confirmed in the poſſeſſion of his royal dignity, made a call of three thouſand choice men out of the whole body of his people: Two thirds of them he took with him to *Bethel*, where he kept his reſidence for the guard of his perſon; and the other thouſand he ordered to attend his ſon *Jonathan*, whom he ſent to *Gibeah*; with which party *Jonathan* reduced a caſtle not far from thence, that belonged to the *Philiſtines*. The *Philiſtines* in theſe times, wherever they got the better of the *Jews*, did not only diſarm, but forbad them the exerciſe of any trade that wrought in iron; therefore the very iron work of their ploughs, ſpades, mattocks, and other domeſtic neceſſaries, they were fain to have recourſe ſtill to *Philiſtine* workmen to ſupply them. They took care alſo to ſecure all paſſes, fortify all tenable towns, and to furniſh them with men and munition. The news of this baffle by *Jonathan* was received by the *Philiſtines* with all the indignation and contempt imaginable; and preſently they drew an army into the field of three hundred thouſand foot, thirty thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand horſe, and pitched their tents at *Michmaſh*. As ſoon as the tidings of this preparation came to *Saul*'s ear, he went to *Gilgal*, and ſent his meſſengers and proclamations every where up and down to ſummon all his people that had any regard for the liberties of their country, to take up arms againſt the *Philiſtines*; making them much leſs conſiderable than in truth they were, both for numbers and military proweſs. But when *Saul*'s people came to underſtand, upon the certainty of better intelligence, the full ſtate and ſtrength of the enemy, there paſſed a panic terror quite through the whole body of them, to ſuch a degree that they fled every way up and down, ſkulking and ſcouring, as in a rout; ſome into vaults and caves, and other naſty hiding places; but the greater part of them made over the *Jordan* for ſhelter and concealment, among the tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*.

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* Mr. *Reland* obſerves here, that although thunder and lightning with us happen uſually in ſummer, yet in *Paleſtine* and *Syria* they are chiefly confined to winter.

‖ *Joſephus* here omits the firſt words of this hiſtory; as does the *Septuagint*, 1 *Sam.* xiii. 1. The text runs thus in the preſent *Hebrew*: *Saul* was . . one year old when he began to reign; and he reigned two years. Where in one, if not in both places, the decads are wanting. Nor is it fit to invent idle excuſes, and far fetcht interpretations, in order to evade ſuch difficulties; as the learned, honeſt, and judicious Dr. *Wall* has frequently obſerved, in his very valuable, but poſthumous critical notes on the old and new Teſtament. If the text be at all genuine, it might be written at firſt thus: *Saul* was 21 [or 31] years old when he began to reign, and he reigned two years. This was in ſome ſenſe *Joſephus*'s own number, i. e. 18 years during the life of *Samuel*, and two years after his death.

Amid this hurry and confuſion, *Saul* ſent for the prophet to adviſe with upon the preſent juncture: Who made him this return, that he ſhould continue where he was, get ſacrifices in readineſs; and that at the end of ſeven days, he himſelf would be with him, when they would offer them up, and ſo advance to give the enemy battle. *Saul* waited out his time, [*] but moſt unhappily failed in another article of his commiſſion; for the prophet, he thought, was long a coming, and his men perpetually deſerting him, he offered up the ſacrifice without attending any farther for *Samuel*. The ceremony was no ſooner over, but word was brought that the prophet was come; and *Saul* immediately, as upon a point of honour and reſpect, went out to meet him. When *Samuel* came to underſtand what had paſſed, he told *Saul* that he had done very unadviſedly in taking ſo raſhly upon himſelf the office of delivering up the prayers and ſacrifices that God had appointed on the behalf of the people, in his abſence. *Saul* excuſed it, that he had attended ſo many days according to his order; but that the enemy's leaving *Michmaſh*, and marching directly toward *Gilgal*, had ſo frighted his men, that he was under an abſolute neceſſity in all haſte to offer up the ſacrifice before his people had quite forſaken him. "Well," ſays the prophet, "it would have been better for you to have followed my direction, [*] which was effectually a meſſage to you from God himſelf, than ſo heedleſly to incur the cenſure of ſo dangerous a contempt: For, in ſhort, your obedience would have ſecured the government to yourſelf, and your poſterity." Upon this reproof, the prophet left him, and went his way home again, highly diſſatisfied with what had been done. *Saul*, after this, with ſix hundred men only, and his ſon *Jonathan*, marched to *Gibeah*, the greater part of his people unarmed too.

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[*] *Saul* ſeems to have ſtaid till near the time of the evening ſacrifice, on the ſeventh day; which *Samuel*, the prophet of God, had appointed him; but not till the end of that day, as he ought to have done: And *Samuel* appears, by delaying to come till the full time of the evening ſacrifice on that ſeventh day, to have tried him (who ſeems to have been already for ſome time declining from his ſtrict and bounden ſubordination to God and his prophet; to have taken life-guards for himſelf and his ſon, which was intirely a new thing in *Iſrael*, and ſavoured of a diſtruſt of God's providence; and to have affected, more than he ought, that independant authority which the *Pagan* kings took to themſelves:) *Samuel*, I ſay, ſeems to have here tried *Saul*, whether he would ſtay till the prieſt came, who alone could lawfully offer the ſacrifices, or would boldly and prophanely uſurp the prieſt's office; which he venturing upon, was juſtly rejected for his prophaneneſs. See *Conſtitut. Apoſt.* II. 27. And indeed, ſince *Saul* had accepted kingly power, which naturally becomes ungovernable and tyrannical, as God foretold, and the experience of all ages has ſhewn. The divine ſettlement by *Moſes* had ſoon been laid aſide under the kings, had not God, by keeping ſtrictly to his laws, and ſeverely executing the threatnings therein contained, reſtrained *Saul* and other kings in ſome degree of obedience to himſelf. Nor was even this ſeverity ſufficient to reſtrain moſt of the future kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* from the groſſeſt idolatry and impiety. Of the advantage of which ſtrictneſs, in the obſerving divine laws, and inflicting their threatned penalties, ſee *Antiq.* VI. and *Cont. Apion.* 2. where *Joſephus* ſpeaks of that matter. Tho' it muſt be noted, that it ſeems at leaſt in three inſtances, that good men did not always immediately approve of ſuch divine ſeverity. There ſeems to be one inſtance, 1 *Sam.* vi. 19. 20. Another, 1 *Sam.* xv. 11. And a third, 2 *Sam.* vi. 8, 9. *Joſ. Antiq.* VI. tho' they all at laſt acquieſced in the divine conduct; as knowing that God is wiſer than men.

The *Philiſtines* divided their army into three bodies, and ſo marched three ſeveral ways into the country of the *Hebrews*, where they ravaged and deſtroyed, all the way they went. *Saul* and his ſon, with *Ahiah* the high-prieſt, (of the houſe of *Eli*) helpleſly looking on from an eminence near at hand, but in no condition, to their infinite affliction, of giving them any relief.

Jonathan was ſo tranſported with the ſpectacle of this outrage, that he took his armour-bearer aſide upon it, and put a ſhort queſtion to him, how far he would ſtand by him in a bold and generous enterprize, for the ſaving of his country? His anſwer was, (and he bound it with an oath too) that let the hazard be what it would, he would die at his feet. *Jonathan* and his armour-bearer laid a ſcheme to convey themſelves ſecretly into the enemy's camp, and try what they could to put them into a tumult and confuſion. They went accordingly down the hill towards the enemy's quarter, being poſted in a craggy place that ran out at length into three angles, encompaſſed every where with rocks, that were as good as ramparts, to keep off an enemy. The place was ſo ſtrong of itſelf, that there hardly needed any guard to defend it; the paſſage to it being not only difficult, but dangerous, and nearly inacceſſible. As they were upon the way, *Jonathan* told his armour-bearer, for encouragement: "If," ſays he, "they diſcover us, and call out to us to come up, you may depend upon it that we ſhall certainly ſucceed; but if they ſay nothing at all, we muſt content ourſelves to go back again as we came."

When they were come within a very little of the enemy's camp, the *Philiſtines* perceiving them, making ſport of it, obſerved, how the *Hebrews* were creeping out of their holes and burrows; and called out to *Jonathan* and his companion, to come up to them, and take the reward of their impudence: Theſe words were looked upon by *Jonathan* as a moſt auſpicious preſage of victory; and they went on with alacrity from one ſide of the rock to the other, where the very ſituation was looked upon to be defence enough without a guard. They accompliſhed their deſign however, with creeping and clambering, to mount the rock, though with infinite toil and difficulty; from thence they ſlipt in upon the enemy unawares, and cut off at leaſt twenty of them in their ſleep. The alarm the enemy took upon this aſtoniſhing ſurprize, put the whole army into ſuch terror and confuſion, that ſome threw down their arms, and made the beſt ſhift they could to ſave themſelves by flight; others (being of ſeveral nations) fell one upon another, not knowing friends from foes. Some were forced into rivers, and down precipices, and numbers were trod to death in the croud, by tumbling one over another.

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[*] By this anſwer of *Samuel*, and that from a divine commiſſion, which is fuller in 1 *Sam.* xiii. 14. And by that parallel note in the *Apoſtolical Inſtitutions*, juſt now quoted, concerning the great wickedneſs of *Saul* in venturing, even under a ſeeming neceſſity of affairs, to uſurp the prieſt's office, and offer ſacrifice without the prieſt, we are in ſome degree able to anſwer that queſtion, which I have ever thought a very hard one; *viz* Whether if there were a city or country of lay chriſtians, without any clergymen, it were lawful for the laity alone to baptize, or celebrate the euchariſt, &c. or indeed whether they alone could ordain themſelves either biſhops, prieſts, or deacons for the due performance of ſuch ſacerdotal miniſtrations: Or whether they ought not rather, till they procure clergymen to come among them, to confine themſelves within thoſe bounds of piety and chriſtianity which belong alone to the laity: Such particularly as are recommended in the 1ſt book of the *Apoſtolical Inſtitutions*, which peculiarly concern the laity, and are intimated in *Clement*'s undoubted epiſtle, *Sect.* 40. To which latter opinion I incline.

The king having intelligence brought him by his ſcouts, that the army of the *Philiſtines* were all in an uproar., immediately enquired if any of his own people were miſſing, and word ſoon after was brought him, that *Jonathan* and his armour-bearer were not to be ſound. Upon this information he appointed the high-prieſt to put on his ſacerdotal veſtments, with his ephod, and to conſult God about the event of this action. He did ſo, and brought him for anſwer, that God would make him victorous, to the utter confuſion of his enemies: Whereupon *Saul* drew out immediately, and preſſed in upon the *Philiſtines*, while they were in diſorder, deſtroying one another. The rumour of this fatal diſtraction was ſoon made public every where, and at laſt came to the ears of the fugitive *Hebrews* in their dens and caverns. Upon this intelligence they ſallied out from their retreats, to the number of ten thouſand men, and preſſed ſo hard upon the *Philiſtines*, that they had the chace, and the deſtruction of them at pleapleaſure. But the king in the vindictive reſolution of making but one work of a total extirpation of the *Philiſtines*, pronounced a heavy curſe upon that *Hebrew*, * whoever he were, that ſhould preſume barely to intermit the ſlaughter and purſuit of the enemy, though but by eating or drinking any thing, before the night parted them. Soon after the denouncing of this malediction, *Jonathan* had the hap, paſſing through a wood of the *Ephranites*, where there were bees, to find the droppings of ſome honey. He took a comb and ſucked it, knowing as yet nothing of his father's vow, and the ſolemnity of the people's conſent to it; but when they came afterward to admoniſh and inform him of the malediction, with all the circumſtances, *Jonathan* gave over eating, but not without ſome reflection upon the temerity of the vow: "For," ſays he, "when "men are ſpent and weary, a little re- "freſhment would have enabled them to "go through with their work with more "alacrity and vigour."

After the ſlaughter of a great many thouſands of the *Philiſtines*, upon the place, the *Hebrews* came back at night to rifle the camp, where, beſide other booty, they took a vaſt quantity of cattle, which they killed as they had occaſion, dreſſing and eating them, with the blood in them. This being an offence againſt their law, the ſcribes immediately complained of it to the king, who preſently commanded a huge ſtone to be ſet up in the middle of the field; ordering the beaſts to be killed upon that ſtone, and the fleſh not to be eaten till it ſhould be firſt purged of the blood; for that it was an abomination in the ſight of God. This decree was readily obeyed, and *Saul* erected an altar † (the firſt altar of his ſetting up) and offered ſacrifices upon it.

Saul's heart being now mightily ſet upon a full and final extermination of the *Philiſtines*, he thought it highly adviſable, without giving the enemy any time for recovery of their broken ſtrength and courage, to follow his blow againſt the miſerable remainder of thoſe that eſcaped, that very night; and he was ſure of the hearts and hands of the ſoldiers along with him to all purpoſes.

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* This raſh vow or curſe of *Saul*'s, which *Joſephus* ſays was confirmed by the people, and yet not executed, I ſuppoſe principally becauſe *Jonathan* did not know of it, is very remarkable: It being of the eſſence of the obligation of all laws, that they be ſufficiently known and promulgated. Otherwiſe the conduct of providence, as to the ſacredneſs of ſolemn oaths and vows, in God's refuſing to anſwer by *Urim*, till this breach of *Saul*'s vow or curſe was underſtood and ſet right, and God propitiated by public prayer, is here very remarkable; as indeed it is every where elſe in the old teſtament. See *Scripture Politicks*, pag. 54---65.

† Here we have ſtill more indications of *Saul*'s affectation of deſpotick power, and of his intrenching upon the prieſthood. and making and endeavouring to execute a raſh vow or curſe without conſulting *Samuel*, or the *Senhedrim*. In this view it is alſo that I look upon this erection of a new altar by *Saul*, and his offering of burnt offerings himſelf upon it; and not as any proper inſtance of devotion or religion, with other commentators.

But however, before he would attempt any thing farther upon the ruins of their ſcattered troops, he appointed the high-prieſt *Architob* to conſult the will of God upon the iſſue of this enterprize; who returned an anſwer to the king upon this application, that the oracle was ſilent. "Well," ſays *Saul*, "It is not for nothing that God keeps "himſelf thus upon the reſerve on this oc"caſion, who has been formerly ſo gracious "as to prevent our very requeſts by grant"ing them beforehand, and therefore there "muſt be ſome ſecret myſtery of iniquity in "this matter, to draw his diſpleaſure upon "us: So that I am reſolved to ſift it out; "and by that holy God, I ſwear, if I ſhould "find even my ſon *Jonathan* himſelf to be "the guilty perſon, his life ſhould anſwer "for it, with no more concern to me, than "if it were a ſtranger."

The multitude were one and all for putting it to the teſt, and immediately thereupon, *Saul* ordered the people to keep together as they were, himſelf and his ſon ſtanding apart, and ſo to try the iſſue by lots. The lot falling upon *Jonathan*, his father bade him bethink himſelf, what ill thing he had done that he could charge upon his conſcience. Truly, ſays he, I know nothing more than this: That yeſterday, upon the purſuit of the enemy, I taſted a little honey, knowing nothing at all of any decree of yours to the contrary. "Why then," ſays *Saul*, with another oath, "You ſhall "die for it; for the reverence I have for "my vow is more to me than all the kin"dred and tenderneſs in nature." The young man was not at all daunted with the apprehenſion of death; but with a brave and generous reſolution, he told his father, that he did not deſire to be forgiven; for "that "death," ſays he, "ſhall be welcome to me, "that acquits my father of the obligation of "a religious vow, and only befals me in "conſequence of ſo glorious a victory, to "him that gave me my being. I have "lived to ſee the pride and inſolence of the "*Philiſtines* brought down by the *Hebrews*; "which will ſerve me for a conſolation, in "all my other ſufferings." The whole multitude was ſo charmed with the piety and bravery of the young man, that they took him away out of the hands of his incenſed father, with an oath, that they would not ſuffer a hair of that perſon's head to be touched, who had been ſo inſtrumental in that victory, to the preſervation of them all. Only they beſought God to forgive him for what he had done amiſs.

After the ſlaughter of a matter of ſixty thouſand of the enemy, *Saul* returned to his own home, and reigned very happily, acquitting himſelf with great reputation in all his military adventures, againſt the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Philiſtines*, the *Edomites*, and the king of *Zoba*. He had three ſons, *Jonathan*, *Joſhua*, and *Melchiſhui*, and two daughters, *Merab* the elder, and the name of the other was *Michael*. *Abner*, the ſon of *Saul*'s uncle *Ner* was the general of his army. *Ner* and *Kis*, the father of *Saul*, were brethren, and the ſons of *Abiel* He had a mighty ſtrength in chariots and horſemen, and ſtill came off victorious, what enemy ſoever he encountered. He advanced the *Hebrews* to the higheſt degree of glory, for their martial exploits, and made them formidable to all their neighbours, taking particular care in the choice of his guards, not to have any about him but the fineſt perſons, for make, ſtature, and vigour of body, that he could pick up in his dominions.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Saul's *Expedition againſt the* Amalekites: David *anointed.*

ABOUT this time *Samuel* came to *Saul*, by the ſpecial direction and appointment of God, to put him in mind, who it was that advanced him above his fellows to be a king, and of his duty to the king of kings that made him ſo; for though he was a ruler over the people, it was yet but in ſubordination to the ſovereign ruler of the univerſe: And he had in charge he ſaid, to tell him farther, “that whereas the *Amalekites* had been great perſecutors of the *Hebrews*, in the wilderneſs, upon coming out of *Egypt* into the land which they then poſſeſſed; it was therefore the will of God that he ſhould declare a war againſt them, that upon ſubduing them by arms, he ſhould not ſpare ſo much as one living ſoul, man, woman, or child: Nay, that he ſhould deſtroy the very ſheep and oxen, and every thing elſe that belonged to them, as well as the people, without making profit of the ſpoil, or ſeizing any part of the booty to himſelf; for all their goods and poſſeſſions were to be dedicated to God in one common ſacrifice: The very [*] name of *Amalek*, according to what *Moſes* had ordered, to be raſed out of the hiſtory of mankind; and all this, as a juſt vengeance for the former injuries and oppreſſions, as above.”

Samuel's inſtructions were peremptory and ſtrict, and *Saul*, on the other hand, was as frank of his promiſes to obſerve them all to a tittle; and to ſhew his readineſs, not only to do as he was bid, but to put his orders alſo in execution without delay. The next thing *Saul* had to do, after this, was the drawing of his men together; which upon a review at *Gilgal*, he found to be 40000, beſide the tribe of *Judah*; which muſtered 30000 men of itſelf. With this army, *Saul* broke in upon the *Amalekites*, diſpoſing of his ambuſhes upon the paſſes of the woods, and the rivers in ſuch manner that the enemy could not eſcape danger or ſurprize. But from ſkirmiſhing, it came in a ſhort time, to a capital battle; wherein the *Amalekites* were routed, and betwixt thoſe that fell in the combat, and thoſe that were cut off upon the purſuit, the whole body was ſo totally deſtroyed, that there were ſcarce enow left to carry the news of the defeat.

After this overthrow of their army, according to what God had foretold, *Saul's* next work was to attack them in their walled towns, and ſtrong holds. Some they took by ſiege, others, by engines, ſtratagem, mines, ſtarving, &c. Till in the end, carrying deſolation with them, they concluded in an univerſal ſlaughter of men, women, and children. For they looked upon nothing to be cruel, or inhuman, that was done either in a juſt war, or in obedience to a divine command, which would have been dangerous to diſpute.

In this diſmal calamity, *Agag*, the king, himſelf was taken priſoner, who was ſo goodly a figure of a man, that *Saul*, even for the ſake of his perſon reſolved to ſave him: In which unwarantable diſpenſation, he did but indulge a natural infirmity at his own peril, and in oppoſition to the expreſs command of God. For the *Amalekites* had made themſelves ſo abominable in the ſight of Heaven, that God's wrath deſcended to their very children, in which caſe, nature itſelf would have excuſed a tenderneſs, if there had been any room left for mercy. *Saul* however kept *Agag* alive to gratify his fancy, in contradiction to his duty; and in ſo doing, he laid the foundation of all the miſeries that afterwards enſued to the *Hebrews*. The people fell into the ſame iniquity alſo with their king, in driving away the *Amalekites* flocks, and herds, and converting to their own uſe, the pillage of money and goods, and the beſt of every thing; which was all contrary to God's poſitive order; only deſtroying what was not worth the ſaving. In this expedition, *Saul* over-run the whole country, from *Peluſium*, on the borders of *Egypt*, to the *Red-Sea*, and laid it all waſte, leaving only the *Sichemites* in the land of *Midian* untouched: *Saul* having precautioned them before the war, not to join intereſts with the *Amalekites*, but rather to uſe every prudent means to avoid involving themſelves in the fatality of a judicial ruin that attended them. The *Hebrews* had a particular kindneſs for theſe people, upon the account of an antient affinity; for out of them came *Raguel*, the father-in-law of *Moſes*.

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[*] The reaſon of this ſeverity is diſtinctly given 1 *Sam*. xv. 10. Go and utterly deſtroy the ſinners the *Amalekites*. Nor indeed do we ever meet with theſe *Amalekites*, but as very cruel and bloody people; and particularly ſeeking to injure, and utterly deſtroy the nation of *Iſrael*. See *Exod*. xvii. 8---16. *Numb*. xiv. 45. *Deut*. xxv. 18, 19. *Judg*. vi. 3, 6. vii 12. x 12. 1 *Sam*. xv. 33 xxx 1, 2. *Pſalm*. lxxxiii. 7. and above all, the moſt barbarous of all cruelties, that of *Haman* the *Agagite*, or one of the poſterity of *Agag*, the old king of the *Amalekites*, *Eſth*. iii. 1---15.

Upon the credit of this glorious exploit, *Saul* returned home in great triumph, mightily ſatisfied, in appearance, both in his honour and his conſcience, as if he had not only done the work of ſubduing the enemy, but kept the promiſes of his commiſſion, in a punctual obedience to his inſtructions. But the king's ſparing of *Agag*, and the people's making profit of the ſpoil, being two articles ſo expreſly forbidden in *Saul's* commiſſion, gave great offence: And it would have been looked upon as an unpardonable contempt, even toward a temporal prince, not to allow him that gives the victory, a right and title to order and diſpoſe the iſſue of it as he pleaſes. Upon this way of proceeding in *Saul*, without due regard to the tie of a known duty obliging him to the contrary, God was pleaſed to declare himſelf to the prophet, that it now repented him of ſetting up *Saul* to be king; for his buſineſs was, he ſaw, to do what he had a mind to do, not what he was commanded to do. This revelation put *Samuel* in the greateſt confuſion, inſomuch that he ſpent the whole night following in fervent prayers and interceſſions to God for *Saul's* pardon: To all which importunities he received this final anſwer, That it was no longer lenity, but facility, and a miſtaken mercy, upon any mediation whatſoever, to paſs over faults of ſuch a quality as to make the pardoning of one offence a manifeſt encouragement to the committing of another.

When *Samuel* found that God was not to be prevailed withal on *Saul's* behalf, he went his way next morning to him at *Gilgal*: Where the king had him no ſooner in his eye, but he ran preſently to him with open arms, embracing and ſaluting him, with a gratulatory thankſgiving in his mouth, for the late victory which God had given them, telling him withal, that for the order of the affair, every thing was done according to his direction. "If it be ſo," ſays *Samuel*, "what meaneth this bleating of the ſheep "in my ears, and the lowing of oxen, which "I hear in the camp? The king told "him, thoſe were only ſome beaſts the "people had reſerved for ſacrifices: And "then for the *Amalekites*, he had deſtroyed "them all but one man, whom he kept a "priſoner till he might have advice what "ſhould be done with him." *Samuel's* anſwer was, "that God took no delight in "ſacrifices, but in the righteouſneſs of good "and juſt men, that is to ſay, of ſuch as "obſerve his holy will and keep his commandments, accounting nothing to be "well done but what is done in conformity "to his ſacred pleaſure. God doth not conſider the ſacrifice, but the obedience; and "without that true and only ſacrifice, the "fat of beaſts, and the oblations of gold and "ſilver, are but ſuch oſtentations of a falſe "piety, as he neither requires, nor will

“ accept of: But as to them on the other ſide, that take delight in his command-ments, and keep his precepts in mind, and will rather die than depart from them, God exacts no ſacrifices at their hands: But whatever they offer, let it be never ſo mean and poor, the integrity of the heart gives it a recommendation beyond all the pomp and vanities under the Heavens.”

“ I am to tell you now,” ſays *Samuel*, “ that you are fallen under God's heavy diſpleaſure for the neglect and contempt of his commandments. What will you be able to ſay for yourſelf, when he ſhall call you to an account for reſerving that for a ſacrifice, which God had commanded ſhould be wholly deſtroyed? unleſs you look upon deſtroying and ſacrificing to be one and the ſame thing. For this diſobedience you are now condemned to the loſs of your kingdom, and of that power which you moſt dangerouſly abuſed, to the diſhonour of the ſovereign author of your promotion.”

Saul could not, in his conſcience, but confeſs himſelf guilty, and own that he had done grievouſly amiſs, in tranſgreſſing the prophet's orders, and going beyond his commiſſion. All he had to ſay for himſelf was, that he lay under a force, and that the common ſoldiers were ſo intent upon the booty, that he durſt not venture either to oppoſe or reſtrain them; “ but,” ſays *Saul*, “ obtain for me my pardon only this one time, and it ſhall be a warning to me to my life's end, never to do the ſame thing over again.” After this profeſſion of his repentance, he would fain have had *Samuel* ſtay a little longer, and ſacrifice to God on his behalf; but the prophet foreſeeing it would be to no manner of purpoſe, went his way.

As *Samuel* was preſſing to get away, *Saul* caught hold of his garment to ſtop him a while, and upon that accident the mantle was rent betwixt them; which the prophet apply'd by an alluſion to *Saul*, telling him that his kingdom would be torn from him, and given to a man of piety and juſtice. “ The ſentence is paſſed,” ſays he, “ and it is not with God as it is with men, ſo his decrees are unchangeable.” *Saul* confeſſed his own iniquity, and the juſtice of God's diſpleaſure: But, ſays he, what is done cannot be undone. Honour me only before the people, and turn again, that I may worſhip the Lord. So *Samuel* turned back, and they went and worſhipped together. After this they brought forth *Agag* the king of the *Amalekites*, who being overheard to ſay ſomething about the bitterneſs of death, had this reflection turned upon him by the prophet: “ As thy ſword,” ſays he, “ hath made many an *Hebrew* mother miſerable and comfortleſs in the deſtruction of their children, ſo it is but reaſonable that thy mother ſhould be left childleſs too.” The prophet accordingly ordered him immediately to be put to death in *Gilgal*, and then returned back to *Ramah*.

Saul was now come to be ſenſible of the calamities he had brought upon himſelf by his diſobedience, and ſo went away to his palace at *Gibeah* (or the Little Hill) being the laſt time that *Saul* ſaw *Samuel*. The prophet was extremely affected at the diſmal circumſtances of the ſeparation; but God commanded him, without troubling himſelf any farther about that matter, to take a cruſe of holy oil, and go to *Bethlehem* with it to *Jeſſe*, the ſon of *Obed*; there to anoint ſuch a ſon of *Jeſſe*'s, king, in *Saul*'s ſtead, as he ſhould be directed to, and one that ſhould be found worthy of the royal dignity. The prophet objected, that if ever it ſhould come to *Saul*'s ear, he would certainly be the death of him; but on reflection *Samuel* found he had nothing to fear, and therefore ſet forward to *Bethlehem*, and got ſafe to his journey's end, where there were great numbers of people met to receive him, every body enquiring what brought him thither, and one anſwer ſerved for all, that he came to ſacrifice.

When the holy office was over, *Samuel* invited *Jeſſe* and his ſons to take a dinner with him. The eldeſt ſon was ſo tall, ſo well made, and ſo graceful a perſon, that *Samuel* ſaid within himſelf, this is to be our king. But providence it ſeems, looked another way; for, upon the prophet's breaking out into admiration at the graces of his perſon, and how worthy he was to be placed upon a throne, and putting it to the queſtion whether this was the man or not that was to be anointed: Anſwer was made him, that God does not ſee with the eyes of men, as if the excellency of an external frame of body were enough to intitle a man to the prerogatives of government; but the qualifications that he requires are piety, juſtice, fortitude and ſtrict obedience, all which together make up, in harmony, the beauty of the mind. The prophet, upon this anſwer, appointed *Jeſſe* to ſend for the reſt of his ſons, and there were five more produced, as ſightly and as well-ſavoured men as their eldeſt brother (ſix in all). Their names according to their ſeniority, were *Eliab*, *Abinadab*, *Samma*, *Nahthanael*, *Rael*, and *Aſa*. *Samuel* conſulted God now upon this appearance, which of theſe brethren was to be choſen, and the anſwer was, none: which put *Samuel* upon a farther enquiry to the father what other ſons he had? Only one more, he told him, that looked to his ſheep, and his name was *David*: Whereupon the prophet ordered *Jeſſe* to ſend immediately away for him, for there was no eating without him. The father ſent for him the ſame inſtant, and the ſon came upon the firſt call: He was a youth of a freſh, ruddy complexion, a ſoldier-like air, and manly face, and with all this a great deal of modeſty and good-nature in his countenance. Upon the firſt ſight of him, *Samuel* whiſpered the father, that this was the perſon God had deſigned for their king: So the prophet ſeated himſelf, with the young man next him; and after them the father, with the reſt of his ſons. When they were thus diſpoſed of in their places, *Samuel*, in the ſight of *David*, took out the holy oil and anointed him; telling him in his ear that it was God's will he ſhould take the kingdom upon him; ſtrictly admoniſhing him to do juſtice to his people, and to keep God's commandments; for in ſo doing, ſays the prophet, you ſhall ſtand firm in your government: The name and honour of your family ſhall be glorious to after ages: You ſhall triumph over the *Philiſtines*, and be victorious in all encounters: You ſhall live great, and be yet greater in the fame of your memory.

When *Samuel* had made an end of his charge, he departed, and the ſpirit of God paſſed from *Saul* to *David*; by the power and virtue of which ſpirit *David* at that time began to propheſy; when all on a ſudden *Saul* was taken with fits and fancies of ſuffocation, and difficulty of breathing, like a dæmoniac. The phyſicians could not give any natural or philoſophical account of the diſtemper, but only adviſed the having ſomebody about him that could ſing, and play upon the harp well, that might be ready at hand to give him the diverſion of an hymn, or an air, ſtill as the fit ſhould be upon him. *Saul* was ſo well ſatisfied with the preſcription, that he preſently ordered ſuch a man, with all care and diligence, to be preſently found out and brought him. One of his domeſticks, upon this hint, told him, that there was one *Jeſſe* of *Bethlehem* had a very lovely, handſome youth to his ſon, that ſung, and touched the harp to admiration: He ſaid he was as brave too as he was beautiful, and every way anſwerably accompliſhed. Upon this recommendation *Saul* ſent a compliment to *Jeſſe*, giving him to underſtand that he had heard ſo many good things of a ſon of his, for his courage, lovelineſs, his ſkill in muſic, war, and the like, that he had a great mind to ſee him. *Jeſſe* called him out from his flocks, and ſent him to *Saul*, with preſents ſuitable to the occaſion, and the perſon *David* upon his coming to court, was received with great joy; taken into the guards, and treated by *Saul*, with remarkable inſtances of eſteem. He was highly acceptable to the king at all times, and upon all accounts; but never more than when he was in his fits; for *David* was the only phyſician, and his voice and harp the only remedy, that in theſe fits ever had the power to bring him to himſelf again. *Saul*, in fine, was ſo delighted with him to all manner of purpoſes, that with his father's leave and conſent he took him into his own palace to live with him.

CHAP. VII.

Goliah *defies the* Iſraelites; *and* David *accepts the Challenge*.

IT was not long after this, that the *Philiſtines* marched againſt the *Iſraelites* with a prodigious army, and encamped betwixt *Shecoth* and *Azekah*; while *Saul*, on the other hand, was at the head of another army to encounter them. He drew out his men upon a mountain, and forced the *Philiſtines* to remove, and poſt themſelves upon a ſtronger mountain, juſt over againſt the *Iſraelites*, with a valley betwixt the two armies. While they were in this order, there came down from the *Philiſtines* one *Goliah*, a citizen of *Gath*, a man of a prodigious ſtature, and a ſtrength anſwerable to his height, which was ſix cubits and a ſpan; and his armour proportioned to the ſize and force of his vaſt limbs: His coat of mail weighed 5000 ſicles; his helmet and cuiſſes of braſs anſwerable; the head of his ſpear was iron, and weighed 600 ſicles: It was not a ſpear to be carryed like a lance, but born upon his ſhoulder. With theſe accoutrements did this mighty man march down the hill, and a troop of armed men at his heels, into the middle of the valley betwixt the two bodies, and there he ſtopped; calling out to the *Iſraelites* with a horrid outcry, after this manner. "I am come hither," ſays he, "you men of *Iſrael*, to do an office of humanity, and to ſave blood. Why ſhould we hazard ſo many thouſand lives upon the uncertain iſſue of a battle, when the cauſe may be more reaſonably decided by two ſingle perſons. My buſineſs here is only to do the part of a champion for the *Philiſtines*. Do but you ſend out another man with the ſame commiſſion from the *Hebrews*, and leave to us two to put an end to the matter in diſpute, for the prevention of a bloody war. If he kill me, then will we be your ſervants; but if I kill him, then ſhall you be our ſervants, and ſubject to us." With theſe words he went back again to his party. He made the ſame challenge again, which was for forty days, to the great trouble and amazement, both of *Saul* and his people, to have the armies ſtand facing one another ſo long without engaging.

Saul had three of *Jeſſe*'s ſons along with him in this expedition: But *David* was ſent back again to his father, and to his flocks.

Jeſſe however at this time ſent him to the army with neceſſaries for his brothers, and to learn what news. Upon his coming to the camp, *Goliah* was ſtill bragging, and reproaching the *Hebrews*, that no man of them had the heart to look him in the face. One time as *David* was talking with his brothers about ſome of his father's buſineſs, he heard *Goliah*, in the height of his execrable outrages againſt the *Hebrews*. This tranſported *David* to ſuch a pitch of indignation, that he took up a reſolution of accepting his challenge, and he told his brothers as much: But *Eliab* took him up ſharply for his raſhneſs; a boy, ſays he, that has neither ſkill, nor experience, to talk of undertaking ſuch a commiſſion! No, no: E'en go to your father, and to your ſheep again; that's the fitter employment for you of the two. *David* had a reverence for his brother, but yet could not forbear ſaying the ſame things

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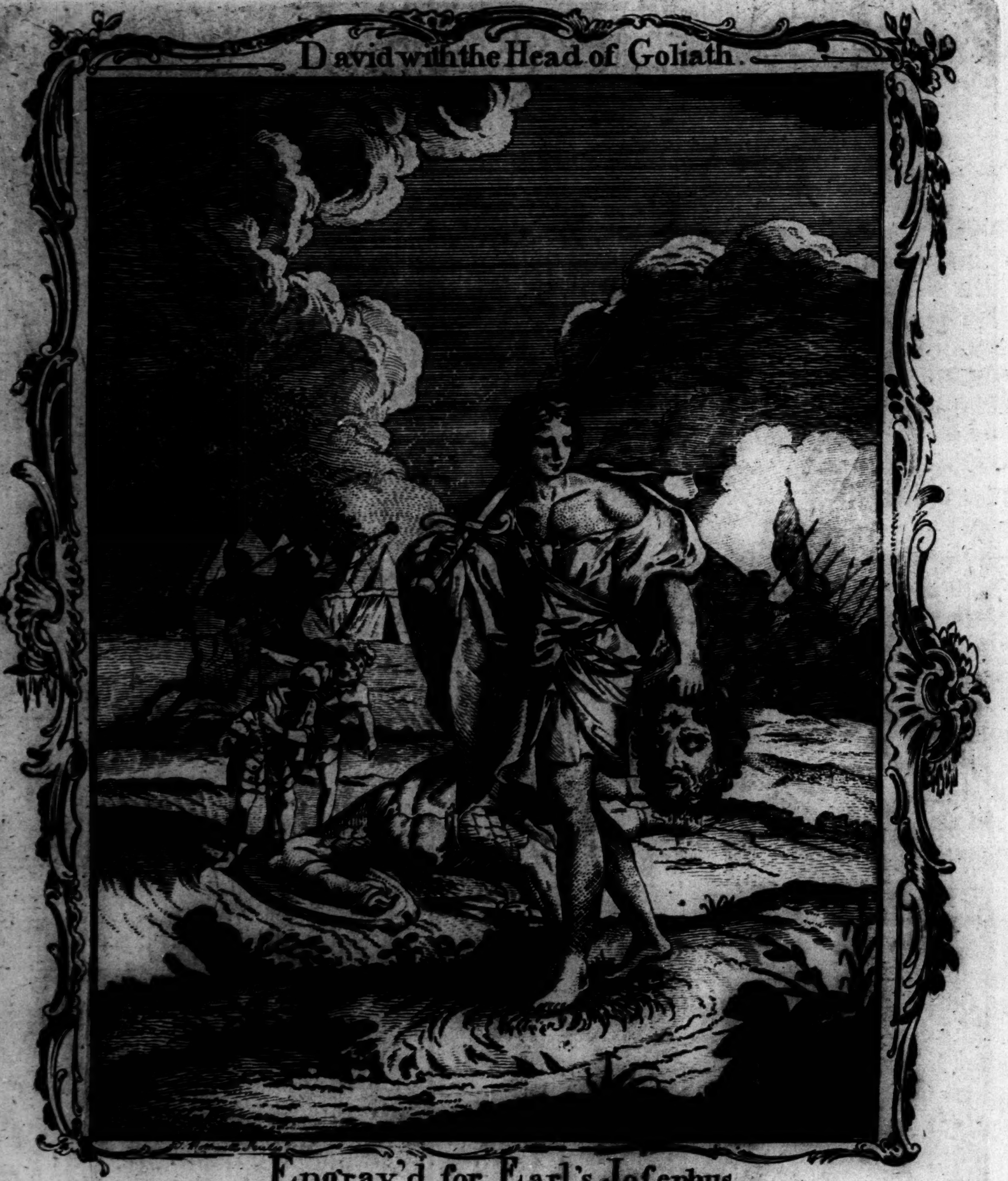

David with the Head of Goliath

Engrav'd for Earl's Joſephus

over again in the hearing of the ſoldiers, who preſently carried the report of it to the king, and *David* was forthwith ſent for to court upon it; where *Saul* aſked him what he had to offer upon that point? "Great "Prince," ſays he, "hope the beſt, and "fear nothing, for I myſelf will take down "the pride of this boaſting man; and as "tall as he is, tread him under my feet. "Your army ſhall appear glorious, and your "terrible enemy become the more ridicu"lous, when they ſhall ſee him fall by the "hand of a raw and unexperienced boy." The king ſtood in admiration at the firmneſs and magnanimity of the youth; but he could not yet think it ſafe or prudent to put the main cauſe to an iſſue upon ſo unequal a match. *David* perceiving that *Saul* took his meaſures from the common reaſon of other encounters, gave the king to underſtand that this was not ſo much a challenge to the army, as a defiance to Heaven itſelf; neither was the combat to be taken, in truth, for a trial of ſkill betwixt *Goliah* and *David*, but betwixt *Goliah* and *the Lord of Hoſts*: "For it is not my arm," ſays *David*, "that fights the battle, but the pow"er of a gracious, and an invincible God, "that many times brings to paſs, even "by the very weakeſt of inſtruments, the "nobleſt of his divine purpoſes, for his "greater glory. In that God is my truſt; "and I doubt not but he will ſtill continue "to protect, and deliver me in all diffi"culties, as he hath done formerly. As I "was tending my father's ſheep once, there "came a lion and took away a lamb out of "the flock. I purſued him, till turning "upon me, I took him by the tail, and "threw him againſt the ground, and killed "him. It was my hap to have another en"counter, with a bear, upon a like occa"ſion, and with the ſame ſucceſs. Now "this blaſpheming foul mouthed beaſt, "from their army, is no more to me than "a lion or a bear out of the foreſt. But "divine juſtice will call this audacious "wretch to an account, and make me the "inſtrument of his vengeance. I do not "ſpeak this upon the impulſe of a raſh, and "ungrounded confidence, but in a full aſ"ſurance of perſuaſion, that God will a"venge himſelf upon this audacious wretch; "and that even I myſelf ſhall have the ho"nour of a hand in the execution of that "juſtice."

Theſe words were delivered with another ſort of ſpirit, than the daring heat of youthful blood: Therefore *Saul* looked upon them rather as an inſpiration, than a propoſal of his own proper motion; and being ſo convinced, *David* eaſily obtained his leave, and his benediction, both in one; and then he accordingly prepared himſelf for the action. To which end, *Saul* dreſſed him up in his own armour, coat of mail, ſword, and helmet, and ſo bad God ſpeed him. But *David* found theſe arms, for want of being uſed thereto, rather a burden than a defence; excuſing himſelf with great modeſty and reſpect to *Saul*, that they were much fitter for a prince than for a ſhepherd. Wherefore he put them off again, deſiring only that he might be allowed to fight his own way. Upon this he took his ſhepherd's ſtaff, a ſling in his right hand, five ſmooth ſtones out of the brook in his ſcrip; and ſo advanced toward the enemy: The other launching forward to meet him, as faſt as his legs, under ſo vaſt a load of armour, were able to carry him. When they were come within a certain ſpace of one another, and that *Goliah* ſaw what a dwarf of an adverſary he had to encounter, with the uncouth appearance of his equipage, he called out to him in deriſion: "Hark ye, little man, with the cudgel "there," ſays he, "are you come into the "field now to beat a dog, or to fight a ſol"dier?" To beat worſe than a dog, ſays *David*, preſſing ſtill nearer him. This reproach tranſported the Barbarian into ſuch a blaſphemous rage, that he curſed *David* by his Gods; threatening to give his fleſh for food to the fowls of the air, and to the beaſts of the field. "You come to me," ſays *David*, "with a ſword, a ſpear, and a "coat of mail; but I come to you with a

" commiſſion from the living God, who, " by my hands, will this day deſtroy both " you and your army, divide your head from " your body, and carry it away with me, and " caſt your carcaſs upon the dunghill for " dogs meat, dog as you are yourſelf. By " this providence it will be made evident " to the whole world, that the God of the " *Hebrews* takes care of his people, and that " his protection is both their ſtrength and " their armour. As likewiſe on the con- " trary, that there can be no ſecurity either " in arms or in numbers, to thoſe that fall " under his diſpleaſure." The *Philiſtine*, in the mean time, advanced toward *David*, with all the contempt imaginable, to think of having to do with ſo raw, and undiſciplined an adverſary.

David, on the other hand, preſſed forward to the combat, under the conduct and protection of his Almighty and inviſible ſecond: He took out of his ſcrip, one of the ſtones of the brook, that he had provided for this occaſion, couched it in his ſling, and caſt it with ſuch a force at the head of his enemy, that it broke the ſkull of him, and pierced his very brain, laying the monſter groveling, with his face upon the ground, in his laſt ſleep. *David* immediately runs up to him, and beſtrides him, takes his ſword from his ſide, (having none himſelf) and cuts off the *Philiſtine*'s head with his own weapon. This exploit had ſuch an effect upon their army, that they fled, and ſcattered upon the very hearing of it. *Saul* and the whole army of the *Hebrews*, made their advantage of this diſorder, and falling on in the hurry of this terror, with military ſhouts and clamours, chaced them to the ſkirts of *Gath*, and the very gates of *Aſcalon*. They reckoned 30000 killed outright upon the purſuit, and twice as many wounded. The army alſo, at their return, pillaged the camp, and ſet fire to it. As for the head of *Goliah*, *David* carried that to his own tent, and dedicated the ſword to the Lord.

This brave and generous atchievement of *David*'s raiſed ſoon after a mortal jealouſy and hatred in *Saul*, which happened particularly on this occaſion.

Upon *Saul*'s returning from the victory, the women and virgins went in throngs out of all the cities, ſinging and dancing with their cymbols and taborets, to meet him upon the way, and give him joy of his ſucceſſes: The women leading the ſong with " *Saul* hath ſlain his thouſands;" the virgins following it, " and *David* his ten thou- " ſands." This preference of *David* to *Saul*, in a tenfold proportion, put a freak into his head, that he could not think himſelf ſafe after it, ſo long as *David* had any command near his perſon: Wherefore he advanced him to the charge of a colonel: And in truth, his promoting the young man, and putting him upon ſo many hazardous and glorious enterprizes, was not ſo much to do *David* honour, as to provide for his own ſecurity, in hope he might fall by the chance of war in battle. For after ſuch an inſtance of the people's affection to *David*, as to aſcribe to him the credit of the victory, their next buſineſs would be to transfer the authority of the government, and for him to take it too. But *David* had the providence of God along with him, wherever he went, and in whatſoever he did; and he had not only won the hearts of the people by the charms of his courage and behaviour, but ſo far gained upon the affections of a virgin daughter of *Saul*'s, that her father himſelf took notice of the paſſion ſhe had for him; and in his ordinary diſcourſes upon that ſubject, he ſeemed well enough content that it ſhould be a match: Not out of any true tenderneſs and eſteem he had for *David*, but as the moſt plauſible cover for a ſnare, that in a ſhort time might probably coſt him his life, which was the very bottom of his deſign.

While this treaty was in ſpeculation, *Saul* caſt out a word by the by. " Let him," ſays he, " bring me the heads of 600 " *Philiſtines*, as an acknowledgement, and " take my daughter." He computed within himſelf, that *David* was not of a temper to decline any generous enterprize, that carried honour and danger along with it; and that his acceptance of this offer would certainly engage him in ſome deſperate action upon the *Philiſtines*, which might probably coſt him his life in the attempt. This, ſays *Saul* to himſelf, will be the more decent way of gratifying my jealouſy and revenge; for it will look better to have him taken off by the hands of the *Philiſtines*, as my inſtruments, than expreſsly by my own order.

Saul, upon this deliberation, ſet ſome of his domeſticks at work, to learn how *David* ſtood affected to the marriage of his daughter; who gave him to underſtand by inſinuations, that he was in ſo great a favour both with king and people, that there was a ſpeech as if *Saul* intended to make him his ſon-in-law. You may perhaps reckon it no great matter, ſays *David*, to be ſon-in-law to a mighty prince; but under the circumſtances of my quality and extraction, I am not vain enough ſo much as to think on't.

Upon the return of the comiſſioners with an account of the negotiation, *Saul* ſent them once more back again with further inſtructions. Tell the young man, ſays he, that my buſineſs is neither fortune nor preſents; and that whenever I part with my daughter, ſhe ſhall be beſtowed, not ſold. The ſon-in-law that I promiſe to myſelf muſt be a man juſt ſo qualified with courage, and other laudable graces, as I find him to be. Tell him that I expect or deſire neither ſilver nor gold from his father; for I do not want either money or honour. Let him only bring me 600 *Philiſtines* heads; which will be welcomer to me than any thing, and the moſt honourable of preſents to my daughter, in juſtification of her to the whole world, that ſhe has taken a brave man to her huſband. *David* took every thing that *Saul* ſaid, for good faith, in his propoſal of this affinity, without any dilatory conſideration, whether the thing were feaſible or not: And immediately fell to work with his companions upon the execution of the conditions, and found God's providence as propitious to him in this, as it had been in former encounters; for his adventure ſucceeded to his wiſh; that is to ſay he fought the enemy, and after a great ſlaughter, made a preſent to the king of 600 of their heads, and minded *Saul* of his promiſe.

CHAP. VIII.

Saul *deſigns upon* David'*s Life*.

SAUL found himſelf ſo hampered that there was no objecting without giving himſelf the lie, or diſcovering the treachery of his heart, in ſo baſe a deſign upon the life of a generous young man, under the pretext of an honourable affinity: Betwixt ſhame and ſcandal, he lay under a kind of force to be as good as his word, in giving his daughter in marriage to *David*. But this nearneſs of relation wrought no favourable change upon the king: *Saul* obſerving that *David* grew every day more and more in favour both with God and man, he fancied to himſelf that ſo long as he lived, neither his crown nor his life were in ſafety: He took up a reſolution, for the ſecurity of both, to have *David* diſpatched; deſigning his ſo *Jonathan*, with ſome of the truſtieſt of his ſervants, for his executioners. This lewd inconſtancy of *Saul*, not only in withdrawing his affection from ſo deſerving a youth, but entering alſo into an impious or perfidious deſign upon his life, ſtruck the ſon with ſuch amazement and horror, that what with the natural inclination he had for the perſon of *David*, and likewiſe a profound veneration for his virtue, he went and gave *David* private notice of *Saul's* intention; adviſing him as he loved his life to be gone without any further delay: And in the mean time, ſays he, I will go to my father, and take an occaſion to mention your name to him; for I have a mind to try if I can learn what it is he takes ſo heinouſly, and bring him to better reaſon; I cannot, ſays *Jonathan*, imagine ſo much as any feaſible pretence for ſuch an indignation and diſpleaſure, againſt a perſon that has deſerved ſo eminently well, both from his prince and from his country. Or ſuppoſing things at the worſt, and that in truth he might have made a falſe ſtep or two, why are not his ſervices ſet in balance againſt it? for the public owes him a pardon. *Jonathan* then told *David*, that he ſhould be ſure to have intelligence, from time to time, how matters went with his father. So *David* followed *Jonathan's* counſel, and immediately withdrew out of the way.

Jonathan accordingly went the next day to his father, and finding him in a pleaſant, eaſy humour, lays hold of the critical minute to ſay ſomewhat to him about *David*. "Father, ſays he, you have here taken up a terrible diſpleaſure againſt this young man, and given orders for his death; but upon what provocation, or for what fault, great or little, I cannot comprehend. He is a perſon to whom we ſtand indebted for our own ſafety, and the deſtruction of the *Philiſtines*; for vindicating the honour of our nation from the ſcandal of a forty days affront, in the challenge of the giant, and not a creature but this innocent youth that had a heart to encounter him: A perſon that purchaſed my ſiſter for his wife at your own price; to wit, the heads of ſix hundred *Philiſtines*, which were punctually counted according to his agreement: A perſon, in fine, entitled to your eſteem and tenderneſs, both as a brave man, and as a member of your family, which will make up two ſenſible aggravations of the loſs. Be pleaſed to conſider too, the injury you do your own daughter in making her feel the mortification of a widow, before ſhe enjoys the bleſſing of being a mother. Pray be pleaſed to lay theſe things together, and betake yourſelf to moderate counſels. Remember who it was that cured you of your dark ſplenetick fits, and drove the evil ſpirit from you; and conſider the obligation he has laid upon the whole family by that relief; and who it was next under God, that delivered us from our implacable enemies. Theſe are benefits never to be forgotten without the infamy of the blackeſt ingratitude." The ſtrength and equity of this way of reaſoning, wrought ſo effectually upon *Saul's* rage and jealouſy, that he bound himſelf with an oath never to do any manner of harm or wrong to *David*, for the time to come. *Jonathan* carried the news of this reconciliation to *David*, with an aſſurance that *Saul* was reconciled, and ready to do him all ſorts of good offices: In which confidence he carried him back again to court, reconciled him to his father, and reinſtated him in the ſame poſt of ſervice and attendance that he was in before.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Saul *ſeeks* David*'s Life, and* Michol *ſaves it. A League betwixt* David *and* Jonathan. David *flies.* Abimeleck *relieves him, and* Saul *puts* Abimeleck, *and the whole ſacerdotal Race to the Sword, except* Abiathar. *The Death of* Samuel. David *marries* Abigail. Achiſh *gives him* Zicklag.

ABOUT this time the *Philiſtines* made war afreſh upon the *Hebrews;* and *David* was ſent out by *Saul,* at the head of an army, to encounter them. They fought a battle, and the *Philiſtines* were totally broken and cut to pieces, with a terrible execution. As ſoon as the action was over, *David* went forthwith back to the king with an account of the victory: But *Saul* was rather ſad, and caſt down at the ſtory of the ſucceſs, than elevated with it, for fear of the conſequences of *David*'s growing reputation among the people; *Saul* turned every thing that contributed to *David*'s honour and advantage to his own loſs and reproach.

It happened one day, that *Saul,* being fallen into one of his old fits again, ſent for *David* into his bed chamber to ſing and play to him, as he lay there upon a couch, with a lance in his hand. *David* was in the very act of his obedience, ſinging and playing as the king had commanded him, when *Saul* ſtarting up, all on a ſudden, darted his lance at him; but *David* keeping a watchful eye upon him, ſlipt aſide out of harms way, and from thence, as faſt as he could run, to his own houſe, where he continued for the remainder of that day. At night there was a guard ſet upon the houſe by the king's order, to prevent *David*'s eſcape, and to bring him in cuſtody next morning as a criminal, to ſuffer death by a public ſentence; but *Michol, David*'s wife, and the king's daughter, having very good intelligence of her father's deſign, ran preſently to her huſband, and told him the whole ſtory at length, and the danger he was in, charging him to be gone before the next morning, or he was a dead man; for, "if "you ſhould be taken, my father will "certainly put you to death: Wherefore "ſhift for yourſelf now in the dark of the "night, and may God lengthen it beyond "the ordinary courſe, rather than you "want time for your eſcape." So *Michol* let her huſband down from the window by a rope, committing him to providence.

By break of day came *Saul*'s meſſengers to the houſe to fetch away *David;* but *Michol* told them he was ſick in bed, and after a bad night was now fallen to reſt; ſhe ſhewed them the bed which ſhe had dreſſed up on purpoſe for the fallacy, and ſomewhat panting under the coverlet, which they took for the ſick man. All paſſed for current with the meſſengers, and ſo away went they to the king with an account of every thing; but *Saul* ſent them back again the next night, with a peremptory command to bring *David* away as they found him, for die he muſt. Upon the ſecond ſearch they turned up the bed-cloaths, and perceived that *Michol* had put a trick upon them, for there was no *David* to be found. The panting under the blankets was only a device of *Michol*'s, that had conveyed into the bed the warm liver of a kid newly killed, * to repreſent the palpitation The officers told the king the whole buſineſs, and how his daughter had impoſed upon them. *Saul* rated her ſeverely for being ſo baſe as to take part with an enemy againſt her father; but ſhe ſaid in her defence, that her huſband ſwore he would kill her if ſhe would not undertake to conceal him, and help him away; and therefore ſhe hoped he would paſs over what ſhe had done under ſuch a force; for ſhe muſt have ſacrificed the life of his daughter, if ſhe had not ſaved the life of his ſuppoſed enemy.

Michol had now obtained her pardon, and *David* had gotten off ſafe to *Samuel* at *Ramah*; where he gave the prophet the hiſtory at large of the ſnares that had been laid for him, the adventure of the lance, &c. without any pretence all this while of the leaſt failing in matter of duty and reſpect, or of any miſcarriage in his commiſſion; for God had ſtill proſpered him in whatſoever he undertook: And it muſt be added now for a farther aggravation, that God's peculiar favour toward him was the very ground of all the hatred and envy that was ſtirred up againſt him.

When *Samuel* came to underſtand the extravagance of *Saul's* way of proceeding, he took *David* along with him from *Ramah* to *Galbah*, and there they continued a while together; but when *Saul* had got intelligence of *David's* being with the prophet, he ſent a party of ſoldiers to take him up, and bring him away priſoner: But the meſſengers, upon their arrival, found *Samuel* in the congregation of the prophets; and after a while, by the ſame ſpirit, they began to prophecy themſelves too. *Saul* having notice of this, ſent others, repeatedly upon the ſame errand, and it fared with them as with the former. Upon the third diſappointment, all in a rage, *Saul* went himſelf, and when he was come almoſt in ſight of *Samuel*, the † ſpirit of prophecy ſeized him alſo; and going a little farther, the impulſe was ſo ſtrong upon him, that he ſtripped himſelf ſtark naked, and propheſied a whole day and night ſo, in the preſence of *David* and *Samuel*.

David upon making his moan to *Jonathan*, of the hard meaſure he had received was adviſed not to judge, or ſuſpect raſhly, nor to be led away with private tales and ſuggeſtions, but rather to depend upon himſelf, that there was no miſchief in the world intended him by his father, who ſeldom did any thing of conſequence without making him privy to it; or if any ſuch thing had been, he himſelf would certainly have told him of it. *David* on the other hand, affirmed with an oath, the truth of the whole matter as he had ſet it forth, and beſought *Jonathan* to venture rather to be a little credulous, where the life of his friend was at ſtake, than to ſuſpend his belief, upon the hazard of coming to be convinced of his error by the loſs of a brother. Neither is it to be imagined, ſays he, that the king, who knows you and me to be ſo particular friends, ſhould ever communicate to either of us, a deſign he has upon the life of the other. *David's* diſcourſe had more weight in it, than *Jonathan* could have wiſhed: So that being half convinced, and in trouble at it; he only deſired *David* to make uſe of his ſervice, if there were any thing in the world wherein he might be uſeful to him. "I am ſenſible," ſays *David*, "of your good will and readineſs to oblige me, and in that confidence I am to mind you, that we are to have a new moon to-morrow, and a feſtival in courſe. The king will be there; and while I was in waiting, I had the honour to be one of the number myſelf. Now if you pleaſe, I can go out of the city, and privately wait your leiſure ſomewhere about the fields, where you may find me out. If the king ſhould aſk for me, you may tell him that I am gone to *Bethlehem*, to celebrate the day with my own tribe, and that I had your leave to go. If he ſhall ſpeak any thing kindly upon it, as a good journey to him, or God ſpeed him, take that for a certain token that he has no malice in his heart againſt me. But if otherwiſe, you are to take it for granted that he bears me a grudge. Pray let me hear how you find him, as you will be juſt to that ſacred and mutual league of friendſhip that is ſtruck between us, and as you deſire to make me eaſy under my preſent calamity. If you can think me unworthy of your affection, or any way guilty towards your father, e'en ſheath your ſword in my heart, without waiting for further orders." *Jonathan* took theſe laſt words a little unkindly, but yet promiſed to do every thing as he was deſired; and that if ever he ſhould find his father in any plot or practice againſt *David*, he would be ſure to give him timely notice of it: Sealing this promiſſory declaration of his with an oath, that he would leave nothing unattempted that might conduce to his preſervation. "That God," ſays he, "that fills and governs the univerſe, and that knows the thoughts of my heart in the very conception of them; let that God be a witneſs to the faith that is vowed and promiſed betwixt us, and that I will never give over ſearching into and ſifting out the private deliberations and purpoſes of my father, till I ſhall have diſcovered the bottom of his heart, and whether there be any rancour in his thoughts or not, that may work to your prejudice: And if I ſhall be able to make any thing out at laſt, whether it be for you or againſt you, it ſhall be the firſt thing I do to give you the knowledge of it. The ſearcher of hearts will bear me witneſs that this is true, and that I have made it my earneſt prayer to Almighty God to bleſs and proſper you in your perſon and deſigns; and you may aſſure yourſelf, that he will be as gracious to you for the future, as he hath been hitherto, and lay all your enemies at your feet, which he will moſt certainly do, even though my father and myſelf ſhould be found in the party againſt you. In the mean while, pray be ſure to keep theſe things in memory, and when I am gone, to take care of my poor children."

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* Since the modern *Jews* have loſt the ſignification of the *Hebrew* word here uſed, *Cebir*; and ſince the LXXII, as well as *Joſephus*, render it the liver of the goat; and ſince this rendering, and *Joſephus*'s account are here ſo much more clear and probable than thoſe of others; 'tis almoſt unaccountable that our commentators ſhould ſo much as heſitate about its true inrerpretation.

† Theſe violent and wild agitations of *Saul* ſeem to me to have been no other than demoniacal; and that the ſame demon which uſed to ſeize him, ſince he was forſaken of God; and which the divine hymns and pſalms which were ſung to the harp by *David* uſed to expel, was now in a judicial way brought upon him; not only in order to diſappoint his intentions againſt innocent *David*, but to expoſe him to laughter and contempt of all that ſaw him, or heard of thoſe his agitations; ſuch violent and wild agitations being never obſerved in true prophets, when they were under the inſpiration of the ſpirit of God. Our other copies, which ſay the ſpirit of God came upon him, ſeem not ſo right here as *Joſephus*'s copy, which mentions nothing of God at all: Nor does *Joſephus* ſeem to aſcribe this impulſe and extaſy of *Saul*'s to any other than to his old demoniacal ſpirit, which on all accounts appears the moſt propable. Nor does the former deſcription of *Saul*'s real inſpiration by the divine ſpirit, 1 *Sam.* x. 9——12 *Antiq.* VI. which was before he was become wicked, well agree with the deſcriptions before us.

Jonathan having now paſſed his oath, appointed *David* to withdraw into a certain part or corner of the field, which they two had agreed upon: "For," ſays *Jonathan*, "I will firſt go to my father, and when I have gotten as much from him as I can, I will come back again to your hiding-place, as if I were a ſhooting, and bring a boy along with me. I ſhall then ſhoot three arrows, and if I bid the lad take them up and bring them to me, ſet your heart at reſt, that all is well with my father; but if I ſay any thing elſe, take it for granted that you are in danger: But aſſure yourſelf however, happen what will, it ſhall be my particular care that you come to no harm. Only once again I ſay, let not this be forgot in your proſperity, and be kind to my poor children." *David* took the hint; and ſo went his way to the poſt that was aſſigned him.

The day following being the feaſt of the new moon, the king, according to cuſtom, having duly prepared himſelf, ſat down to ſupper, with *Jonathan* on his right hand, and his general *Abner* on his left; *David's* place being empty all this while: But *Saul* took no public notice of it the firſt day, ſuppoſing that his abſence might poſſibly be matter of ſcruple, for want of a regular and cuſtomary purification, after the company of his wife. But *Saul* miſſing him again the next day, ſpoke to *Jonathan* to know how it came to paſs, that the ſon of *Jeſſe* ſhould now abſent himſelf from the feſtival two days together. *Jonathan* told his father that he had given him leave to go into the country, and feaſt with his own tribe, upon the ſame occaſion. He would fain have had me along with him, ſays *Jonathan*, and truly I have ſo great a friendſhip for him, that if you pleaſe, I ſhould be well enough content yet to go to him. This expreſſion of *Jonathan*'s touched *Saul* to the quick: He broke out into an extravagant paſſion againſt his ſon upon it; calling him a traitor, and an enemy to his father, an abettor of, and and a confederate with *David*, and a ſhameleſs conſpirator with the common adverſary of the family: For he muſt be wilfully blind, ſays he, that could not ſee the abſolute impoſſibility of *Saul*'s ever being ſafe, ſo long as *David* was living; commanding him alſo at the ſame time to ſend for him, and deliver him up to juſtice. *Jonathan*, upon this ſtrict command, deſired of his father, very reſpectfully, to know what capital crime was advanced againſt *David*. This queſtion tranſported *Saul* into ſuch a rage, that he ſnatched up a javelin and had certainly killed his ſon with it, if ſome of his friends then preſent had not interpoſed and prevented it. There needed no other evidence of *Saul*'s deadly malice to *David*, when the father had like to have murdered his own ſon for his ſon-in law's ſake.

This furious outrage made *Jonathan* quit both the company and the feaſt; and what with the trouble he had upon him for his friend's danger, and what for his own, he paſſed that night without any reſt either of body or mind. Early the next morning, he took his bow and arrows, and a boy along with him, into the fields, under the pretext of going a ſhooting; but in truth, to give *David* the neceſſary information of what had paſſed; the firſt thing he did was to convey his intelligence by his arrows, as he ſaid he would. After which, he ſent the boy away to town upon a formal errand, for the better opportunity of a word or two in private with his friend. They were no ſooner met than *David* caſt himſelf down at the feet of his preſerver, and in that poſture ſaluted him: The other immediately taking him up; and both joining in one another's arms, to curſe the malignity of the age, and their own hard fortune, that was now forcing them upon a ſeparation worſe than the worſt of deaths. When they had condoled their time out, and indulged all ſoftneſſes of dear and parting friends, they took their final leave, with freſh vows and aſſurances, never to depart from the conditions of their league, and ſo ſubmitted at laſt to the neceſſity of ſo affecting a ſeparation.

David, being now in great diſtreſs by the perſecution of a watchful and implacable enemy, and under the conſideration of a certain death if he ſhould be taken, went in his wanderings to *Abimelech* the high prieſt, in the city of *Nob*. He had no company with him, either friends or ſervants, which *Abimelech* took notice of; and, not without ſome admiration, aſked him the reaſon of it. He came by ſpecial order, he ſaid, upon a ſecret ſervice, from the king; and that for privacy ſake, he had for the preſent diſcharged his train, and appointed them a ſet time and place, when and where they ſhould attend him. He told *Abimelech* likewiſe, that it would be a very friendly office, and a great furtherance to his buſineſs, if he would but ſupply him with neceſſaries for his journey. This being granted, he told him once again, that if he could but furniſh him with a ſword, or a ſpear, or ſome piece of arms, it would lay yet another obligation upon him. It ſo happened that a ſervant of *Saul*'s was all this while within hearing; a *Syrian*, by nation: His office was that of a groom, and his name *Doeg*. The high-prieſt ſaid he had no arms but the ſword that cut off the head of the *Philiſtine*, which was hung up and dedicated to God; and that ſword he might have if he pleaſed. *David* accepted of it; and making what haſte he could out of the juriſdiction of the *Hebrews*, he fled to the city of *Gath*, in the land of the *Philiſtines*. This was in the reign of king *Achiſh*. *David* had no ſooner ſhewed his head among them, but ſeveral of the king's ſervants called him to mind, and taking him up in a hurry, carried him to the king, with an exclamation, that this was the man that, upon ſuch a particular occaſion, killed ſo many thouſands of the *Philiſtines*, and this they offered to make good againſt him. But *David* finding himſelf in as much danger of *Achiſh* now, as he had been of *Saul* before, fell immediately to foaming at the mouth, and driveling like a madman; inſomuch that *Achiſh* called out to his people in wrath, to take away that fool: What did they trouble him for, with a changeling? he ſaid. And upon this rebuke, *David* was a ſecond time delivered out of a ſtreight more dangerous than the other.

By this artifice he got clear of *Gath*, and from thence ſhifted away into the tribe of *Judah*, where he took up his reſidence for ſome time in a cave, in the field of *Adullam*. His friends and relations, (and in truth, other people promiſcuouſly) being advertiſed of the place of his preſent abode, came flocking in to him: Some for the love and reſpect they bore to himſelf; others out of the fear or hatred of *Saul*: Some, in fine, that were uneaſy in their fortunes, others in their minds, being unſatisfied with the preſent ſtate of things; beſides libertines of all ſorts, and the like. So that upon the whole, there were a matter of four hundred of them gotten together, and every man devoted to the ſervice of *David*, with life and fortune.

In the ſtrength and confidence of this little body, *David* removed and marched directly away to the king of *Moab*, with an addreſs to him for leave to himſelf, with his friends and relations there, being under a perſecution, to take ſanctuary in ſome part of his dominions, only till the ſtorm might blow over, and their affairs be put into ſome ſort of ſettlement at home. The *Moabite* king received *David* and his company very generouſly, and treated them with great honour and hoſpitality for the time they were there; that is to ſay, till by the order and direction of the prophet *Samuel*, *David* marched away with his people out of the deſart into the land of *Judah*, and ſo to *Hareth*.

When *Saul* came to underſtand (and it was not long firſt) that *David* had been ſeen upon his march at the head of a body of armed men, he was not a little terrified and troubled at the intelligence; for he had ſeen ſo many experimental proofs of the greatneſs of *David*'s ſoul and courage, that he could not but reaſonably expect ſome mighty matter from him, which he apprehended would tend at leaſt to the perplexing and diſordering of his counſels, if not to the endangering of the very government itſelf. Upon this occaſion he called all his friends and his captains together, the people of his his own tribe, and all his officers, civil and military, at his royal city of *Gibeah*; and there enthroning himſelf in the field, at a place they called *the Field*, with his men of war, honour and buſineſs about him, he thus addreſſed them from his poſt of ſtate.

"Taking for granted, my friends and "fellow-tribeſmen, that the good offices I "have done you, the poſſeſſions I have be"ſtowed upon you, the honourable and "profitable commiſſions that I have given "you, are not as yet ſo abſolutely ſunk and "buried, as to be quite out of your memo"ry; I ſhall now put this ſhort queſtion to "you: Whether or no do you expect great"er benefits and advantages from the ſon "of *Jeſſe*, than you have received from "me? For I find it manifeſtly, that all "your inclinations biaſs that way; and that "my ſon *Jonathan* miniſters both an ex"ample and an authority for your ſo do-

"ing: For I am no ſtranger to the ſolemnity of a ſtrict league and confederacy betwixt him and *David*, nor of his abetting the cauſe of my adverſaries with his power, intereſt, and councils."

Theſe words of the king were followed with a general ſilence, till *Doeg*, the groom, delivered what he had to ſay upon the point then in queſtion. "When I came," ſays he, "to the city of *Nob*, [*] to the high-prieſt *Abimilech*, I ſaw *David* there to conſult the oracle. *Abimelech* gave him conveniences for his journey, and the ſword of *Goliah*, and ſo helped him forward to go whither he pleaſed." After this declaration of *Doeg*, *Saul* ordered the high-prieſt to be ſent for, with all his relations, to whom the king ſaid as follows:

"What have I done to make you give this encouragement to a traitor to his prince? For the ſon of *Jeſſe* is no better. And yet who but you to entertain him; furniſh him with proviſions and arms, and to give him comfortable returns from the oracle, of the hopeful ſucceſs of his deſigns! You cannot be ignorant that he is now run away, in the conſcience of the malice he has for my family, and in the fear of being taken up and puniſhed for it."

The high-prieſt made no oppoſition to the truth of the charge; but frankly confeſſed that theſe reſpects had a regard, not ſo much to *David* as to the king himſelf; for, ſays he, "I did not receive him as your enemy, but as the faithfulleſt of your friends and officers; and, which is more, in the quality of your ſon too, and a relation in ſo tender a degree of affinity and alliance: For how ſhould any body imagine that man to be your enemy, upon whom you have conferred ſo many honours? Or why ſhould not I rather preſume ſuch a perſon, without any further enquiry, to be your ſingular friend? If he conſulted me about the will of God, it it is not the firſt time that he has done ſo, nor the firſt time that I have given him an anſwer: Neither has it been always alike. He told me that he was ſent in haſte by yourſelf, about earneſt buſineſs, and if I had not ſupplied him with what he wanted, it would have reflected an indignity upon yourſelf rather than upon him. Wherefore I hope the blame ſhall not be laid at my door, even if you ſhould find *David* to be as guilty at laſt as you ſuſpect him to be; unleſs an act purely of compaſſion and humanity, abſtracted from the leaſt thought, knowledge, or imagination of any evil intention, ſhall be underſtood to make me a party to a conſpiracy. For the ſervice I rendered him was matter of reſpect to the king's ſon-in-law, and the king's military officer, not to the perſon or intereſt of *David*."

This was all plauſible and fair; but without giving any credit to the excuſe, he commanded the guards about him to ſeize *Abimelech* and his family, and put them all to the ſword. The *Hebrews* flatly refuſed to execute ſo ſacrilegeous a commiſſion, for it was no leſs, in the conſtruction of their religion, to put any man to death that ſerved at the altar. Upon this ſcruple and denial, the charge was committed to *Doeg* the *Syrian*; who, with an impious band of ruffians and aſſaſſins like himſelf, began with the high-prieſt, and went through his whole family, to the number of three hundred and eighty-five perſons. This barbarous maſſacre was no ſooner over, but the ſame helliſh crew was diſpatched away to *Nob*, the ſeat and reſidence of the prieſthood, on the ſame errand, where they killed all the inhabitants they could find, to a ſingle ſoul, ſparing neither age nor ſex: And, and in concluſion, they laid the whole town in aſhes. *Abiathar*, the ſon of *Abimelech*, was the only perſon that eſcaped in this butchery, to verify an ancient revelation from God to the high-prieſt *Celi*; foretelling him, that the iniquity of his two ſons would, in time to come, be puniſhed with the rooting out of the family. This execrable cruelty of *Saul's*, in the extirpation of the ſacerdotal race; the putting of old men, women and children, to the ſword, without either pity for the one, or reverence for the other; the deſtroying of a city that God himſelf had honoured with a peculiar privelege, by ſetting it apart as a nurſery for prieſts and prophets. This barbarous courſe, I ſay, of inhuman violences, ſhews us the licentious corruptions of fleſh and blood, when unbridled nature is left to itſelf, without ſome external check upon it. While men are low, poor, and impotent, in fear of laws and penalties, and in truth, under ſome ſort of neceſſity to appear honeſt, for want of power to be wicked; how temperate, juſt, and gentle, nay, how religious do they pretend to be! They live as if they owned a providence, and believed the omnipreſence of an Almighty and an all-ſeeing God. But they no ſooner are delivered from the clogs and impediments of theſe inabilities, and advanced to the authority of prerogative and government, than they become abandoned, ſhift like vagrant ſtage-players, and lay by their old manners with their old clothes, changing both the ſcene and the perſon: They grow bold, proud, and inſolent; quitting all reverence either for God or man; and inſtead of exerciſing that piety and juſtice which can only ſecure men in that eminent ſtation, from the ſtroke of detraction and envy, (for their very thoughts as well as actions, in that height of elevation, are expoſed to common cenſure) they live, and act, as if either God knew not what they did, or as if their greatneſs had tranſported them beyond the reach of divine juſtice.

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[*] This city *Nob* was not a city allotted to the prieſts; nor had the prophets, that we know of, any particular cities allotted them. It ſeems the tabernacle was now at *Nob*; and probably a ſchool of the prophets was here alſo. It was full two days journey on foot from *Jeruſalem*, 1 *Sam.* xxi. 5. The number of prieſts here ſlain in *Joſephus*, is 385, and but 85, in our *Hebrew* copies; yet are they 305 in the *Septuagint*. I prefer *Joſephus*'s number; the *Hebrew* having, I ſuppoſe, only dropped the hundreds, the other the tens. This city *Nob* ſeems to have been the chief, or perhaps the only ſeat of the family of *Ithamar*; which here periſhed, according to God's former threatnings to *Eli*. 1 *Sam.* ii. 27, 36. iii. 11, 18.

We find all this to be punctually fulfilled in the preſent inſtance of *Saul*, the ſon of *Kis*, who was the firſt king of the *Hebrews* after the diſſolution of the ariſtocracy, and the taking of the adminiſtration out of the hands of the judges. He put to death three hundred prieſts and prophets, upon the caprice of a bare jealouſy of *Abimelech*. He laid their city in rubbiſh, killed all that were in it, and buried the dead under the ruins of it; doing all that in him lay toward the utter extinction of the ſacerdotal order and race, without leaving ſo much as one prieſt alive to ſerve at the altar, or any habitation to receive them.

Abiathar, the ſon of *Abimelech*, was the only man that eſcaped, and he carried the deſtruction of his father, and his family, to *David*; which was no more, he ſaid, than he expected, when he ſaw *Doeg* there, who he was ſure would make the worſt of it to the king. And, he told *Abiathar*, that it went to his heart to find himſelf any way the occaſion of ſo dreadful a calamity. But ſays he, ſince ſo it is, ſtay with me, for you can be no where ſafer.

About this time there was word brought to *David*, that the *Philiſtines* were entered with an army into the province of *Keliah*, burning and deſtroying all before them wherever they came. *David* had an inclination to attack them; but not without conſulting the prophet firſt, for encouragement and direction. The prophet bad him go on and proſper; whereupon he preſently drew out, fought the enemy, and routed them with a very great ſlaughter, and carried off a conſiderable booty. After this, he ſtaid a while in *Keilah*, as a guard to ſecure the inning of the harveſt. *Saul*, in this point of time, received a particular account of *David* being in the town, and likewiſe of the action, which was too conſiderable to lie long concealed. It was alſo obſervable, that the relation was delivered much to *David*'s honour. Upon the intelligence of *David*'s ſhutting himſelf up in a walled town, *Saul* looked upon his buſineſs to be as good as done; and as the favour of a ſingular providence that had put his enemy into his hands; he thereupon gave orders immediately for the beſieging *Keliah*, and not to quit the place till *David* ſhould be brought to juſtice: But *David* being premoniſhed by a revelation, that if he did not ſeaſonably provide for himſelf, the people of *Keliah* would deliver him up to the king to ſave themſelves; he quitted the city, and betook himſelf, with his four hundred men, into the deſart, where he encamped upon a hill that was well fortified, by the name of *En-geddi*: *Saul*, underſtanding that *David* had left the town, countermanded his orders for the ſiege; while *David*, with his people, removed out of the wilderneſs to *Cæna*, a place belonging to *Ziphe*; to which place *Jonathan*, the king's ſon, came, and ſaluted him with an intent to have ſome diſcourſe with him about things to come. He bad him deſpond of nothing, for all thoſe preſent difficulties would vaniſh: For the time, he ſaid, was at hand, when the whole nation of the *Hebrews* ſhould be his ſubjects; adviſing him to conſider, that bleſſings of that quality are not to be compaſſed without toil and hazard. They now renewed their league of friendſhip over again, with a ſanction of moſt dreadful curſes upon him that ſhould firſt act contrary to covenants: The obligation to be for life, and God to be a witneſs to it. This ſolemnity being performed, *Jonathan* left *David* upon the place, much eaſier and better ſatisfied than he found him, and ſo returned to his own home.

While this was a doing, the men of *Ziphe*, to curry favour with the king, gave him to underſtand that *David* lay lurking up and down about their grounds, and undertook, if *Saul* would be pleaſed to come to their aſſiſtance, to deliver him up; for it was but the ſecuring of ſome narrow paſſes, and it would be impoſſible for him to eſcape. *Saul* highly extolled the zeal and good-will of the men, with very gracious acknowledgements of the obligation they had laid upon him, in telling him where he might find his enemy, and promiſed them large requitals alſo for the ſervice they had done him. The king preſently ſent away his agents, to find *David*, if poſſible, and to ſearch all the hiding places in the deſart for him; promiſing to follow them himſelf in a very ſhort time with his army. The people of *Ziphe* were wonderfully forward and officious, not only to ſerve as guides toward the diſcovery of *David* in his haunts; but for the very ſeizure of his perſon, and the giving of him up into the king's power. But after all the villainy of this phariſaical zeal, their malicious purpoſe was at laſt diſappointed. Had they been ſilent in the caſe, they might have acted with all the ſecurity imaginable: The baſeneſs of their thruſting themſelves into the treachery of betraying a pious and an innocent perſon to ruin and deſtruction, contrary to law and juſtice, was not only, a ſcandalous but a wicked office, undertaken for the vileſt purpoſe; but mercenaries and pickthanks will ſtick at nothing.

David being ſeaſonably advertiſed of this brutal conſpiracy of the *Ziphites*; and of the king's being upon his march in proſecution, and in favour of it, quitted the ſituation he was in, and made away as faſt as he could to a great rock in the wilderneſs of *Maon*. *Saul* having received intelligence upon the way, of *David*'s removal, and what courſe he took, followed him upon the heel; and was come ſo near him, that *Saul* was on one ſide of the rock, and *David* on the other, and juſt ready to be hemmed in beyond all poſſibility of eſcaping: But by great providence, juſt in the preciſe inſtant, came the ſad news to *Saul* that the *Philiſtines* had broken in upon the *Hebrews*, and were ravaging their country. This intelligence diverted *Saul* from his purſuit of *David*; chuſing rather to turn his arms upon the ſworn enemies of the nation, and to redeem his country, than run the riſque of loſing all to gratify a particular pique againſt one ſingle perſon. By this bleſſed providence was *David* delivered beyond all expectation: And his next retreat was to the ſtreights of *Engeddi.*

When *Saul* had encountered and beaten back the *Philiſtines*, word was brought to him again in his return, where he might find *David*; for that he had been ſeen ſome where about *Engeddi*. Upon this advice, *Saul* drew out three thouſand choice men to march immediately after him. As they were immediately upon the ſame way, and within a little of the place, there was a deep, dark, ſpacious cave, and *Saul* ſtept aſide into it alone, as a place of privacy, upon a neceſſary occaſion to eaſe himſelf. This cave happened to be the very place where *David* and his followers had hid themſelves. One of *David*'s people that knew *Saul* very well, had the fortune to diſcover him, and preſently went up to *David* with the good news, that now was his time to put an end to all his troubles, by taking the opportunity of a glorious revenge, in cutting off the head of his mortal enemy; for God had now delivered up *Saul* into his hands. But it neither ſuited with *David*'s greatneſs of mind, nor with the ſenſe and conſcience of his duty and allegiance, to lay violent hands upon his anointed lord and maſter, whom God himſelf had ſet over him; and to return evil for evil. So that *David* however cut off a piece of the ſkirt of *Saul*'s garment, and let him go: But repented in the very inſtant, even of that too.

Upon *Saul*'s going out of the cave, *David* followed him into the open air, calling out after him: The king, upon hearing of a voice he was ſo well acquainted with, turned preſently about; and *David*, with all decency of reverence and reſpect, both to the perſon and the occaſion, addreſſed himſelf in words to this effect.

"It is a very unhappy thing, ſir, when a great prince has his ears ſo open to calumniators and detractors, as to ſuſpect the integrity of his tried and moſt faithful friends, upon the credit of the vaineſt and falſeſt of men; that is to ſay, of mean flatterers, and underhand performers. Were it not a much more laudable way to put every man to the trial of his honeſty by his works? You may be pleaſed now, upon the force of this ſingle inſtance at preſent before you, to conſult your reaſon, upon ſecond thoughts; whether I had a hard meaſure, or not, in being taken for criminal, upon the ſuggeſtion of an evil intention, that never ſo much as entered into my thought; and yet it has (moſt unhappily to me) ſo far gained belief with your majeſty, that I go in danger of my life every hour of the day, and of the night, upon a bare and an ungrounded jealouſy of my guilt. Can any thing be clearer than the evidence of your majeſty's miſtake, when you ſupect me for malicious practices upon your life, as well as upon your family? How will your majeſty look God in the face with this guilt upon your conſcience, that you are ſtill practiſing upon the life of a perſon that had you wholly at mercy, and the opportunity of gratifying his revenge; and yet ſpared you out of good-nature, juſtice, and reſpect. Look you, ſir, I could as eaſily have taken your head from your ſhoulders, as this piece of ſtuff from your mantle. I had not the heart to indulge any thing of a vindictive execution, though never ſo juſt; while you at the ſame time, without any difficulty or ſcruple, purſue me with a moſt injurious perſecution. But let God judge betwixt us, who will determine in the concluſion, which of the two was in the right.

Saul was ſo confounded at the modeſty and ſoftneſs of the young man, and in ſuch admiration at the good-nature and humanity of *David*, in ſparing his life, after ſo many bitter provocations, that he could not forbear groaning upon the thought of it; and upon *David*'s anſwering his ſigh with another, "No, no, ſays *Saul*, theſe lamentatations will better become me; for as you, on the one hand, have been to me the cauſe and author of a great deal of good; ſo have I, on the other ſide, made you a return only of cruelty and miſery,

“ for all your obligations and benefits. You have in this given to underſtand that you are not degenerated from the generoſity, greatneſs, and goodneſs of your anceſtors; who, when they had their enemies at mercy, choſe rather to diſmiſs them ſafe and free, than to make an ill uſe of the advantage they had over them. Now do I manifeſtly perceive by the paſſages of this day that God has ſet you apart for this kingdom, and that the whole nation of the *Hebrews* is to be ſubjected to your government. Wherefore I have this requeſt to make you, that you give me your promiſe, upon oath, to forgive all the injuries I have done you; and that when you come to be poſſeſſed of your government, you will be merciful to my family.” *David* paſſed his promiſe upon oath to do as he was deſired. and ſo diſmiſſed the king, and departed himſelf with his train to the ſtreights of *Mizpeh.*

About this time died the prophet *Samuel*, a perſon in great reputation among the *Hebrews*, for his probity and virtue: And the people gave an eminent proof of the eſteem they had for him, in the magnificence and expence of his funeral. They buried him at *Ramah* in his own country, and mourned for him afterward a long time; not with the ceremony of a formal, public ſorrow, but every individual had a diſtinct and a particular ſhare in the loſs; for he was a man of a natural benignity and juſtice, and moſt remarkably in God's favour for his virtues. After the death of *Eli*, he governed twelve years alone; and then in the reign of *Saul*, eighteen years more, ending his days according to the relation here ſet forth.

There lived at that time near the place where *David* frequented, a man of *Ziphe*, of the city of *Emma*, whoſe name was *Nabal*. He was very wealthy in herds and poſſeſſions, for he had in his grounds three thouſand ſheep, and a thouſand goats. *David* was ſo much his friend, that he ſet his own people to aſſiſt *Nabal's* in looking after his flocks; forbidding them upon their utmoſt peril, either for avarice or for hunger, or upon any other pretence whatever, to touch ſo much as one hair of them, even if they ſhould be ſure not to be diſcovered, preaching to them ſtill upon the text of doing juſtice to all men, living in conformity to the will of God, who was never pleaſed with any man that coveted, or laid violent hands on, the goods of his neighbour.

This *Nabal* was a brutal, ill-natured wretch; but the huſband of a well-faſhioned, prudent and agreeable woman. One day as he was upon his ſheep ſhearing, *David* ſent ten of his people to *Nabal* with the compliment of a thouſand good wiſhes to him, deſiring only ſome moderate ſupply of proviſions out of his abundance; for his ſhepherds could inform him, that all the while they had been together in the deſart, they had been ſo far from doing *Nabal* an injury, that they had rather kept and preſerved his ſheep for him: cloſing the diſcourſe with an aſſurance, that what friendſhip ſoever he ſhould do for *David* upon this occaſion, ſhould be abundantly acknowledged. The anſwer that *Nabal* returned them was harſh and churliſh, like himſelf. *David*, ſays *Nabal*, Why, who's that ſame *David*, I wonder? They told him he was one of the ſons of *Jeſſe*. Yes, yes, ſays *Nabal*, your run-away ſervants look upon themſelves to be brave fellows, I warrant ye. This contemptous affront had ſuch an effect on *David*, that he went at the head of four hundred men toward *Nabal*, leaving two hundred more behind them with the baggage, (his number being now encreaſed to ſix hundred) * with a vow and determination that very night to ruin *Nabal*, with his houſe and family. *David*'s indignation againſt him, was not ſo much for his barbarity and ingratitude, where he had been ſo frankly obliged; but for the virulence of ſo inſolent an outrage againſt a man that never did him an injury.

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* The number of men that came firſt to *David* are diſtinctly in *Joſephus* and in our common copies, but 400. When he was at *Keilah* ſtill but 400 both in *Joſephus* and in the LXXII; but 600 in our *Hebrew* copies: 1 *Sam.* xxiii. 13. See xxx. 9, 10. Now the 600 there mentioned, are intimated by *Joſephus* to have been ſo many, only by an augmentation of 200 afterward: Which I ſuppoſe is the true ſolution of this ſeeming diſagreement.

While matters were in this hurry, ſome of *Nabal*'s ſhepherds and ſervants carried the ſtory of this encounter to the miſtreſs, telling her how *David* had ſent to her huſband to deſire a ſmall pittance of ſomething to eat, which *Nabal* did not only refuſe, but anſwered him with unſufferable and opprobrious revilings, though *David* had ever dealt honourably and reſpectfully by him upon ſeveral occaſions; telling her further what apprehenſions they had of the miſchief that the ſenſe of this indignity might bring upon herſelf and her huſband. No ſooner had *Abigal*, the wife of *Nabal*, heard what they had to ſay, but ſhe preſently called for the aſſes, cauſing them to be laden with preſents, and, without one word ſpeaking to her huſband, who was at that time fuddled and ſenſeleſs, ſhe put herſelf upon the way to find out *David*, whom ſhe met coming down the ſtraits of the mountain, and four hundred men following him, going to take vengeance upon *Nabal*. *Abigal* had no ſooner ſight of him, but leaping from her aſs, ſhe threw herſelf proſtrate upon the ground, and humbly beſought *David* to paſs over the words of her huſband, as one whoſe name was ſuited to his nature, *Nabal*, in *Hebrew*, ſignifying a fool and a madman. She pleaded for herſelf, that ſhe ſaw none of the meſſengers to her huſband, begged pardon, and deſired *David* to give God thanks for ſending her as the inſtrument to keep his hands from blood. "And, Sir," ſays ſhe, "may you ſtill preſerve yourſelf "clear of that pollution, that God may "turn the vengeance that threatens *Nabal*, "upon the heads of your enemies. Be "pleaſed, I beſeech you, to accept of the "good will of your poor ſervant, with theſe "ſmall preſents; and upon my humble "requeſt, to paſs over the offence of my "huſband, who had ſo juſtly incurred your "diſpleaſure; for there is nothing ſo well "becoming the character of the perſon "that providence deſigns for a crown, as "clemency and compaſſion." *David* was prevailed upon to receive the preſents, and "Woman," ſays he, "bleſs God that put "it into your heart to come hither this day, "you ſhould never have lived to have ſeen "another elſe; for I had ſworn to myſelf "to lay your houſe in ruins this very night, "and not to leave one ſoul alive in the fa- "mily of that ungrateful man, that has caſt "ſo many indignities upon me, and thoſe "that belong to me. You are now come "in a bleſſed hour to allay my rage, and "put a ſtop to my reſolution; but yet after "all, though I am content, for your ſake, "to forgive *Nabal*'s fault againſt me, there "is a judgment ſtill attends him, and his "ill manners will be his ruin ſome other "way." With theſe words *David* diſcharged *Abigal*, who went directly home, and found her huſband among his beaſtly companions, ſo ſottiſhly drunk, that there was no ſpeaking to him that night; but the next morning, while he was dry and ſober, ſhe told him the whole ſtory from end to end, which ſtruck him into ſuch an amazement, that he fell into a dead numbneſs all over his body, and died in ten days. *David*, upon the news of his death, was heard to ſay, that God had avenged his cauſe, while he that received the injury came off with clean hands. The world may gather from this example, that there is no avoiding the ſtroke of divine juſtice; and that it is providence that governs the world, not paſſion, or chance; but that both good and wicked men are either rewarded or puniſhed in their own kind.

After the deceaſe of the huſband, *David* ſent a meſſenger, and an invitation to the widow; deſiring her to come over to him; for he would take her to his bed as his lawful wife. Her anſwer was, that ſhe was not worthy ſo much as to waſh the feet of *David*, but ſhe went to him however with all her equipage, and became his wife; an honour that ſhe was indebted to for the graces both of her mind and perſon; for it was her prudence, modeſty, and beauty, that recommended her to this preferment. *David* had alſo a former wife, *Ahinoam*, of *Aheſar*; but as for his late wife *Michol*, the daughter of *Saul*, her father gave her to *Phalti* the ſon of *Laiſh* of *Gallim*. It was not long after this, when the men of *Ziphe* brought a freſh account to *Saul*, that *David* was come into their quarters again, and with a little help he might be eaſily taken. Upon this intelligence, *Saul* immediately marched toward them with 3000 men; and the night coming on, he pitched his tents at a place called *Zicklag*. When *David* came to underſtand that *Saul* was moving that way, he ſent out his ſcouts for a particular information where the enemy lay; and word being brought that they had poſted themſelves near a place called *Zicklag*, *David* got up in the night, and with only *Abiſhai*, the ſon of his ſiſter *Zeruiah*, and *Akimilech* the *Hittite*, went directly, without the privity of any other creature, into the camp of the enemy; where they found the king in his tent, with his guards about him, all faſt aſleep.

Abiſhai, ſeeing the king in bed, and his launce by him, would needs have nailed him immediately to the ground; but *David* held his hands, and told him: “ *Saul* is “ God's king, and his perſon ſacred, let the “ man be never ſo wicked; and he is only “ accountable for the ill management of his “ power to him that gave him the power “ itſelf. But for a proof however, that I “ had him at mercy, tho' I would not make “ a bad uſe of the advantage, I will now “ take away his launce, and pitcher of water from his bed-ſide.” *David* leaving the camp as ſilently, and unperceived, as he came into it, and betwixt the darkneſs of the night, and the ſtrength of his own reſolution, he departed, without any apprehenſion of danger upon the adventure. He paſſed the river, and then getting up to the top of a mountain near at hand, within the hearing of the camp, he called out from thence to *Abner*, and the guards, as loud as he could, to wake them: *Abner* ſtarted upon this clamour; and hearing himſelf called upon by name, cryed out aloud to know, who it was that would ſpeak with *Abner*? Anſwer was made, it was *David*, the ſon of *Jeſſe*, one of your fugitives. “ Are not you a fit man, “ ſays *David*,” to be a great prince's favourite; a general of his army, and to take “ upon you the guard of his royal perſon, “ and under all theſe honourable obligations, “ to lie dozing and ſtretching yourſelf at “ eaſe, when your maſter's life is in danger? “ Can you tell me what is become of the “ king's launce, and the pitcher of water “ that were this night taken by the enemy “ out of his tent, and from his very bed-ſide? “ And you, in the mean time, and your “ guards, all ſnoring about him, without “ knowing any thing of the matter? Whether this were neglect, or treachery, 'tis as “ as broad as 'tis long; for whether it was “ the one, or the other, you do certainly “ deſerve to loſe your head for it.”

When *Saul* came to find this to be *David's* voice, and himſelf now a ſecond time betrayed, betwixt the frailty of his own drowſineſs and the neglect of the guards, into the hand's of the very perſon, whoſe life he himſelf was now about to take away; miſtaking the beſt friend he had for the moſt mortal of his enemies: *Saul*, I ſay, was ſo ſenſible of *David*'s goodneſs and reſpect, under the gteateſt provocations, and not without ſome ſort of right to be ſevere upon him, that he gave him public thanks for his life; bidding him ſet his heart at reſt for the future, and fear nothing, but return in peace to his own habitation; for he found by experience, he ſaid, that his life was not dearer to himſelf than it was to *David*,, whom he looked upon as his preſerver, and a perſon of ſo tried and unchangeable affection to him, that notwithſtanding all baniſhments, hazards, and ill uſages, loſs of friends, and many violent attempts upon his life, he returned him nothing but benefits for injuries, and good for evil. *David*, at laſt, called for ſome body to fetch back the launce and the pitcher, appealing upon the whole matter to

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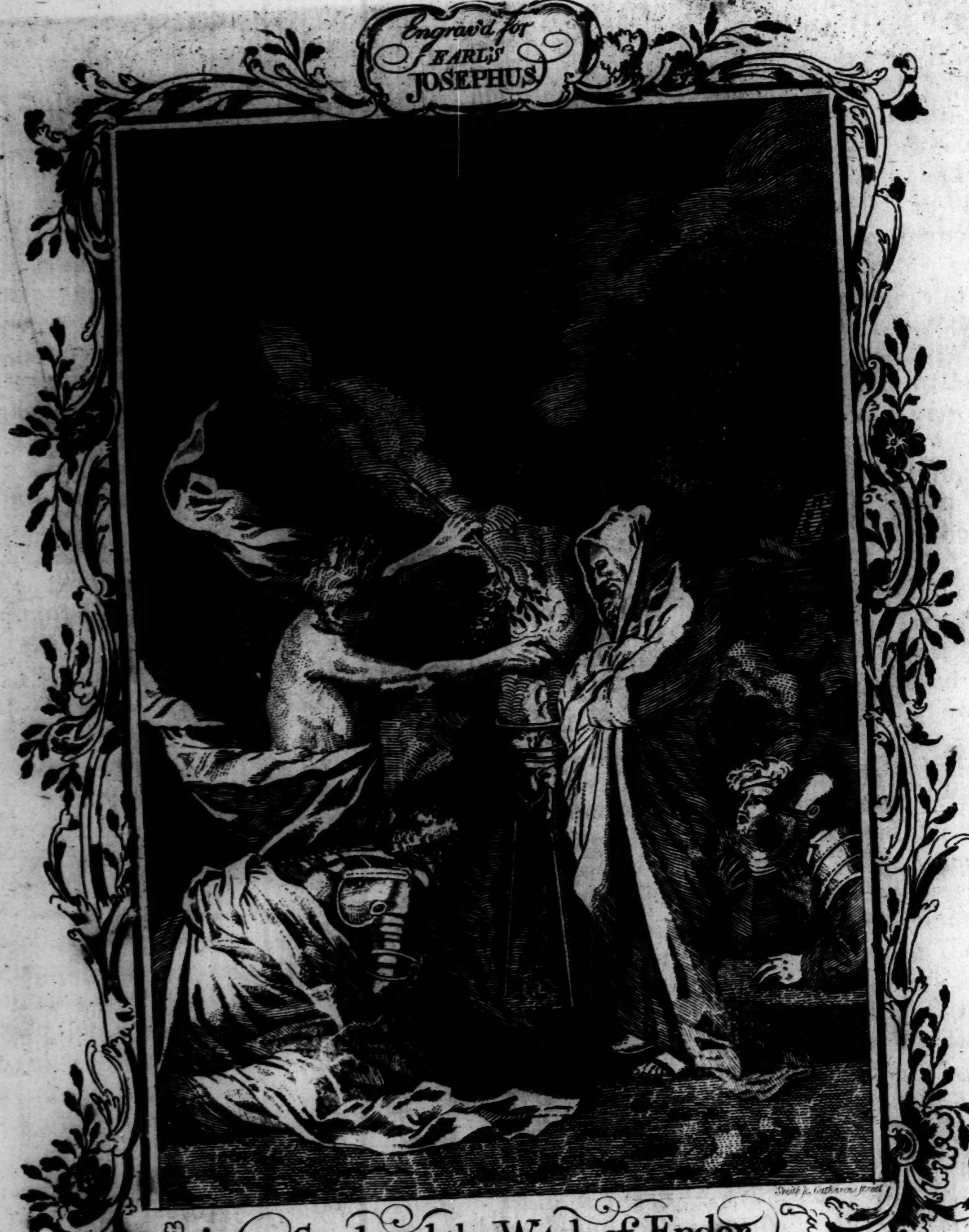
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Saul and the Witch of Endor.

the righteous God of Heaven and earth, to judge betwixt them, and to bear him witneſs, that when he took away *Saul*'s launce and pitcher, he could with as much eaſe have taken his life.

After this ſecond deliverance, *Saul* returned ſafe, and at liberty, to his palace. But *David* having no mind to venture himſelf any longer in a place where he was ſtill in danger to be taken up, removed with his ſix hundred men into the land of the *Philiſtines*, to live there, with the conſent and liking of all his people. Being now come to *Achiſh*, the king of *Gath*, a city belonging to the *Philiſtines*, the king entertains *David* and his two wives, *Ahinoam* and *Abigal*. *Saul* all this while had notice ſtill of *David*'s removes; but after two diſappointments already, and falling into the very trap himſelf that he had ſet for *David*, he left his adverſary to take his fortune, and gave over the chace.

David found himſelf uneaſy in the city of *Gath*, and ſo took the freedom to deſire of the king this addition to his former bounties; that he would be pleaſed to aſſign him ſome place or portion of ground in his dominions, for himſelf, and thoſe that belonged to him, to live upon; for it put him out of countenance to continue ſtill in a place where he muſt appear burthenſome to the people. The king upon this ſupplication gave him *Zicklag* to himſelf and his heirs for ever; and *David* retained a great kindneſs for the place, even after he came to be king: But of this we ſhall treat more largely in another place.

David's ſtay in *Zicklag* was four months and twenty days; whence he made ſeveral inroads upon their neighbours, the *Sarites* and *Amalekites*, carrying away vaſt booties of mules and camels; but never took any priſoners for fear they ſhould tell tales, and diſcover the whole myſtery to *Achiſh*. He often made the king preſents however out of the ſpoil, who aſked him, where he met with all that pillage. His anſwer was, that he had made incurſions into the ſoutherly parts of *Judea*, where he found it. There was no great difficulty to make *Achiſh* believe a ſtory that his heart was ſo ſet upon to have it true; for it was reaſonably to be preſumed, that after all this havock and outrage committed by *David* upon his own countrymen, he would never dare to look homeward again; and by that means have nothing left to truſt to but the ſervice of king *Achiſh*. The *Philiſtines* were about this time preparing for war againſt the *Hebrews*, and a general rendezvous appointed upon ſuch a day, in *Rengam*, where *Achiſh* was to draw them into a body, and thence to lead them out againſt the enemy. The king ſpake to *David* alſo to join him, with his ſix hundred men over and above his own troops; who not only promiſed it with great readineſs, but told *Achiſh* further, that the time was now at hand that would put it into his power to make him an honourable return for all his bounties. The king, on the other hand, paſſing his royal word to *David*, the more to oblige him, that if he ſucceeded in this battle, he would do him all the honour that in him in lay; and in particular, give him the command of his guards.

CHAP. X.

Saul *conſults the Ghoſt of* Samuel.

IT is to be noted, that *Saul* had already baniſhed all diviners, ſoothſayers, fortunetellers, and all other people whatſoever, of thoſe vain pretenſions, out of his dominions; but the prophets he ſtill retained. News being now brought to him that the *Philiſtines* were advanced as far as *Sunem*, and encamped upon the plain there, he went out to meet them, and drew up near the mountain of *Gilboah*, directly over againſt the camp of the enemy. The armies being now in ſight of each other, *Saul* found the *Philliſtines* ſo much ſuperior to the *Hebrews*, both for order and number, that his heart foreboded ill ſucceſs; and this terror put him upon conſulting the prophets about the event of the expected battle. The queſtion being put, and no anſwer returned, the oracle's ſilence harrowed up his ſoul; for he looked upon it to be a preſage of an evil fate at hand, and fell into a downright deſperation upon it; and yet ſuch was the hardneſs of his heart, that though God had withdrawn his favour from him in ſuch a ſignal manner, and he himſelf conſcious of it, he had ſtill a recourſe, after all this, to conjurers and wizzards, to learn the event of things; and ſet people at work to find him out ſome cunning woman that could foretell things to come. For there are a ſort of people that take upon them to call up the ghoſts of the dead; and by the help of the black art, to reſolve ſuch queſtions as *Saul* had to aſk. While he was upon this enquiry, one of his family told him, that he had heard of ſuch a ſort of woman at *Endor*. Upon this information, *Saul* diſguiſes himſelf; and taking two confidents along with him, away he goes to the famous woman at *Endor*, without a word ſpeaking of it to any body elſe. The firſt thing he ſaid upon coming up to her, was to deſire ſome trial of her ſkill, in calling up the ghoſt of ſuch a perſon as he ſhould name. The woman excuſed herſelf out of a reverence to the king's edict, which had forbidden this way of divination, upon pain of baniſhment: Wherefore ſhe beſought him not to betray her into a ſnare; for if ſhe ſhould pretend to give a ſolution, and be detected, the conſequence would infallibly be her ruin. But this refuſal would not ſatisfy *Saul*: So that preſſing her ſtill more and more urgently, with bitter imprecations upon himſelf, that no mortal ſhould ever know of one ſyllable that paſſed betwixt them, either queſtion or anſwer, ſhe was prevailed upon at laſt, to venture herſelf upon the credit of ſuch aſſurances that ſhe was in ſafe hands.

Immediately upon her yielding, *Saul* bade her call up the ghoſt of *Samuel*. She knew nothing who this *Samuel* was; but however, upon her calling him up, the phantom appeared. The woman was under an aſtoniſhment at the ſight of ſo divine a figure, and turning toward *Saul*, aſked him if he were not *Saul* the king, (for *Samuel* had told her as much:) *Saul* making anſwer that he was the man: And obſerving her to be trembling, and in diſorder, deſired to know what might be the cauſe of that confuſion. She ſaw the reſemblance, ſhe ſaid, of an ancient man, with a radiant glory about him, aſcending from the earth. *Saul* demanded of her what kind of figure, of what years, and in what habit it ſeemed to be? A man in years, ſhe ſaid; of a venerable aſpect, and in a ſacerdotal veſt. By this deſcription, *Saul* concluded it to be the figure of *Samuel*, and fell down upon his face and worſhipped. The ſpectre demanded what he gave him this trouble for, to take him from his reſt? *Saul* replied, that it was abſolute neceſſity: For he was threatened, he ſaid, with a mighty army, and wanted advice what to do: God had forſaken him, and he had neither prophets, dreams, nor viſions to fly to for direction. For theſe reaſons he had now recourſe, he ſaid, to *Samuel* as his laſt refuge, and a perſon that he had ever found favourable to himſelf and his affairs. *Samuel* foreſeeing that *Saul* had but one day more to live, told him, how vain a thing it was for him that knew himſelf forſaken of God, to launch out into unſeaſonable curioſities, what ſhould hereafter become of him: "But," ſays the ghoſt, "ſince nothing elſe will ſerve your turn, I am to tell you, that the reſolution is taken, and the ſentence paſſed: That is to ſay, that *David* ſhall be put into poſſeſſion of the government, and bring the preſent war to a happy concluſion, while you yourſelf are to loſe your crown and your life together, for your diſobedience to God in the buſineſs of the *Amalekites*; and for the contempt of his commands, which from my lips you received by his order while I was living. Know further, that you are to be with me to-morrow; your army ſhall be totally overthrown, and yourſelf, and your ſons fall in the battle."

Theſe words ſtruck *Saul* ſpeechleſs, and in a manner dead; for he fainted, and fell to the ground upon them; whether out of the tranſport of ſo ſurpriſing a ſentence, or out of weakneſs of body with over faſting, may be a queſtion, for he had eat nothing for four and twenty hours before; but coming at laſt a little to himſelf again, the woman was very earneſt with him to take ſomewhat of ſuſtenance to ſupport nature; deſiring no other conſideration for the dangerous office ſhe had rendered him, than to have the putting of him into a condition of ſtrength and ability to return to his army. She was ſenſible enough of the hazard ſhe had run in the exerciſe of a forbidden profeſſion, and eſpecially in the violation of a decree at the deſire (unwittingly) of him that made it. After twenty importunities and refuſals, in the depth of his deſperation, *Saul* was prevailed upon, in the end, to admit of ſome refreſhment. So the woman, tho' ſo poor that ſhe got her living by her daily labour, killed her only calf, dreſſed it, and ſet it before *Saul* and his ſervants, with her whole fortune in that treat, who took his repaſt, and returned that night to his army.

CHAP. XI.

The Amalekites *pillage and burn* Zicklag: David *purſues, and cuts them to Pieces.*

THE *Philiſtines* having drawn their troops together from all quarters, according to their diſtribution into tribes, kingdoms, and governments, *Achiſh* the king of *Gath*, with his men after the reſt, and *David* with his band of ſix hundred after *Achiſh*; ſeveral of the *Philiſtine* commanders taking notice of a mixture of *Hebrews* among them, enquired from whence they came? Who ſent for them? And what they did there? *Achiſh* made anſwer, that the young man there (pointing to *David*) was a ſervant of *Saul*'s, that was fallen under his diſpleaſure, and forced to fly for his life.

He came to me, ſays *Achiſh*, with the people he has about him, for ſanctuary: So I received him, and provided for him: And now upon this occaſion he has promiſed me his uttermoſt aſſiſtance againſt *Saul*, in requital for his protection, and to gratify his revenge. The *Philiſtines* were one and all againſt truſting a profeſſed enemy, and rather to have him ſent back again, for they did not know, they ſaid, what miſchief the treachery of ſuch a party might do upon ſuch an occaſion. And for the controverſy betwixt him and his maſter, the ſervice he might do him upon this opportunity, would compound forty ſuch breaches: Wherefore *Achiſh* ſhould do well, they ſaid, to remand him back to the habitation he had aſſigned him, for this was the *David* that the virgins cried up ſo in their ſongs, for killing ſo many thouſands of the *Philiſtines*. *Achiſh* could not oppoſe the force and reaſon of the objection, and therefore he thought fit to take *David* aſide, and diſcourſe him upon that ſubject.

"Young man," ſays he, "upon certain "proof and experience that I have re"ceived of your fidelity and courage, I "have now entertained you as my ally and "aſſociate in this expedition; wherefore "withdraw yourſelf immediately to the "place I have allotted you, and have a "particular care there of the peace of my "people, and the country near you, for "fear my enemies ſhould take advantage of "my abſence, and preſs me with troubles "at home. You will do me the office of "a kind ally every jot as effectually in that "government, as if you were my ſecond in "the army. And in the mean time, I am "as much your friend as ever."

Upon this declaration of *Achiſh* they parted, and *David*, according to his order ,went his way to *Zicklag*.

But in the mean time, while *David* was following the camp of the *Philiſtines*, the *Amalekites* fell upon *Zicklag*, took it, and laid it in aſhes, making the like havock in the country thereabout. They pillaged all, in ſhort, wherever they came, and at laſt went home again with what booty they could carry along with them. *David*, at his return, finding the place of his habitation deſtroyed and deſolate, and his wives, and the wives and children of his fellow-ſoldiers hurried away priſoners, with all that belonged to them, he broke out into ſo paſſionate a lamentation, that he rent his clothes, and wept moſt bitterly. His followers were ready to ſtone him too, for the loſs of their wives and children; for he was the cauſe of all, they ſaid, and the whole miſcarriage was laid at his door.

When *David* had mourned very extravagantly, he deſired *Abiathar* the high-prieſt to put on his pontifical robes and conſult God in form, and then report the oracle. The queſtion was, whether or not, in caſe of overtaking the *Amalekites* upon the purſuit, the *Hebrews* might be allowed to receive their wives and children again that had been taken from them, and revenge themſelves upon the enemy.

The high-prieſt bad *David* follow them, and proſper. Upon this encouragement, he took his ſix hundred men, and purſued them upon the very heel to the brook *Beſor*, where they found an *Egyptian* that had loſt his way, and was ready to periſh with hunger, having been three days in the deſart without eating. They took pity on him, and after giving him a little refreſhment, they aſked him what he was, and to whom he belonged? He told them he was an *Egyptian* born, and a ſervant to a perſon that was at the ſacking and burning of *Zicklag*, and the country thereabouts, and was left upon the way, in his paſſage home again, becauſe he could not keep up with the troops. *David* made uſe of this *Egyptian* for his guide, upon the trace of the *Amalekites*, whom he overtook at laſt, and found them tumbling upon the ground; ſome gutling, others fuddling, and ſome again with much pride and vanity, in the contemplation of their late booty. But while they lay dozing, and drowned in ſleep and drink, and their thoughts wholly ſet upon their eaſe and pleaſure, heedleſs, defenceleſs, and un-

unarmed; *David* fell upon them in this diſorder and confuſion, mingling their blood with their wine, and with great eaſe doing dreadful execution upon them: So that upon the main, what with thoſe that had no arms at all, and thoſe that had arms, but were too drunk to uſe them; there eſcaped of the whole number, not above four hundred perſons, who were carried off by the ſpeed of the camels. The purſuit laſted from noon till night; and in the cloſe of the action, they recovered their wives, children, and booty.

David had but four hundred men with him in this adventure: The other two hundred (part of the ſix) were left behind for a guard to the baggage. Upon his return from the chace, and the ſpoil, the four hundred that were upon the action would not allow the other two hundred that were upon eaſier ſervice, to have any part of the booty, more than that of their wives and children. *David* looked upon it as an unreaſonable propoſition: "For," ſays he "the victory was "God's, and being a bleſſing upon the common cauſe, it is but reaſon that the whole "body ſhould partake of the benefit; eſpecially where the one part of it was upon duty, as well as the other, and at the ſame "time preſerved the baggage." This deciſion paſſed into a law, which is ſtill in force to this very day. That is to ſay, the ſpoil to be equally divided betwixt them that guard the baggage, and thoſe that fight the battle. *David*, after his return to *Zicklag*, ſent up and down to his friends and acquaintance in the tribe of *Juda*, preſents out of the ſpoil. We ſhall paſs now from the deſtruction of *Zicklag*, and the total overthrow of the *Amalekites*, to a bloody victory obtained by the *Philiſtines* over the *Hebrews*.

The armies joined, and the encounter was very ſharp. *Saul* and his ſons did all that was poſſible for brave men to do; but finding themſelves oppreſſed with numbers, (for the whole ſtreſs fell upon them) they had no more to do, they ſaw, than to die honourably, and to ſell their lives at ſuch a rate that the enemy ſhould have little reaſon to boaſt of the purchaſe. They were ſurrounded with freſh and freſh multitudes, and ſtill as they cut off one party, another came on: So that in the end they themſelves were forced to ſubmit to the neceſſity of an inſuperable fate. Upon the fall of *Saul*'s ſons, to wit, *Jonathan*, *Aminidab*, and *Melchi*, that were ſlain in the heat of the battle, the whole army fell into a confuſion, and fled in a direct rout, the *Philiſtines* preſſing upon the rear with a prodigious ſlaughter: *Saul* ſhifted for himſelf a while with a ſmall body of his own, till in the end they were all broken to pieces by the *Philiſtines* darts and arrows, and he found himſelf ſo weakened with wounds and loſs of blood, that after all his heroic exploits, he was not able either to ſtand upon his legs, or to do execution upon himſelf. In this extremity, he called to his armour-bearer to do him the good office, that he might not fall alive into the hands of his enemies. But the ſervant excuſed himſelf, out of the veneration he had for majeſty; and upon that refuſal, *Saul* caſt himſelf upon the point of his own ſword: But not being able to finiſh what he had begun, he took notice of a young man, an *Amalekite*, there at hand, and deſired him to take the ſword and diſpatch him. He did it at the firſt aſking, and in the ſame inſtant made prize of *Saul*'s golden bracelets, and of his royal crown, running away with them immediately as faſt as he could. When the armour-bearer ſaw that *Saul* was dead, he laid violent hands upon himſelf too, and there was not a man of the king's guard that outlived his maſter. This battle was fought near the mountain of *Gilboah*.

No ſooner had the *Hebrews* of the valley beyond *Jordan*, and the cities on the plains, gotten intelligence of the death of *Saul* and his ſons, and of the entire deſtruction and diſſolution of his army; but they withdrew themſelves out of their open towns into faſtneſſes, and ſtrong holds: While the *Philiſtines* took poſſeſſion, and without any difficulty made themſelves maſters, of the places the others had quitted.

On the next day after the battle, the *Philiſtines* coming into the field to view the dead, found the bodies of *Saul* and his ſons among the reſt. They ſtripped them, cut off their heads, and ſent expreſſes every way, up and down, with the news of this defeat. Their arms they depoſited in the temple of *Aſhtaroth*, and their bodies they expoſed upon gibbets, under the walls of the city of *Bethſhan*, known at this day by the name of *Scytkopolis*. This barbarous outrage upon the bodies of *Saul* and his ſons, coming to the ears of the men of *Jabeſh-Gilead*, they imbibed ſuch an indignation at the inhumanity of refuſing them the laſt rites of burial, that they made a party of daring, enterpriſing ſpirits, among themſelves, (as that place is full of them) and travelling all night, took down the bodies of *Saul* and his ſons from the walls of *Bethſhan*, and carried them away to *Jabeſh*; not a creature daring to open his mouth againſt them. Their deaths were lamented by the whole people of the place, who gave their bodies a publick and an honourable interment in the chief part of their province. They likewiſe obſerved a ſolemnity of faſting and mourning, ſo ſtrict that even women and children were not exempted from it.

This was the end of *Saul*, according to the prediction of *Samuel*, for his not proſecuting the war againſt the *Amalekites*, according to his order, and for the maſſacre of *Abimilech*, and his family, with the devaſtation even of the ſacerdotal city itſelf. He ruled in the days of *Samuel*, eighteen years, and twenty-two more after his deceaſe, coming to this unhappy end, in manner as is here ſet forth.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK VII.

From the Year of the World 2890, to 2931.

CHAP. I.

David's *Lamentation for the Death of* Saul *and* Jonathan.

THE battle laſt recited was fought upon the very day of *David*'s coming back to *Zicklag*, from the overthrow of the *Amalekites;* and on the third day after that, came the perſon that had killed *Saul*, and made his eſcape out of the battle. He advanced toward *David* with aſhes upon his head, and his clothes all rent, and threw himſelf down proſtrate at his feet. *David* aſked him what he was, and from whence he came in ſuch a dreſs? He told him that he was an *Amalekite*, and came from the unfortunate battle of the *Hebrews*, where the king himſelf, and his ſons, were miſſing after the battle, beſide many thouſands of the army. "I ſhall ſpeak no more," ſays he, "than "what I ſaw with my own eyes. It was "my fortune to be near the king, when he "was in his extremity. He caſt himſelf "upon the point of his own ſword; but ſo "faint with his wounds, that he could not "execute what he had begun: So that up"on his earneſt deſire, I was forced to do "the office for him, to keep him from fall"ing alive into the hands of his enemies." He ſhewed *David* at the ſame time, the bracelet and the crown that he took from the dead body, to confirm the truth of his ſtory, which he reſerved for a preſent to *David*. There was no room left for doubting, after this evidence, ſo that *David* rent his clothes upon it, and ſpent the whole day with his friends, in tears, and lamentations. But the moſt ſenſible part of his affliction was the loſs of *Jonathan*, his ever dear, and faithful friend, and more than once the very preſerver of his life. Now ſo tranſcendent was the virtue of *David*, and the generoſity of his good nature toward *Saul*, that notwithſtanding ſo many repeated practices upon his life, he did not only deplore his misfortune, but ordered the criminal to be delivered up to juſtice, not only upon his own confeſſion, but upon the more certain evidence of his guilt, by the crown and the bracelet, which he took from *Saul* after he was dead, to carry them to *David*: And proving himſelf to be the true brood of an *Amalekite*, by owning the very principle of a regicide. Several elegies and epitaphs of *David*'s compoſition to the honour of *Saul*, and *Jonathan*, are extant to this very day.

CHAP. II.

The Tribe of Judah *ſets up* David *for their King.* Abner *ſets up* Iſhboſheth. Abner *marches againſt* David, *and is defeated by* Joab.

WHEN *David* had paid his laſt duties to the honour and memory of *Saul* and his ſons, and that the term of the mourning was expired, he conſulted God by the prophet, which city of *Juda* ſhould be allotted him for his habitation, and it was anſwered *Hebron*: Wherefore he left *Ticklag*, and repaired thither, with his two wives, and the guards of his perſon that he had about him; whither the whole tribe came flocking ſoon after, and in a full convention with one voice proclaimed him king. *David* had heard by this time of the generous and reſpectful behaviour of the men of *Jabeſh* toward *Saul* and his ſons, and how bravely they reſcued their bodies from the gibbet, in the face of the enemy, and gave them a pompous and honourable burial: Whereupon he ſent them particular acknowledgments, in his own name, for what they had done in favour of thoſe princes, as an obligation that ſhould be for ever remembered to their advantage: The ſame meſſenger giving them alſo to underſtand, that the tribe of *Juda* had created and declared *David* for their king.

At this juncture *Abner*, the ſon of *Ner*, who had been *Saul*'s general, a man of a large heart, and naturally qualified for glorious undertakings, hearing of the death of *Saul*, *Jonathan*, and two other of his ſons, in the late battle, poſted away to the camp, in ſearch of *Iſhboſheth*, at that time the only ſurvivor of *Saul*'s male iſſue. At length he found him, and to put him out of danger croſſed the river *Jordan* with him, and got him to be accepted and declared king of all *Iſrael*, the tribe of *Juda* excepted; appointing *Meanahaim* for his reſidence, which ſignifies as much as the camp. *Abner* was ſo incenſed againſt this tribe for the choice of their king, that he reſolved to make war upon them for it, and very expeditiouſly detached a body of the beſt men he could pick out for the encounter. *Joab*, the ſon of *Suri*, and *Zerviah*, *David*'s ſiſter, had the command of *David*'s army, taking his two brothers, *Abiſhai* and *Hazael*, along with him. When they were advanced to a certain fountain of *Gibeon*, the two armies being now in ſight of one another, drew up, but as they ſtood in order there, and ready to engage, *Abner* propounded a trial beforehand, between a certain number of a ſide, to ſee which were the braver men of the two. Accordingly by mutual conſent they each ſent out twelve to diſpute the point, betwixt, and in the ſight of the two armies. They began the combat with their darts, and then fell in with their ſwords, every man taking his adverſary by the hair, and digging and ſtabbing one another till they fell all dead upon the place. Upon this the armies joined, and for a while the victory was uncertain to either party: But in the end, *Abner* was totally routed, and put to flight; * *Joab*, and his two brothers at his heels, in the purſuit, encouraging their men, both to the chace, and to the execution. But no man ſtuck ſo cloſe to him as *Hazael*, who was ſo ſwift of foot, that he could outrun moſt horſes; and having ſingled him out, preſſed cloſe after him, without turning either to the right hand or to the left. When *Abner* found himſelf ſet ſo hard upon, he offered him a ſuit of arms to let him go; and ſeeing that would not take him off, he fairly adviſed him not to put him to a neceſſity of doing him a miſchief, for the ſaving of his own life: After which he could never think of looking his brother in the face. *Abner* by this time perceiving that *Hazael* was not to be wrought upon, he turned his launce in his flight, and ſtruck his purſuer dead upon the place. This accident put a ſtop to the purſuit, the people giving over the chace for a time, to ſtand gazing at the ſpectacle. *Joab* and his brother *Abiſhai* however were now paſt the dead body, and ſo exaſperated againſt *Abner* for the death of their brother, that with an incredible ſpeed and vigour, they preſſed the purſuit till towards ſunſet, to *Mathon*, i. e. the aqueduct. In this place *Abner*, with the tribe of *Benjamin*, took the advantage of a riſing ground to obſerve the enemy, and from thence to reaſon the caſe with *Joab*, after this manner:

That this outrageous animoſity was already gone too far among people of the ſame blood and profeſſion. As for your brother *Hazael*, ſays he, I begged of him to deſiſt, and leave off purſuing me any farther; but he having brought it to this concluſion, that I muſt either take away his life, or loſe my own, therefore did he juſtly merit this miſcarriage. *Joab* could not oppoſe the fairneſs of *Abner*'s plea, and accordingly cauſed a retreat to be ſounded; encamping upon the ſame place that night: But *Abner* continued his march over the river *Jordan*, to the palace of *Iſhboſheth*, the ſon of *Saul*. *Joab*, the day following, took a view of the dead, (which he cauſed to be buried) computing that *Abner* loſt three hundred and ſixty men, and *David* nineteen; without reckoning *Hazael*, whoſe body was carried by *Joab* and *Abiſhai* to *Bethlehem*, and there laid in the ſepulchre of their fathers; from whence they returned to *David* at *Hebron*.

This controverſy betwixt the houſe of *David*, and the houſe of *Saul*, was the riſe of a long civil war among the *Hebrews*; but ſtill *David* and his party got the better in all encounters, whilſt the ſons of *Saul*, on the other ſide, were continually worſted in whatever they undertook.

David, in the mean time, had ſix ſons, by as many wives. *Ammon* the ſon of *Ahinoam*; *Daniel*, the ſon of *Abigail*: *Abſalom*, the ſon of *Maacah*, the daughter of *Tolmai*, King of *Geſhur*; *Adonijah*, the ſon of *Haggith*; *Sphacia*, the ſon of *Abithal*; and *Jethrakam*, the ſon of *Egla*.

In the proſecution of this civil war, it was the prudence, the intereſt, and the popularity of *Abner*, more than any thing elſe, that ſupported the pretenſions of *Saul*'s family,

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* It ought here to be noted, that *Joab*, and *Abiſhai*, and *Aſahel* were all three *David*'s nephews, the ſons of his ſiſter *Zeruiah*; as 1 *Chr*. ii. 16. and that *Amaſa* was alſo his nephew, by his other ſiſter *Abigail*, ver. 17.

mily, and kept the people in their odedience to *Iſhboſheth*. But this prince being informed that *Abner* lived in a kind of ſcandalous familiarity with *Rizpah*, the daughter of *Sibeth*, one of his late father's concubines, he laid it directly to his charge, and diſcourſed him ſo ſeverely about it, that it put him into a ſevere fit of melancholy and indignation, to find all his faithful ſervices to *Saul*, and his family ſo ill requited.

Upon this provocation, he meditated a revenge, no leſs than the taking of the crown off from *Iſhboſheth*'s head, and ſetting it upon *David's*; giving the world to underſtand, that *Iſhboſheth* was not advanced to the government for any virtue, or ability of his own; but by the advice, arms, intereſt, recommendation, and the tried fidelity of *Abner*.

CHAP. III.

Abner *makes a League with* David. Abner *treacherouſly Slain by* Joab. David *Mourns for the Death of* Abner.

WHILE this humour was at work, *Abner* ſent a commiſſioner to *Hebron*, with full power to ſtrike up a league with *David* in his name, upon this ſingle condition; that from and after the time of *Abner's* drawing off all the tribes from *Iſhboſheth* to *David*, and advancing *David* to the throne by the univerſal conſent of the people, *Abner* ſhould be received from that day forward, as *David*'s firſt miniſter and favourite. Nothing could be more welcome to *David* than this propoſal of *Abner*'s, and it was received accordingly. The firſt thing he deſired, as the earneſt of a future alliance, was the reſtoring of *Michol*, whom he had purchaſed with very great labour and hazard, beſide the heads of ſix hundred *Philiſtines* paid down upon a bargain for her with *Saul*. *Abner* immediately took *Michol* out of the arms of *Phalti*, upon whom ſhe was beſtowed with the privity and aſſiſtance of *Iſhboſheth*, who had been already poſſeſſed with the merits of the cauſe, and the reaſonableneſs of the demand. While things were at this paſs, *Abner* called the principals of the people both military and civil together: to whom he delivered himſelf upon the preſent occaſion to this purpoſe.

"There was a time," ſays he, "when "you would have gone over from *Iſhboſheth* "to *David*, and I was againſt it; but you "are now at liberty to do what you pleaſe: "For the prophet *Samuel* hath moſt infal"libly aſſured us from the voice of God "himſelf, that *David* is the man whom di"vine providence hath deſigned for the "king and governor of the whole nation of "the *Hebrews*: And that it is he, and on"ly he, that is to avenge us upon the *Phi"liſtines*, and to bring them under our "yoke."

Theſe words were ſo clear a diſcovery how *Abner* ſtood inclined, that the heads of the people, and of the army, fell in unanimouſly with his opinion, and from that time forward declared and acted barefaced in favour of *David*. When they had proceeded thus far, *Abner*, in the firſt place, called for the *Benjamites*, which were all of the life-guard to *Iſhboſheth*, ſpeaking to them in the ſame manner with the former, and with the ſame effect too, for they all, to a man, declared themſelves for *David*.

When *Abner* had made this advance toward the performance of his conditions, he took about twenty men of his own choice away with him to *David*, in order, partly, to the ratifying of the treaty, and in part, for common ſatisfaction, as men are better pleaſed and think it more ſafe to do their own buſineſs themſelves, than by proxies. He had in it alſo this farther end, that the proceedings on both ſides might be the more impartially tranſmitted from the one to the other; and an exact report made of what had paſſed between himſelf and the heads of the tribes; and how he had brought over the *Benjamites* to *David*'s party. *Abner* and his company were treated by *David* with all imaginable freedom and magnificence for the time they ſtaid, but after ſome few days, he deſired for the preſent to be diſmiſſed, that he might fetch up the army and the people to him, and, upon delivering up the government into his hands, by the conſent of the whole nation, make good what he had undertaken.

Abner was preſently diſpatched according to his deſire, and hardly out of the gates of *Hebron*, at one end of the town, but *Joab*, *David*'s general, who had been ſomewhere abroad, (it ſeems) came in at the other: *Joab* being given to underſtand that *Abner* had been in private with *David*, upon certain propoſals to ſettle him in the government, the conditions offered and accepted, and a league ſolemnly ratified betwixt them, he imbibed an outrageous jealouſy, that this intrigue of *Abner*'s would be his ruin, and ſupplant him, not only in his maſter's favour, but in the moſt honourable of his commiſſions, eſpecially conſidering that *Abner* was a man of ſkill and addreſs, and dextrous enough to make the beſt of a fair game.

The venom of this envy beginning now to work in the heart of *Joab*, his firſt recourſe was to backbiting and detraction. He went with a ſmooth tale to the king, concluding with ſeemingly dutiful advice that he ſhould do well to have a care how he truſted *Abner*; for his buſineſs was, above all things in the world, to eſtabliſh the family of *Saul* in the government. His pretences were only ſnares, and upon the gaining of his point, acquiring what he had wiſhed to know, he was now gone home again, to reap the fruits of his falſe dealing.

When *Joab* found that no bad impreſſion was to be wrought upon *David*, by calumny and ſlander, to the prejudice of *Abner*, he bethought himſelf of a ſurer and ſhorter way of doing his buſineſs, by taking away his life; he accordingly ſent meſſengers poſting after him in *David*'s name, to call him back again, under a pretext of ſomewhat forgotten in his inſtructions that was very conſiderable. They overtook him upon the way at a place called *Sirah*, about twenty furlongs from *Hebron*; and upon delivering their meſſage, *Abner* very innocently returned with them to the city, little dreaming of what afterwards befel him. Upon his coming up to the walls of the town, he found *Joab* at the gate, with a wonderful appearance of kindneſs and humanity, ready to receive him, (as the devil himſelf is never ſo wicked as in the ſhape of an angel of light) who taking him aſide, as upon ſome private buſineſs, ſeized the opportunity of a ſecret corner out of ſight, only his brother *Abiſhai* in company with him, and ran his ſword into his guts. Thus was this brave man taken off by the perfidious malice and hypocriſy of *Joab*, in revenge (as he pretended) for the death of his brother *Hazael*, that was ſlain in the battle of *Hebron*, upon the violent purſuit of *Abner*: But in truth, to gratify his jealouſy and revenge, for fear of being ſupplanted in his court preferments.

The news of *Abner*'s death went to the heart and ſoul of *David*, inſomuch that upon the very inſtant of hearing it, he ſtretched forth his right hand toward heaven in an appeal and proteſtation, upon the whole matter, that he was neither privy, nor conſenting to the fact; curſing moſt bitterly the aſſaſſin whoever he was, his family, and all his accomplices: All this, not only in a deteſtation of ſo baſe and unmanly a practice, but likewiſe to purge himſelf, upon the ſtricteſt niceties of faith and honour, that he had been true to *Abner*. He appointed, by proclamation, a public mourning for him, with all the ſolemnities of tearing garments, and putting on ſackcloth; he himſelf, with his great miniſters and officers aſſiſting, at the funeral, and giving ſufficient demonſtrations, by wringing of hands, beating their breaſts, and other expreſſions of ſorrow, both of the veneration they had for *Abner*'s memory, and the ſenſe they had of ſo ineſtimable a loſs, all the people being now fully ſatisfied in the concluſion, that *David*, was far from approving, or conſenting to ſo execrable an act. He cauſed the body to be interred at *Hebron*, with great ſtate and magnificence, compoſing an epitaph himſelf, to the honour of the deceaſed. He was the chief mourner, and a preſident to all the reſt, who acted in conformity to his example. The death of *Abner*, pierced the heart of him to ſuch a degree, that his friends could not prevail upon him to touch either meat or drink that whole day. The ſeverity of this religious ſtrictneſs gained exceedingly upon the affections of the people, and particularly upon the friends of *Abner*; to whom nothing could be more acceptable than this laſt teſtimony of *David*'s inclination and eſteem for his perſon and his memory, now that he was no more; for he did not treat him, they ſaw, with a ſlight and ignominious way of burial, as an enemy, but with all the tenderneſs of real generoſity, juſtice, and friendſhip. It highly elevated the character of *David*'s piety and good nature, in giving men to underſtand what they might expect from him themſelves, if *Abner*'s caſe ſhould come to be theirs. *David*, in this way of proceeding, conſulted his intereſt as well as his reputation and virtue; for after this proof, he was never ſuſpected of the want of good will to *Abner*.

When the company were upon the point of breaking up, *David* entertained them with a ſhort diſcourſe to the advantage of *Abner*; and firſt, upon the account of his own particular unhappineſs, in being deprived of a friend he had ſo great a value for: And then with reſpect to the public, how much the whole nation ſuffered in the loſs of ſo brave and ſo wiſe a man; and, in ſhort, a perſon ſo neceſſary both for war and counſel. But God, ſays he, that governs all things, will not let this murder paſs unrevenged: He is my witneſs, that I am not in condition to call *Joab* and *Abiſhai* to an account; for they have a greater intereſt in the army, perhaps, than I myſelf; but this I dare pronounce, that ſooner or later divine juſtice will find them out. Thus it was that *Abner* ended his days.

CHAP. IV.

Baanah *and* Rechab *preſent* David *with the Head of* Iſhboſheth; *who orders them to be put to Death. All the Tribes own* David *for their King.*

THE fall of *Abner* was a moſt terrible mortification to *Iſhboſheth*, the ſon of *Saul*, for in him he loſt a dear friend and a near kinſman, that advanced him to his father's throne; but he did not long ſurvive him, he was alſo treacherouſly murdered ſoon afterward by *Baanah* and *Rechab*, the ſons of *Rimmon*. Theſe two brothers were *Benjamites*, and of the firſt rank among them. They ſuppoſed within themſelves, that if *Iſhboſheth* were but taken out of the way, *David* would have a clear ſtage to himſelf: Upon which conſideration they concerted the matter betwixt them, how they might do him that piece of ſervice; making no doubt of honour, rewards, and commands in abundance, upon the performance of that good office. An opportunity ſoon after preſenting itſelf, at a time when he was alone in his bed-chamber, and taking an afternoon's nap, no guards at hand, and the very ſervant that kept the door wearied and faſt aſleep, they ſtole into the chamber, killed him, cut off his head, and poſted away with it all night toward *Hebron*, the ſooner to get clear of the people they had injured, and to bring the preſent ſo much the freſher to him that they meant to oblige. When they came to their journey's end, they preſented it to *David*, not a little valuing themſelves upon the merit of having deſtroyed his competitor for the empire; but their entertainment was not anſwerable to their expectation, as will appear by what *David* ſaid to them upon this occaſion.

"Wicked wretches that you are!" ſays he, "prepare yourſelves immediately to receive the juſt reward of your horrid villainy. Do not you know that I requited the murderer of *Saul*; that when he had taken away that ſacred life, had the confidence to bring me his golden crown for an oſtentation of the ſervice he had done me in it: Nay, and it was at the inſtance too of *Saul* himſelf that he did it, to prevent the indignity of being taken alive by his enemies. Am not I the ſame man, do you think, at this day, that I was then? Or am I turned ſo abandoned a wretch ſince, as to countenance the moſt profligate of men and of actions, and to reckon myſelf under an obligation to you for dipping your hands (upon my account as you would have it thought) in the blood of your lord? The cutting of his throat in his bed too; and the throat, over and above, of a perſon ſo juſt, that he never did any man wrong; and ſo generous a patron and benefactor to your ungrateful ſelves, that all the advantages you can pretend to in this world, are but what you ſtand indebted for to his bounty and goodneſs. Wherefore you ſhall now pay for your breach of faith to your maſter, and for that ſcandal you have caſt upon me, both at once; for what greater wound could any man give me in my reputation, than to expoſe me for a perſon that could take pleaſure in the tidings, or give countenance to the committing of ſo barbarous an aſſaſſination?" Upon theſe laſt words, he gave order to have the two regicides put to exquiſite torments, and the head of *Iſhboſheth* to be laid in the monument of *Abner*, with all the formalities of rites and honour.

When this execution and ceremony was over, all the elders and great officers of war and peace, came thronging to *David*, with compliments of recognition, and a tender of their lives and fortunes to his ſervice. They reminded him of the zeal and devotion they ever had for him, even in the life time of *Saul*, and when they had the honour to ſerve under his command: Concluding, that the prophet *Samuel*, according to God's order and appointment, had declared him king, and that the government ſhould deſcend to his ſons after him; that the great work of ſubduing the *Philiſtines* was reſerved for him alone, and conſequently the ſetting of *Iſrael* in the poſſeſſion of a laſting peace and ſafety. *David* highly commended them for their good-will and diſpoſition, encouraging them to go on as they had begun, with an aſſurance that he, for his part, would never give them cauſe to repent it. *David* accompanied this declaration with a ſplendid treat; and when he had entertained them with all greatneſs, humanity and freedom, he ſent them away with a ſummons to the whole body of the people to meet at his palace.

There gathered together upon this call,

of the tribe of *Judah*, ſix thouſand and eight hundred men, armed with ſhields and launces. Theſe had been hitherto of the party of *Saul*, over and above thoſe of the ſame tribe that had made *David* king themſelves: Of the tribe of *Simeon*, ſeven thouſand one hundred, and upward: Of the tribe of *Levi*, four thouſand and ſeven hundred, with their leader, *Jehoida*; with theſe was the high prieſt *Zadock*, with two and twenty eminent men of his relations: Of the tribe of *Benjamin*, four thouſand armed men, for this tribe was altogether of opinion that ſome of *Saul*'s family would ſucceed to the government: Of the tribe of *Ephraim*, twenty thouſand and eight hundred able-bodied men, and of great courage: Of the half-tribe of *Manaſſes*, eighteen thouſand: Of the tribe of *Iſſachar*, two hundred cunning men, or a kind of fortune-tellers, [*] beſide twenty thouſand in arms: Of the tribe of *Zebulun*, fifty thouſand choice men, and well armed; this tribe coming in to *David* entire, all theſe uſed the ſame arming with the tribe of *Gad*: Of the tribe of *Naphtali*, a thouſand eminent commanders, armed with ſhield and ſpear, with an almoſt innumerable multitude of their followers: Of the tribe of *Dan*, twenty ſeven thouſand choice men: Of the tribe of *Aſhur*, forty thouſand: And of the two tribes beyond *Jordan*, and the other half of the tribe of *Manaſſes*, that were armed with ſhield, ſpear, ſword and helmet, two and twenty thouſand. The remainder of the tribe wore ſwords alſo.

This is the muſter-roll of thoſe that came up to *David* at *Hebron*. They brought corn, wine, and other neceſſary proviſions with them in abundance, and with one voice proclaimed *David* to be their king. When they had ſpent three days there, in feaſting and jollity, *David* marched out at the head of this army to *Jeruſalem*. The *Jebuſites* were at that time in poſſeſſion of the city; and upon *David*'s advancing toward them, they ſhut their gates upon him, ſetting both him and his troops at defiance. They brought out their lame and their blind to the walls for the guard of the town; ſo great was their confidence in the ſtrength of the place. *David* was exceedingly nettled at this contemptuous mockery, and took a reſolution immediately to attack the city: Reaſonably ſuggeſting that the taking of this place, and puniſhing this people, would have an exemplary effect, and ſtrike a terror into all others for the future. *David* fell on with the flower of his army; and, upon a general aſſault, entered the lower town; but the caſtle ſtill held out. *David* finding it to be a ſtrong place, the attempt likely to be hazardous, and his honour at ſtake upon the carrying of it, he bethought himſelf how he might enflame the courage of his men by ſome extraordinary propoſal of honour and reward: *David* paſſed his royal word, that he that firſt mounted the wall, and made good his ſtation, ſhould have the command of the army. Hereupon the *Hebrews* joined in a fierce attack, and generous contention who ſhould be foremoſt in the dangerous enterprize. It fell to *Joab*'s lot, and from the top of the battlement he called out to *David* to make good his promiſe.

When they had cleared the caſtle of the *Jebuſites*, and repaired the town, the king gave to *Jeruſalem* the name of the city of *David*, [†] and made it his place of reſidence during his reign. This happened after he had ruled ſeven years and ſix months over the tribe of *Judah* at *Hebron*. Upon the eſtabliſhment of his court at *Jeruſalem*, matters went every day better with him, for God in his providence deſigning it for a ſeat of glory, had a peculiar kindneſs for the place.

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[*] Theſe words of *Joſephus*, concerning the tribe of *Iſſachar*, are beſt paraphraſed by the parallel text, 1 *Chron.* xii. 32. Who had underſtanding of the times, to know what *Iſrael* ought to do, i. e. Who had ſo much knowledge in aſtronomy as to make calendars for the *Iſraelites*, that they might keep their feſtivals, and plough and ſow, and gather in their harveſts and vintage in due ſeaſon.

[†] What our other copies ſay of mount *Sion*, as alone properly called the city of *David*, 2 *Sam.* v. 6---9. and of this its ſiege and conqueſt now by *David*, *Joſephus* applies to the whole city of *Jeruſalem*: though including the citadel alſo. By what authority we do not know: Perhaps after *David* had united them together, or joined the citadel to the lower city, *Joſephus* eſteemed them as one city. However this notion ſeems to be confirmed by

About this time *Hiram*, the king of *Tyre*, ſent an embaſſy to *David*, upon a treaty of friendſhip and alliance; and preſents likewiſe along with it, of cedar-wood, with builders and maſter-workmen, towards erecting a palace for him at *Jeruſalem*. *David* fortified the upper town, and laid that and the citadel both in one, with a wall about them; and gave the command of it to *Joab*. *David* was the firſt that changed the name of it, and it was after the caſting out of the *Jebuſites*: For in the days of our father *Abraham* it was called *Salem*, or *Solyma*; * and ſome will have it that *Homer* pointed at this city, when he ſpeaks of this people of *Solyma*; for the word *Hieron*, or temple, ſignifies in the *Hebrew*, ſecurity, or a fortreſs.

Now the whole time of the war with the *Philiſtines*, from the *Hebrews* dividing their lands, under the command of *Joſhhua*, to the day here ſpoken of, was reckoned to be five hundred and fifteen years: But the *Barbarians* kept the poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem* all along, till they were beaten out by *David*.

There was among the *Jebuſites* a very rich man, one *Orphan*, that had done many good offices for the *Hebrews*, and deſerved ſingularly well from *David* himſelf. This man, upon the ſacking of the town, was preſerved by the king, in all the heat and fury of the ſoldiers, and his name muſt not not be paſſed over in ſilence.

David took ſeveral wives (beſides concubines) more than he had before: By whom he had eleven children, *Amnon*, *Ellus*, *Ebas*, *Nathan*, *Solomon*, *Jebar*, *Eliel*, *Phalna*, *Ennaphen*, *Jenas*, *Eliphal*; and a daughter, *Thamar*, that was the ſiſter of *Abſalom*. Nine of the ſons were lawfully begotten; but the two laſt by concubines.

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by what the ſame *Joſephus* ſays concerning *David*'s and many other kings of *Judah*'s ſepulchres, which as the authors of the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* ſay, were in the city of *David*, ſo doth *Joſephus* ſtill ſay they were in *Jeruſalem*. The ſepulchre of *David* ſeems to have been alſo a known place in the ſeveral days of *Hyrcanus*, of *Herod*, and of St. *Peter*, *Antiq*. XIII, XVI. *Acts* ii. 29. Now no ſuch royal ſepulchres have been found about mount *Sion*: but are found cloſe by the north wall of *Jeruſalem*. Which I ſuſpect therefore to be theſe very ſupulchres. In the mean time *Joſephus*'s explication of the lame, and the blind, and the maimed, as ſet to keep this city or citadel, ſeems to be the truth; and gives the beſt light to that hiſtory in our bible.

* Some copies of *Joſephus* have here *Solyma* or *Salem*; and others *Hieroſolyma*, or *Jeruſalem*. The latter beſt agree to what *Joſephus* ſays elſewhere, of the war. VI. 10. that this city was called *Solyma* or *Salem* before the days of *Melchiſedech*; but was by him called *Hieroſolyma*, or *Jeruſalem*. I rather ſuppoſe it to have been ſo called after *Abraham* had received that oracle *Jehovah Jireh*; The Lord will ſee or provide. *Gen*. xxii. 14. The latter word *Jireh*, with a little alteration, prefixed to the old name *Salem*, peace, will be *Jeruſalem*. And ſince that expreſſion, God will ſee, or rather God will provide himſelf a lamb for a burnt offering, ver. 8---14. is there ſaid to have been proverbial till the days of *Moſes*; this ſeems to me the moſt probable derivation of that name: Which will then denote that God would provide peace by that Lamb of God which was to take away the Sins of the World.

CHAP. V.

David's *Victories over the* Philiſtines. *The Ark brought to* Jeruſalem. Uzzah *ſtruck Dead for touching it.*

WHEN the *Philiſtines* underſtood that *David* was made king of all *Iſrael*, they drew out their army, and encamped in a place called *the Valley of the Giants*, not far from *Jeruſalem*. Upon this occaſion, *David*, who would do nothing without counſel, and direction from above, * appointed the high-prieſt to inform himſelf in the way that God had preſcribed, what might be the event of this battle. He received a comfortable and encouraging anſwer, and therefore drew out his forces, and marched immediately to fight the enemy. *David* had ſo ordered the matter, that upon the very inſtant he fell by ſurprize upon the *Philiſtines*, front and rear, and put them to a total rout; killing multitudes upon the ſpot, and putting the reſt to flight by great ſlaughter.

This was a ſignal victory; but it muſt not be therefore inferred the army of the *Philiſtines* was inconſiderable, for either numbers, or ſoldiers; *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and ſeveral other warlike nations being all engaged in the confederacy: It had been otherwiſe impoſſible, after ſo many defeats, and the loſs of ſo many thouſands, they ſhould ever have brought an army into the field again. As for example, upon this very overthrow, they followed it with an invaſion of thrice the number they had before, and had the confidence to poſt themſelves in the very ſame place again.

David, upon this juncture, conſulted the oracle as formerly, and received order to lie ſtill with his army in a certain wood, called *the Grove of Mourning*, not far from the enemy; and from thence not to move, or to make any attempt upon what occaſion ſoever, till he found the branches of the trees in an agitation, as of their own accord, and without one breath of air ſtirring to cauſe that motion. *David* kept punctually to his order; and ſo ſoon as ever the providential ſign was given him, he marched out that moment as to a certain and predetermined victory. The *Philiſtines* ſhrunk upon the firſt puſh; but when they came to handy ſtrokes, they ran outright, with the *Hebrews* at their heels; and their ſwords in their reins; following the chace, and doing terrible execution till they came to *Gazer*, a town upon the borders. Their next work was to pillage the camp, where they made themſelves maſters of a prodigious booty, with little trouble or hazard; ſeizing their idols among other things, and breaking them to pieces.

The danger of this war being ſpeedily and happily over, the king was pleaſed, by the advice and aſſent of his great council of elders and officers, to draw together the whole force he was able to make, out of all the tribes under his juriſdiction; together with the prieſts and *Levites*; and ſo to march with this great body directly to *Kiriath-Kearim*, and bring back the Ark of God from thence to *Jeruſalem*, being the place deſigned for his holy worſhip, and for the celebration of all ſacrifices, ceremonies, and religious rites for the time to come. If this care had been taken in the reign of *Saul*, it would have been much better both for king and people.

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* It deſerves here to be remarked, that *Saul* very rarely, and *David* very frequently conſulted God by *Urim*; and that *David* aimed always to depend, not on his own prudence or abilities, but on the divine direction; contrary to *Saul*'s practice. And when *Saul*'s daughter, but *David*'s wife, *Michol*, laughed at *David*'s dancing before the ark, 2 *Sam*. vi. 16, &c. and here it is probable ſhe did ſo, becauſe her father *Saul* did not uſe to pay ſuch regard to that ark; the *Urim* there enquired by; or to God's worſhip before it; and becauſe ſhe thought it beneath the dignity of a king to be ſo religious.

The tribes being met according to appointment, and all things in readineſs for the removal of the ark, *David* himſelf alſo aſſiſting at the ſolemnity, the prieſts took it out of the houſe of *Aminidab*, and laying it upon a new waggon, with oxen to draw it, left the ark with their children and relations to take care of it. The king himſelf went foremoſt, and after him followed a multitude of people, glorifying God with ſacred hymns and pſalms, and other delightful airs, after the faſhion of the country; and dancing as they went, to the ſound of harps, cymbals, and other muſical inſtruments: Conducting after this manner the ark toward *Jeruſalem*. As they were upon the way, at a certain place called *the Threſhing-Floor of Chidon*, or *Nachon*, the oxen ſtaggering with the ark, *Uzzah* put forth his hand to keep it from overturning, and was immediately ſtruck dead by a divine vengeance, not being in holy orders, for preſuming to touch it. This exemplary death of *Uzzah* was a great affliction to *David*, and to all his people; and they called the place *Perez Uzzah*, or the *Breach of Uzzah*; which name it beareth unto this day. *David* was ſo ſtruck with the dread of this judgment, that for fear *Uzzah*'s caſe might come to be his own, if he ſhould receive the ark into the city, he turned off with it upon the way, into the houſe of a certain good man and a *Levite*, whoſe name was *Obed Edom*. There it lay depoſited for three whole months, in which time it was obſerved, that every thing proſpered in the family, and that the maſter of it grew rich to admiration. The rumour of this change coming to the king's ear, ſet his heart at reſt, as to any danger from the ark; ſo that he reſumed his former purpoſe of tranſporting it to *Jeruſalem*; which was done after this manner.

The prieſts had the charge of carrying it, and ſeven choirs of ſinging-men, according to the king's appointment, marching before it, *David* himſelf bearing his part in the conſort, with dancing and ſinging to his harp, which his wife *Michol* (the daughter of the late king *Saul*) utterly diſliked, as an action of too much levity, and below the dignity of *David*'s character. The ark being brought to the city, it was diſpoſed of into the tabernacle, which *David* had made on purpoſe for it. Upon the occaſion of this feſtival meeting, there were ſacrifices and peace offerings in abundance, and ſufficient for the multitude, for there was not a man, woman or child there, that had not a cake and a dole of fiſh given them. And when they had eaten ſufficiently *David* returned to his palace.

His wife *Michol* met him upon the way, with a thouſand good wiſhes and bleſſings, but ſtill reproving him for jumping about, ſo unlike a king, and for uncovering himſelf in the eyes of his hand-maids and his ſervants. *David* told her that he was not aſhamed of doing any thing that he knew was acceptable to God, who advanced him to the throne of *Iſrael*, in preference to her father, and all other pretenders; and that he would ſing and dance again and again, without mattering it at all, how either ſhe or her hand-maids took it. This *Michol* had no children by *David*; but by her other huſband, to whom *Saul* had given her in marriage, upon taking her away from *David*, ſhe had five ſons, of whom hereafter.

David was ſo ſenſible of God's goodneſs towards him, upon the daily ſucceſſes of whatever he took in hand, that he began to make it a matter of conſcience to live in a palace of cedar himſelf, that was as ſtately and as beautiful as art and ornament could make it, and at the ſame time to lodge the ark in the tabernacle; ſo that he reſolved to erect and dedicate a temple to God's honour.

nour and worſhip; and according to the prediction of *Moſes*, * he communicated the deſign to the prophet *Nathan*, who, upon counſel and advice, encouraged him to proceed upon the work, for he might be ſure of God's ſpecial favour and providence along with him. Theſe words ſerved more and more to animate and confirm *David* in his purpoſe and deſign.

In the night following, the word of the Lord came unto *Nathan*, ſaying, "Go and " tell *David* that I accept of his good-will in " being the firſt propoſer of erecting a temple unto my ſervice. Yet in regard that " the neceſſity of his wars hath made him " a man of blood, I cannot permit the doing this work in his days; but let him " know, that after a long and happy life of " his own, he ſhall commit the care of the " undertaking to his ſon and ſucceſſor *Solomon*, whom I ſhall be as tender of as a father can be of his own child, and continue the government in the line of his " family: Or in caſe of his committing iniquity, I will only puniſh the tranſgreſſion " with bodily ſickneſs or famine, not with " a total rejection, as I did *Saul*."

The prophet, without any delay, acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion; and it was ſo welcome a meſſage to *David*, to ſee the ſucceſſion ſecured to his poſterity, and the honour of his family ſo graciouſly provided for, that he betook himſelf immediately to the ark of God, fell down upon his face and worſhipped. "Lord," ſays he, " thy holy name be praiſed for all thy benefits and mercies! Thou that haſt taken " thy ſervant from the ſheep-fold, and advanced him to this height of dignity and " power! Lord, I bleſs thee for all this; " for thy continued providences to myſelf, " and thy promiſes to my poſterity: And " for thy multiplied deliverances and protections to thy own people." With this benediction, and a hymn, he finiſhed his prayer, and departed.

CHAP. VI.

Victories obtained by David, *over the* Philiſtines, *&c.*

DAVID, who did not love to lie idle, meditated a war not long after this, againſt the *Philiſtines*; being much animated to this enterprize by a prediction, that he ſhould overcome all his enemies, and leave his kingdom in peace to his ſucceſſor. In order to this war, he appointed a day and place for a rendezvous, ſummoned his troops together, and when he was in condition to march, made an incurſion into the enemy's country, took poſſeſſion of a good part of their lands, and annexed them to the juriſdiction of the *Hebrews*. He made war then upon the *Moabites*, deſtroyed two thirds of their army, took the reſt, and made them tributaries. After which, he overthrew *Adrazar* the ſon of *Arach*, king of the *Sophenians*, whom he encountered not far from *Euphrates*, and killed him twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, taking alſo a matter of a thouſand chariots, of which he reſerved only a hundred, and burned the reſt.

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* *Joſephus* here informs us, that, according to his underſtanding of the ſenſe of his copy of the *Pentateuch*, *Moſes* had himſelf foretold the building of the temple; which yet is no where that I know of in our preſent copies. And that this is not a miſtake, ſet down by him unwarily, appears by what he obſerved before, IV. how *Moſes* foretold, that upon the *Jews* future diſobedience their temple ſhould be burnt and rebuilt; and that not once only, but ſeveral times afterward. See alſo *Joſephus*'s mention of God's former commands to build ſuch a temple preſently, *chap.* xiv. contrary to our other copies; or at leaſt to our tranſlation of the *Hebrew*, 2 *Sam.* vii. 6, 7. 1 *Chr.* xvii. 5, 6.

* *Adad*, in the mean time, the king of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*, hearing that *David* had made war upon *Adrazar*, his ſingular good friend and ally, diſpatched away a conſiderable army to his ſuccour, in hopes to remove the ſeat of war; and after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, he came to a battle with *David* near *Euphrates*, where he loſt the greater part of his army, twenty thouſand cut off, and the reſt fled.

Nicolaus makes mention of this ſame *Adad*, in the fourth book of his hiſtory, as follows. A long time after, ſays he, one *Adad*, a valiant man, and a native of the place, had the command of *Damaſcus* and *Syria*, *Phœnicia* only excepted. There happened to be a war betwixt this ſame *Adad* and *David*, the king of the *Jews*, and ſeveral encounters between them; but in the end *Adad* was overthrown at *Euphrates*, behaving himſelf with the reſolution of a brave prince and a great captain. And the ſame author, treating further of his poſterity, ſays, That the government was handed down from father to ſon, to the tenth generation, the ſucceſſor ſtill receiving the father's name with the empire. as the *Ptolomies* among the *Egyptians*. The third, in order from this *Adad*, and the greateſt man of the family, out of a generous zeal, to repair the honour that his grandfather loſt by this defeat, poured in an army upon the *Jews*, and laid waſte *Samaria*. And our hiſtorian was not miſtaken in this part of his relation; for this is the *Adad* that invaded *Samaria* in the reign of *Ahab* king of *Iſrael*.

With this victorious army *David* overran *Damaſcus* and the reſt of *Syria*; left garriſons behind him where he ſaw convenient; laid the country under contribution, and ſo returned home again; carrying with him to *Jeruſalem* the golden quivers, and other rich equipage, that was taken from *Adad*'s guards; and dedicating the ſpoil and trophies to God, in acknowledgement of the victory he had obtained through his favour and protection.

While *David* was in the courſe of his ſucceſſes, and God's ſpecial direction and aſſiſtance manifeſtly along with him, he made an attack upon two of the moſt conſiderable cities that *Adrazar* had in his dominions, *Bettea* and *Machon*, which he took by aſſault, with gold and ſilver in them to an ineſtimable value; beſide a great quantity of a ſort of braſs, which was more eſteemed than gold. This was the metal that *Solomon* afterward made uſe of for his fair and beautiful baſons, and a huge veſſel called the *Sea*, upon the finiſhing and adorning the temple.

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* It deſerves here to be remarked, that this *Hadad*, being a very great king, was conquered by *David*, whoſe poſterity yet, for ſeveral generations, were called *Benhadad*, or the ſon of *Hadad*, till the days of *Hazael*; whoſe ſon *Adar*, or *Ader*, is alſo in our *Hebrew* copy, 2 *Kings* xiii. 24. written *Benhadad*; but in *Joſephus*, *Adad*, or *Adar*. And ſtrange it is, that the ſon of *Hazael*, ſaid to be ſuch in the ſame text, and in *Joſephus* IX. 8. 7. ſhould ſtill be called the ſon of *Hadad*. I would therefore here correct our *Hebrew* copy from *Joſephus*'s; which ſeems to have the true reading. Nor does the teſtimony of *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus*, produced in this place by *Joſephus*, ſeem to be faultleſs; when it ſays, that he was the third of the *Hadads*, or ſecond of the *Benhadads*, who beſieged *Samaria* in the days of *Ahab*. He muſt rather have been the ſeventh or eighth, if there were ten in all of that name; as we are aſſured there were. For this teſtimony makes all the *Hadads*, or *Benhadads* of the ſame line; and to have immediately ſucceeded one another. Whereas *Hazael* was not of that line; nor is he called *Hadad*, or *Benhadad*, in any copy. And note, that from this *Hadad*, in the days of *David*, to the beginning of *Hazael*, were near 200 years, according to the exacteſt chronology of *Joſephus*.

When *Toi*, the king of *Hamath*, came to underſtand that *Adrazar* had loſt his whole army, and was utterly undone, he could not do better, he thought, (for fear his own turn might be next) than to court *David* by a voluntary propoſal, into a treaty of friendſhip and alliance. For this purpoſe he ſent his ſon *Joram* to him, with a compliment of congratulation for the victory he had gained over their common enemy, (for ſo was *Adrazar* reputed) and with inſtructions alſo to pray a league of amity, and fair underſtanding betwixt them: Not forgetting ſeveral magnificent preſents in veſſels of gold, ſilver and braſs, antique and curious, to the higheſt degree of excellency and perfection. *David* accepted both of the propoſals and the preſents, receiving and diſmiſſing the ambaſſador, to the honour and ſatisfaction of both parties; but ſtill dedicating to God all the ſpoils of gold and ſilver, and things precious, that were taken from the enemy, as to the author of the victory. Neither was *David* ſucceſsful only in his own perſonal adventures and undertakings, but God proſpered him in all his commiſſions alſo, though executed by deputies and lieutenants: As in the caſe of *Abiſhai*, *Joab's* brother, who was ſent out with an army againſt the *Idumæans*, and by God's aſſiſtance not only ſubdued them, but after eighteen thouſand of them killed upon the ſpot, he kept them in awe with garriſons, as a check upon them, charged the land with a contribution, and taxed the people by the head.

David was naturally a lover of juſtice, and had no other regard in all his judgments, than to the equity and righteouſneſs of the cauſe before him. He made *Joab*, the ſon of *Zerviah*, his general, and *Jehoſaphat*, the ſon of *Ahilud*, the keeper of his records. He choſe out of the houſe of *Phinehas*, *Abiathar*, and *Zadock*, who were his friends, to be his prieſts, and *Seraiah* for ſecretary. *Benaia*, the ſon of *Jehoida*, commanded the guard of his perſon, and the king's elder ſons were ſtill incorporated into that body.

No ſooner had the king put his family affairs in order than he caſt his thoughts upon his old and dear friend and aſſociate *Jonathan*, and upon the ſolemn league of mutual amity that had paſſed betwixt them; for he had this virtue in perfection with many others, that he never forgot an obligation to a friend, but looked upon an arrear for paſt benefits as the moſt ſacred of all debts. Upon this conſideration, he now laid out to inform himſelf what ſons, friends, or relations, *Jonathan* had left behind him, that he might find matter for his gratitude to work upon. In purſuance of this enquiry, there was brought to him one *Ziba*, formerly a ſervant, and a freeman of *Saul's*, as the moſt likely perſon to reſolve that queſtion. The king aſked him if he knew of any of *Jonathan's* family yet living, and where to find them, as he was anſwerable for an old debt there, which he would gladly repay. *Ziba* made anſwer, that he had a ſon yet alive, whoſe name was *Mephiboſheth*, who by a miſchance happened to be lame of a leg: For upon the news of that bloody battle, wherein his grandfather and his father were ſlain, the nurſe took him up in a fright to run away with him, and ſtumbling for haſte, let him fall out of her arms, and hurt him. Upon farther examination, the king had notice that he was brought up with one *Machir*, in the city of *Lodeba*, and that there he was at preſent: Whereupon he was immediately brought up and preſented to *David*, proſtrating himſelf at the king's feet, and doing him reverence. The king bad him be of good cheer, and hope for better days; aſſuring him of all the comfort he could wiſh for from the favour of his prince. He preſently appointed him to be put in poſſeſſion of his father's and his grandfather's houſe and eſtate, and of all that belonged to them; took him home as his particular gueſt, and ordered that he ſhould eat every day at his own table. The young man was highly ſenſible of this exceſſive grace and bounty; and when he had made a dutiful acknowledgement of it in ſuch a manner as became him, *David* then called for *Ziba*, and telling him how he had beſtowed upon *Mephiboſheth* his father's and grandfather's eſtate, gave him in charge to look after and take care of the grounds, and from time to time to receive the profits, and bring them to *Jeruſalem*. *Mephiboſheth*, after this, lived in the king's houſe, ſat conſtantly at the ſame table with him; and *David* gave him *Ziba*, and fifteen ſons that he had, with twenty others belonging to him, for his ſervants. *Ziba*, having received his commiſſion, did his duty, and went his way, promiſing to govern himſelf in all things, according to his order and inſtructions: But the ſon of *Jonathan* continued ſtill at *Jeruſalem* with *David*, and was treated in all reſpects as a child of the family, ſo great a tenderneſs had *David* for any thing that had a relation to *Jonathan*. Thus it was with *Mephiboſheth*, to whom was born a ſon, whoſe name was *Micah*.

About this time died *Nahaſh*, the king of the *Ammonites*, a friend and ally of *David*'s; and *Hanun*, his ſon, ſucceeded him. *David* upon this revolution, ſent him a condoling civility to comfort him in his affliction, and to aſſure him of the ſame friendſhip and reſpect to himſelf, that had been formerly paid to his father. The heads of the *Ammonites* made a malicious conſtruction of this embaſſy, which the good faith and candour of *David* did not deſerve at their hands. They did all they could to irritate their king, and to put jealouſies into his head, that the meſſengers of *David* were not in truth ambaſſadors, but ſpies, that under the pretext of a compliment of ſtate, were ſent to explore the ſtrength and condition of the country; and that therefore, without giving any heed to fair words, he ſhould do well to look about him betimes, before things were gone beyond recovery. *Hanun* was over-ruled by his council, how contrary ſoever to the true reaſon of the caſe, and ſent the ambaſſadors back again with all the indignation of ſcorn and coarſe uſage imaginable. They cut off one half of their beards, and one half of their veſts, and ſo diſmiſſed them in that dreſs, with a contumely of action inſtead of words at length, for an anſwer. *David* took it ſo heinouſly to be thus treated, and to ſee his ambaſſadors ſo barbarouſly affronted, contrary to the laws of nations, honour, hoſpitality, and good manners, that immediately he declared his reſolution publickly to right himſelf upon the *Ammonites* by an open war, and to call their king to an account for what he had done. The principals and allies of the *Ammonites* were ſo conſcious to themſelves that their perfidy was wholly unpardonable, that upon the firſt news of *David*'s determination to vindicate himſelf by arms, they found themſelves neceſſitated, in their own defence, to encounter force with force, and ſo prepared for a war. They ſent their ambaſſadors to *Syrus*, the king of *Meſopotamia*, with a thouſand talents, to bring him into the alliance; which he accepted of, and engaged alſo the king of *Zoba*. Theſe two kings had betwixt them twenty thouſand foot. They likewiſe purchaſed the aſſiſtance of king *Maacah*, and of *Iſhtob*, who had two and twenty thouſand men in arms.

This preparation of the *Ammonites*, though in conjunction with ſo many confederate princes, made no impreſſion at all upon the courage of *David*: He knew he had a gracious God to truſt to; his cauſe was good, and the inſult he had received intolerable. Wherefore he was reſolved to caſt himſelf on God's providence, and the juſtice of his arms, for ſatisfaction. He committed the management of the war to *Joab*, and ſent him away with the choiceſt of his troops againſt the enemy. *Joab* marched directly towards their capital city, (called *Rabbath*) and encamped before it. The enemy marched forth out of the town, and divided into two bodies, the one conſiſting of auxiliaries, which they drew up in open field, the other, being compoſed only of *Ammonites*, ranged themſelves before the part that looked towards the *Hebrews*. *Joab* conſidering this diſpoſition of the enemy's army, diſpoſed of his troops likewiſe in the ſame order; and at the head of the beſt men he had, preparing to charge *Syrus*, and the confederate kings, with one diviſion, he gave his brother *Abiſhai* the command of the other, with orders to attack the *Ammonites*, having agreed upon it betwixt themſelves, that in caſe *Syrus* ſhould get the better of *Joab*, *Abiſhai* ſhould come in to his relief; and *Joab* to ſecond *Abiſhai* if he ſhould be preſſed by the *Ammonites*. *Joab* hereupon diſmiſſed his brother, encouraging him to behave himſelf like a man of honour, and to make good the reputation, both of the cauſe and of the action. *Joab* made the onſet upon *Syrus*, who ſtood very bravely at firſt, but ſo many of his men falling, the reſt fled, and the *Ammonites*, upon the firſt ſight of their diſorder, betook themſelves likewiſe to their heels, after the example of their fellows, without ſtaying for the coming up of *Abiſhai*, and ran away into the town. So that *Joab*, after a dreadful execution done upon the enemy, returned to *Jeruſalem* with his victorious army.

This rout and confuſion of the *Ammonites*, how unequal a match ſoever they were ſound to be to the *Hebrews*, was not enough yet to keep them quiet for the future; they ſent to *Chalama*, a king of the *Syrians*, beyond *Euphrates*, and agreed with him for an auxiliary army at ſuch a price: *Shobach* was his lieutenant general, over an army of eighty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. *David* being given to underſtand the mighty ſtrength of the *Ammonites*, did not think proper to make war any longer by his deputies; ſo he himſelf paſſed the river *Jordan* with the whole army, and engaging in battle with the enemy, killed them forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe; *Shobach*, the general of *Chalama*, receiving a wound in this battle, of which he died.

The people of *Meſopotamia*, upon the miſerable event of this overthrow, ſent forth their ambaſſadors with preſents and addreſſes to *David*, and delivered up themſelves; and the action being over, *David* returned again ſafe to *Jeruſalem*.

CHAP. VII.

David *committeth Adultery with* Bathſheba. David *contriveth the Death of* Uriah, Bathſheba's *Huſband; and Marrieth* Bathſheba. *The Birth of* Solomon.

THE winter drawing on, *Joab* was again diſpatched away to proſecute the war againſt the *Ammonites*, where he laid their country waſte, drove the people into *Rabbah*, their metropolis, and laid ſiege to the place.

David was undoubtedly a juſt and a pious man, and one that had a ſcrupulous reverence for the laws of his country; but yet at this time he fell into a grievous ſin, (to ſhew us the frailty of fleſh and blood, when we are left to ourſelves.)

As he was refreſhing himſelf one day toward the cool of the evening upon his terrace, he had the hap to view a woman bathing herſelf in her own houſe, within view of the place, a perſon of a moſt exquiſite ſhape and beauty, whoſe name was *Bathſheba*. He fell in love with her at ſight; and under the impulſe of a paſſionate appetite, had her brought to his bed. Soon after this, ſhe found herſelf with child: And deſired the king to conſider of ſome way for the concealment of it; for otherwiſe ſhe muſt ſuffer death for it by the laws of the country, her huſband being abſent from her at the time of this criminal intercourſe.

Hereupon *Uriah*, the huſband of this woman, and *Joab*'s armour-bearer, was called away from the camp, under pretext of learning from him the ſtate of the army, but in truth, to give him an opportunity of cohabiting with his wife, thereby to cover her diſgrace; if not for a ſtill more evil purpoſe. *David* aſked him ſeveral queſtions, as how *Joab* and the people did, how the ſiege went forward, and the like. He told the king, that things went as well as he could wiſh. *David* gave him part of his own ſupper, and bad him go home for the preſent to his wife: But finding afterwards that he had paſſed away that night in the palace, and among his guards, aſked him how it came to paſs, that having been ſo long away from his wife, he ſhould not rather go home, than trifle away his time elſewhere, ſo contrary to the practice of all other men under his circumſtances. "Sir," ſays he, "I did not think it fair and "honourable to indulge myſelf in the arms "of my wife, at the ſame time when my "general and my fellow-ſoldiers lie in an "enemy's country upon the ground." So the king told him, he ſhould now ſtay there one night more, and the next day he would ſend him back again to the army. When the king went to ſupper, *Uriah* was called in, and he plied him with ſo many healths one after another, that he became ſo intoxicated that he hardly knew what he did, and yet never thought of his wife, but ſpent that night again, in the court, as he had done the former. This put *David* in wrath: Inſomuch that he wrote to *Joab*, that he was much diſſatisfied with *Uriah*, and he would have him puniſhed according to his deſert: And ſo put him in a way how to bring it about, without giving any ſuſpicion that it was done by his order; and the contrivance was this. *David* appointed *Joab* to command him upon the firſt dangerous attack, where his companions might leave him in the lurch, to be certainly cut off. This letter he gave to *Uriah* under his own hand and ſeal, to be delivered by him to *Joab*; who, upon the receipt of it, followed the king's direction, and put *Uriah* upon a deſperate undertaking, with ſeveral brave men to back him, for the countenance of the deſign; *Joab* promiſing to ſecond him with the whole army, upon the leaſt breach or poſſibility of entrance into the town: *Joab* recommending it earneſtly to him to maintain the reputation he had already acquired with the king, and with the army, by acquitting himſelf frankly and bravely upon this occaſion. *Uriah*, with great chearfulneſs and aſſurance, undertook the poſt, while *Joab* gave his companions private orders to withdraw and leave him, as ſoon as they found themſelves in any danger. The *Hebrews* preſſing hard upon the wall, put the *Ammonites* in a dreadful apprehenſion that they would force the town: Whereupon they threw open their gates, and made a deſperate ſally; which was as good as a ſignal to thoſe with *Uriah*, according to their orders from *Joab*, to abandon their leader, which they did as with one conſent, upon that critical point of time, and left *Uriah* to be cut to pieces. He did all the execution that was poſſible for a ſingle man againſt numbers, and after ſeveral wounds received, fell like a man of honour, with his face to the enemy: Some few of his friends, that were not made privy to the plot, innocently falling with him.

The action being now over, *Joab* diſpatched away an expreſs forthwith to *David*, giving an account, that to make ſhort work of a ſiege that was otherwiſe like to be tedious, he had given an aſſault to the town, loſt men in the attempt, and was at laſt beaten off and forced back again to the camp. Now ſays *Joab* to the meſſenger, if you find *David* troubled at the news you carry him, tell him withal, that poor *Uriah* fell in the attack. *David*, upon the hearing of this ſtory, was mightily unſatisfied. "What," ſays he, "for men with their "naked bodies to think of ſtorming ſtone "walls? Why did they not rather make

“ uſe of mines or engines? One would think they might have taken the domeſtic example of *Abimelech* the ſon of *Gideon* for a warning, who was ſlain at *Thebes* by a piece of a mill ſtone, thrown down upon his head by an old woman from the battlements: The man was otherwiſe very brave; but his temerity brought him to a ſcandalous end: For in all theſe caſes, caution is as neceſſary as courage; and the ſafeſt counſels are the beſt. All people, in the buſineſs of war, ſhould do well to conſult hiſtory and and experience; what has generally ſucceeded well, and what otherwiſe, and to conſider upon what point the ſtreſs lies, either of the one or of the other, and to act accordingly.” When the king had fretted a while, and was come afterwards to pauſe upon it, the meſſenger took occaſion to tell him of the death of *Uriah*, as a thing by the by. “ Well,” ſays *David*, “ theſe are common accidents; the chance of war is various, and ſoldiers muſt content themſelves to take the beſt and the worſt by turns. Do you tell *Joab* what I ſay; but tell him moreover, that for the future I would rather have him do the buſineſs by caſting up works, or by machines, than by open force. But let him know, upon the main, that I would have the ciraſed and levelled with the ground, and the inhabitants put all to the ſword, without ſparing a man of them.” With theſe inſtructions the meſſenger went preſently away to *Joab*.

Upon the news of *Uriah's* death, *Bathſheba*, for ſeveral days, made herſelf a kind of a recluſe, in the condition of a cloſe mourner; but ſo ſoon as the ceremony of the ſorrow was over, *David* took her to wife, and had by her a male child not long after. This match was ſo far from being agreeable to God, that he was highly offended at it, and gave the prophet *Nathan* to underſtand as much in a dream, blaming *David* exceedingly for what he had done.

Nathan, who was a man of a diverting humour and addreſs, well conſidering how little regard princes commonly have in the career of their paſſions, to the right or wrong of things, rather applied himſelf to *David's* conſcience by a ſide-wind, than in a direct narration of what God had ſaid to him in a viſion, bringing in what he had to deliver, after this manner.

“ There were two men,” ſays he, “ that lived in the ſame city; the one had an abundance of flocks and herds of all ſorts of cattle, oxen, ſheep, and the like, and was, in fine, a very rich man: The other a poor wretch, that had but one only lamb. He brought it up, and fed it with his children, and loved it as his daughter. The rich man had a ſtranger come to his houſe, whom he was bound in hoſpitality and in honour to entertain; but rather than treat him out of his own ſtore, he ſent and forced away the poor man's only lamb for the ſtranger's ſupper.

“ A villain!” ſays the king, in a paſſion, “ to do ſo baſe and ſo unjuſt a thing. I would have him make fourfold ſatisfaction, and die for it beſides.”

“ Why then,” ſays *Nathan* immediately, “ Thou thyſelf art the man, and out of thy own mouth haſt pronounced judgment upon thyſelf.”

The prophet, after this, gave him an account of his viſion, and of God's high diſpleaſure againſt him; minding him of his ingratitude to that providence that had made him king of *Iſrael*, and given him the command of all the neighbouring nations thereabout: Delivered him ſeveral times out of *Saul's* hands, &c. and for him, now that he had ſo many lawful wives allowed him, to take away another man's wife, in defiance of God and man, and to betray her huſband to the enemy, and to death; what could he expect after all this, but to be overtaken with a divine vengeance! The prophet then predicting to him, that he ſhould live to ſee his women raviſhed by one of his own ſons, and that ſon to enter into a practice upon the life of his father: And in a word, that for this ſecret ſin of his, he ſhould be brought to open ſhame and puniſhment; concluding with this preſage, that the ſon of his unlawful love ſhould be very ſhort lived. This denouncing of the prophet put *David* into great terror and confuſion, and drew from him a penitential confeſſion with tears, that he had ſinned againſt God. *David* being a righteous man, ſaving only in the buſineſs of *Uriah*, God was pleaſed to accept of his true repentance, and took him into his favour again, and promiſed to ſecure him in the enjoyment both of his kingdom and of his life.

When *Nathan* had given *David* this proſpect of things to come, he returned to his habitation; and after he was gone, the Lord ſtruck the child with ſickneſs, which ſo much affected the father, that he took to his chamber, and for ſeven days lay groveling upon the ground in ſackcloth, and mourning, without receiving any ſuſtenance, beſeeching Almighty God to ſpare the life of the child, having the greateſt tenderneſs for the mother imaginable. Upon the ſeventh day however the child died; but the people of the family durſt not ſpeak of it to the king. *David* obſerving much diſorder in the countenances of his family, ſuppoſed there was ſomething extraordinary in the caſe, that they durſt not tell him, which he concluded could be nothing elſe but the death of the child; and upon interrogating one of his ſervants about it, he found it was ſo. *David*, upon this, preſently got up, waſhed himſelf, changed his cloaths, and went directly to the tabernacle to worſhip, commanding his ſervants, after this, to ſet his ſupper upon the table. His kindred and domeſtics were all in admiration, at a change of humour ſo unexpected, and had a curioſity to know what might be the reaſon of it: *David* was very free with them upon a decent intimation of the deſire they had to be informed. "While the "child was yet living," ſays he, "and not "quite out of hope of recovery, I omitted "no opportunity of application to God for "the life of the poor creature, but when I "ſaw it was dead, it would have been a "fooliſh thing to torment myſelf any farther to no manner of purpoſe." The prudence of this reſolution was highly commended by all that heard him.

Bathſheba, in her due time after this, brought *David* a ſon; who, by the direction of the prophet *Nathan*, gave him the name of *Solomon*.

CHAP. VIII.

David *deſtroys the* Ammonites *Cities.* Amnon *Raviſheth his Siſter* Thamar. Amnon *killed by his Brother* Abſalom. David *pardoneth* Abſalom.

JOAB, by this time, had preſſed ſo hard upon the *Ammonites*, by cutting off their water and proviſions from them, that they were nigh reduced to the laſt extremity of hunger and thirſt; they had only one little ſpring left them, which they were forced to huſband by ſhort allowances, for fear of drawing it dry, and loſing that too. *Joab* ſent *David* a particular account of the ſtate of the ſiege, deſiring the honour of his preſence there in perſon, to put the laſt hand himſelf to the deſtruction of the city, as an action worthy to be found upon the roll in the hiſtory of his other heroical exploits. *David* was ſo fully ſatisfied with the wiſdom, faith, and zeal of his general, that he put himſelf preſently at the head of his army, and marched to the aſſault of *Rabbah*, took it by ſtorm, and gave the pillage to the ſoldiers; taking only for himſelf a golden crown of the king's,* of a talent weight, with a rich ſardonyx upon it; which *David* afterwards wore conſtantly upon his head, as an ornament. The men taken priſoners were put to death by exquiſite torments, † and all the reſt of the *Ammonite* cities that ſtood out were ſerved after the ſame manner.

The glory of this victory was followed ſoon after with a mortification. *David* had a daughter, a virgin, and the moſt agreeable lovely beauty of the age. Her name was *Thamar*; ſhe and *Abſalom* were of one mother. *Amnon*, the eldeſt ſon of *David*, fell deſperately in love with her; who finding there was no hope of ſucceeding, pined away into a kind of languiſhing conſumption. One *Jonathan*, taking notice of this change in *Amnon*, aſked him if he was not in love: *Amnon* owning himſelf to have a violent paſſion for his own ſiſter, the other put a thought in his head how he might compaſs his end. "Do but you," ſays *Jonathan*, "counterfeit yourſelf ſick; and the "firſt viſit your father gives you, make it "your requeſt, that he would ſend your "ſiſter to you; upon an opinion that her "care and aſſiſtance would much contribute "to your recovery." *Amnon* followed his counſel; deſiring his father, accordingly, upon his firſt viſit, to ſend his ſiſter to him; which he did: and nothing would ſerve *Amnon* then, but he muſt have ſome cakes of his ſiſter's making; for he could not eat any thing elſe. She accordingly took the flour, kneaded it, raiſed, and baked it, all in her brother's ſight, and offered him ſome to eat, which he would not ſo much as taſte of; but called out to his ſervants immediately to withdraw, for he would lay himſelf to reſt. As ſoon as the room was cleared, he deſired his ſiſter to carry the curioſities ſhe had made him into an inner chamber there; which ſhe did; and her brother, taking advantage of that privacy, laid hold of her; and, by the uttermoſt importunity of a violent paſſion, preſſed and courted her to the gratifying of his brutal luſt: The innocent virgin crying out and exclaiming all the while to him, For ſhame! for ſhame! not to offer at ſo impious a baſeneſs, as it would be to ſacrifice the honour of himſelf and his whole family to the outrage of a beaſtly appetite. "Let me go," ſays ſhe, "for the "love of God, and keep your exorbitant "deſires within the compaſs of the law, ho"neſty, and religion; or, if you cannot "maſter them, try if you can get your fa"ther's good will, and never think of ex"torting a kindneſs from me by violence." But there was no reaſoning with an impetuous raging paſſion. For, in deſpite of all ſhe could ſay or do, he gained his end upon her by force.

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[*] That a talent of gold was about ſeven pound weight, ſee the deſcription of the temple, *chap.* 13. Nor could *Joſephus* well eſtimate it higher, ſince he here ſays that *David* wore it on his head perpetually.

[†] Whether *Joſephus* ſaw the words of our other copies, 2 *Sam.* xii. 31. and 1 *Chr.* xx. iii. that *David* put the inhabitants, or at leaſt the garriſon of *Rabbah*, and of the other *Ammonite* cities, which he beſieged and took, *under*, or *cut them with ſaws; and under*, or *with harrows of iron; and under*, or *with axes of iron; and made them paſs through the brick kiln*, is not here directly expreſſed. If he ſaw them, as is moſt probable he did, he certainly expounded them of tormenting the *Ammonites* to death, who yet were none of thoſe ſeven nations of *Canaan*, whoſe wickedneſs had rendered them incapable of mercy. Otherwiſe, I ſhould think, that the meaning, at leaſt as the words are in *Samuel*, might only be this, that they were made the loweſt ſlaves, to work in ſawing timber or ſtone, in harrowing the field, in hewing timber, in making and burning bricks, and the like hard ſervices; but without taking away their lives. We never elſewhere, that I remember, meeting with ſuch methods of cruelty in putting men to death in all the Bible, or in any other ancient hiſtory whatſoever. Nor do the words in *Samuel* ſeem naturally to refer to any ſuch thing.

No ſooner had he committed the villainy, but he called out fiercely to her to be gone. What? ſays ſhe, now that you have whored me, am I to be expoſed too? Nay, ſays ſhe, this treatment in cold blood is yet worſe than even the accurſed act itſelf. But reaſoning and ſtruggling was all in vain, for *Amnon* commanded his ſervants to turn her out of the houſe. Away ſhe goes into ſtreet, with aſhes on her head, and her veſt (ſuch as was then in faſhion for perſons of her quality) diſordered and torn; and ſo through the city, crying out how ſhe had been abuſed and raviſhed. Her brother *Abſalom* met her in this diſtraction and dreſs; and aſking her what was the matter, ſhe told him the whole ſtory. *Abſalom* told her, to pacify her, that the diſhonour however was not ſo great, conſidering it was the act of her own brother; which for the preſent put ſome reſpite to her clamour. After this, ſhe lived a pretty while ſingle in the houſe of her brother *Abſalom*.

Upon the carrying of this ſtory to *David*, he was infinitely troubled at it; but *Amnon* being his eldeſt ſon, and his beloved ſon, he was yet loth to put him to extremities. *Abſalom*, all this while, bore him a mortal grudge, and waited only a fair opportunity for a revenge. At the end of two years after the rape of *Thamar*, *Abſalom* having appointed a ſheep-ſhearing at *Baal-Hazor*, a city in the tribe of *Ephraim*, invited his father and his brothers to the meeting. His father excuſed himſelf: So that *Abſalom* deſired leave only for his brothers, which being obtained, he gave orders to his domeſtics, that upon giving them the ſign, when *Amnon* ſhould be in his cups, they ſhould kill him.

Abſalom's people put their maſter's order in execution. This violence upon *Amnon* ſtruck ſuch dread and confuſion into the reſt of the brothers, that they immediately poſted away to their father. In this nick of time comes a forerunner to *David*, with news, that *Abſalom* had put all his brothers to death. This was ſo terrible a ſurprize to *David*, that he abandoned himſelf to an inconſolable deſperation: And without waiting for a confirmation of the report, he gave himſelf up to an inſupportable anguiſh of thought, tearing his garments, and caſting himſelf proſtrate upon the ground, lamentnot only the murdered, but the murderer himſelf. But *Jonadab*, the ſon of *Shimei*, *David*'s brother, deſired *David* only to ruminate upon the matter. I cannot believe, ſays he, that your ſons are killed, becauſe I ſee no reaſon for it: But for *Amnon*'s part, it is not unlikely that *Abſalom* may have taken his revenge upon him for the affront he put upon his ſiſter.

While they were in diſcourſe they heard the trampling of horſes, and the hurry of people running up and down; which proved to be the king's ſons that had made their eſcape from the meeting at the houſe of their brother.

The greeting of the father and his ſons was not without tears on both ſides. *Abſalom*, in the mean time, retired to *Geſhur*, where he was three years in the houſe of his mother's father, a perſon of eminent authority in that country.

David had by this time a good mind to recal *Abſalom*, not to puniſh him, but to have him home again; for the diſpleaſure was now well nigh over: And theſe charitable inclinations were dexterouſly managed to *Abſalom*'s advantage, by the friendſhip of *Joab*, who was ſtill at *David*'s elbow. To this end, he dealt with an ancient woman that was to put herſelf into mourning, as a perſon in great diſtreſs, and as an humble ſupplicant, to preſent the king with her caſe to this effect: i. e. That two of her ſons in the country had had an unhappy quarrel, which grew to that animoſity that one of them was killed. Some of his friends that was ſlain, demanded juſtice upon him that killed him. So ſhe was to beg of his majeſty the life of her ſon, as the only hope and ſtay of her old age. She had no proſpect but in his majeſty's clemency, for her ſon's enemies were ſo malicious, that nothing leſs could ſatisfy them than the interpoſition of the king's authority.

The king granted her requeſt: whereupon, with a dutiful acknowledgment of the king's favour, ſhe prayed one further inſtance and aſſurance that ſhe might enjoy the fruit of his royal goodneſs. Her ſuit was, that the king would, in the firſt place, be pleaſed to pardon his own ſon *Abſalom*; for, in beginning with a compaſſion to him, it would be effectually the ratiſying of her ſon's caſe in his own family. It would be very hard, ſhe ſaid, for a father to loſe one ſon by miſadventure, and to kill another himſelf.

The king had it preſently repreſented to him, that this was a project of *Joab*'s; and upon diſcourſing the woman, it was found ſo to be: Upon which *David* called for *Joab*, and told him, that he was now at liberty to bring *Abſalom* back again, for he had freely forgiven him. *Joab* did his reverence, and ſo haſtened away to *Geſhur*, and brought *Abſalom* back with him to *Jeruſalem*. The king ſent him word, that matters were not as yet in ſo good a diſpoſition, as that it would be proper for him to appear in his preſence. So that *Abſalom* kept himſelf out of the king's ſight, with his private family. He had gone through a great deal of care and trouble, and his entertainment of late had been rather coarſe than delicate; and, in ſhort, not ſuitable to the ſtate and curioſity of a prince of the blood. But he ſtill kept up the beauty and gracefulneſs of his perſon to the higheſt degree. He cut his hair every eight months; in which time it grew up to the weight of two hundred ſhekels, * that is to ſay, five pounds weight.

He paſſed away two years in *Jeruſalem*, in a private way of living, and had children, three ſons and one daughter, which proved to be a miracle of beauty. She was married afterwards to *Rehoboam*, the ſon of *Solomon*, and had a ſon by him, whoſe name was *Abia*. *Abſalom* finding himſelf uneaſy under his preſent circumſtances, ſent to *Joab* to ſpeak a good word for him to his father, that he might only be admitted to the honour of ſeeing him, and the comfort of a thorough reconciliation. He waited a while for an anſwer, but receiving none, he ſent ſome of his people to a neighbouring field of *Joab*'s, to burn his corn as it ſtood there upon the ground. *Joab* came to him, and aſked him the meaning of it. "Why," ſays *Abſalom*, "I had no other way of getting you to me. I wrote to you about interceding for me to my father, and you have done nothing in it. Pray try if you can pacify him; for if he goes on ſtill to be inexorable, I am in a worſe condition at home than I was in my baniſhment." *Joab*, upon this, plied the king ſo well on his behalf, that his heart relented, and *Abſalom* was immediately ſent for to attend his father. He caſt himſelf at the king's feet, and begged pardon for all his miſdoings; whereupon *David*, with his right hand, took him up again, with an aſſurance that all ill things gone and paſt ſhould be for ever forgotten.

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* It is a conteſted point whether theſe were not *Babyloniſh* ſhekels, which reduces it to a fair probability, as they then would make but thirty-three ounces, a quantity ſometimes met with on women's heads, by dealers in that commodity.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Abſalom *Rebels againſt his Father,* David; *and lies with his Concubines.*

ABSALOM came in a ſhort time to be ſo well eſtabliſhed in the good opinion of his father, that he ſtruck up all on a ſudden into a ſplendid equipage, with his chariots and his horſes, a numerous train and retinue of ſervants and followers, and fifty men to attend him as the guard of his body. He was the firſt man ſtill at the king's levee; not forgetting to take all occaſions to cajole the multitude. When any man had a cauſe to be heard, and came for juſtice, he would aſk him in a familiar way: "Friend," ſays he, "What's thy name, "what countryman, what buſineſs? Can I "do thee any good?" and the like. When he found the people out of humour, and malecontent, for a croſs verdict, or a hard judgment, as they pretended: "Why this "tis," ſays he again, "the king has very "ill men about him. Yes, yes, and God "help him, miſtakes the point ſometimes, "as well as another. Well! and ſo God "ſpeed ye my friends: If I had been in "ſomebody's place, things ſhould never "have gone at this rate." This was his method of gaining the affections of the people, and moulding them for his deſign; and the humour ripened apace.

When he found himſelf pretty well aſſured of the ſtrength and intereſt of his party, he went and addreſſed himſelf to *David*, in the fourth year after the reconciliation, * for leave to go to *Hebron* to perform a vow which he had made in the time of his baniſhment: Which leave he eaſily obtained, and took a prodigious multitude along with him. Among the reſt was *Achitophel* the *Gilonite*, *David's* prime miniſter, with two hundred men of *Jeruſalem*, that came thither to ſacrifice, without the leaſt imagination of a conſpiracy. But the plot took; and *Abſalom*, by the common voice of the people, was proclaimed king.

David was ſo ſurpriſed at the news of a rebellious uſurpation he ſo little dreamt of, that he ſtood confounded. In this ſtreight he bethought himſelf of paſſing the river *Jordan* into ſome place of more ſecurity; therefore, with the advice of ſome of his intimate friends, what courſe to take in this ſeditious juncture, he reſolved to leave the care of his palace to ten of his concubines, quit *Jeruſalem*, and commit the iſſue to God. He accordingly departed, with great multitudes of people that chearfully ſtuck to him, and liſted themſelves in his train, eſpecially his own ſix hundred friends, that kept ſo cloſe to him when he was hunted up and down by *Saul*, from one hiding-place to another. The high-prieſts *Abiathar* and *Zadock*, and all the *Levites* there, were for going with him too, and taking the ark along with them; but upon very good reaſons he prevailed with them to ſtay, telling them that God's providence was ſufficient. The laſt thing he ſaid to them was, that they ſhould make ſure of ſome private way of intelligence to let him underſtand from time to time whatever paſſed that might concern him to know; and they acquitted themſelves of that commiſſion with great faith and induſtry: That is to ſay, *Ahimaaz* the ſon of *Zadock*, and *Jonathan* the ſon of *Abiathar*. *Ittai* the *Gittite*, had ſo great a zeal for the ſervice of his maſter, that he forced himſelf along with him, tho' he preſſed him earneſtly againſt it.

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* This is one of the beſt corrections that *Joſephus's* copy affords us of a text that, in our ordinary copies, is groſſly corrupted. They ſay, that this rebellion of *Abſalom* was forty years after what went before, (of his reconciliation to his father:) whereas the ſeries of the hiſtory ſhews it could not be more than four years after it: as here in *Joſephus*.

As *David* was going barefoot up *Mount Olivet*, and all the people in tears round about him, there came to him a meſſenger with the tidings that *Achitophel* was gone over to the faction of *Abſalom*, which was one of the moſt ſenſible diſappointments that had as yet befallen him. Wherefore *David* prayed to God to turn his wiſdom into fooliſhneſs. He was a crafty and a clear-ſighted man in buſineſs, and there was nothing *David* ſo much dreaded, as the policy of his advice.

When he was up the mountain, he looked back upon the city, all in tears, with ejaculations, as one that was now taking his laſt leave of his government: And whom ſhould he meet there, but his tried friend and faithful ſubject *Huſhai*, with his garments torn, and aſhes upon his head. *David* bid him be of good chear, and urged him to go back again to *Jeruſalem*, where he might behave himſelf like one of *Abſalom*'s party, pry into his councils and deſigns, and by thwarting *Achitophel*'s ſenſe of things, do his maſter infinitely better ſervice than by ſtaying with him. *Huſhai* ſuffered himſelf to be over-ruled, and ſo taking leave of *David*, he returned to *Jeruſalem*; *Abſalom* himſelf coming thither not long after.

David in the mean while paſſing forward, met with *Ziba*, the ſervant of *Mephiboſheth*, to whom he had committed the management of the eſtate he had beſtowed upon the ſon of his dear friend *Jonathan*. He was driving two aſſes before him, and offered *David* and his men to take what they pleas'd of what he had, if there was any thing they liked. The queſtion was put to *Ziba* upon this occaſion, What was become of his maſter? He remained at *Jeruſalem*, he ſaid, in hope that upon the preſent broils, the people, in honour to the memory of *Saul*, might be prevailed upon to chuſe him king. *David* had ſuch an indignation for this ingratitude, that he took away the lands back again from *Mephiboſheth*, and gave them to *Ziba*.

David was ſtill advancing, and as he paſſed near *Bahurim*, there came out a kinſman of *Saul's*, named *Shimei*, the ſon of *Geri*, and aſſaulted him with curſes and with ſtones, calling *David* a blood-ſucker, the cauſe of all their miſeries, and bad him be gone out of the country like an inſolent wretch as he was; giving God thanks for that retaliation upon him, by his ſon, for the indignities that he had formerly put upon his lord and father. Theſe rude and barbarous outrages ſtirred the blood of every body that heard them, and *Abiſhai* had certainly killed him for it, if *David* had not interpoſed and prevented it: And as *David* advanced temperately on one ſide of the mountain, *Shimei* ran railing and curſing over-againſt him on the other. They came at laſt, after a long, and wearisome march, to the bank of the river, where *David* muſtered and refreſhed his troops.

Abſalom, and his great counſellor *Achitophel*, were by this time come to *Jeruſalem*, where they were received with acclamations by a vaſt concourſe of people, and among the reſt by *David*'s friend *Huſhai*, with God ſave the king, and the wiſhes to him of a long, and a happy reign. *Abſalom*, upon this encounter, aſked *Huſhai* how it came to paſs, that he who was looked upon to be ſo eminent and faithful a ſervant to his father, ſhould now deſert his former maſter, and come over to him? *Huſhai* anſwered him diſcreetly enough, that "there was no "contending with the will of God, and "the conſent of the people; and ſo long as "you have them on your ſide, you may be "ſure of my fidelity. It is from God that "you have received your kingdom, and if "you can think me worthy of a place in "the number of thoſe you will vouchſafe "to own, you ſhall find me as true to your-"ſelf, as ever I was to your father." Theſe words put an end to all jealouſies.

What they had now before them was to reſolve what ſhould be done next, and *Achitophel* was preſently called in, to adviſe about it. The Counſel he gave them was, For *Abſalom* to go in and lie with all his father's concubines: "For this," ſays he, "will "fix the people and make them ſo much "the bolder, and firmer to the preſent "ſtate, when they ſhall ſee the breach ad-"vanced beyond all poſſibility of reconci-"liation; for as matters now ſtand, people "will be apt to ſay, why the father and the "ſon may come to an agreement yet for "ought we know, and if they ſhould chance "to clap up a peace in the concluſion, "where are we! So that it will be danger-"ous to declare under ſuch an uncertain-"ty." *Abſalom*, in ſhort, took *Achitophel's* counſel, and commanded his ſervants to erect him a tent in the palace, where he lay with his father's concubines in the ſight of the people. This was no more than what the prophet *Nathan* foretold would befal *David*.

CHAP. X.

Achitophel's *Counſel*; Huſhai *carries it againſt him.* Achitophel *hangs himſelf.* Abſalom *fights a Battle, loſes the Day, and is Slain by* Joab.

AFTER the execution of this counſel of *Achitophel's*, the next queſtion was, what they were firſt to do in the proſecution of the war? His anſwer was this. "Give "me the command of ten thouſand choice "men, and let me anſwer for it with my "own head, if I do not bring you the "head of *David*: And the taking away of "his life will ſecure the public peace to "the people, and the government to *Abſa-"lom*, both in one." *Abſalom* was much of *Achitophel's* opinion, but willing however to have *Huſhai's* yet, put it to him, what he thought on't? *Huſhai* finding the advice to be dangerous, did what he could to divert *Abſalom* from it. "Sir," ſays he, "I "need not tell you that your father is a va-"liant man, and that he hath a great ma-"ny brave men about him, with whom in "all encounters he hath ever come off vic-"torious. You know him to be a ſoldier "too, and a man of ſtratagem, as well as "of courage. He will moſt infallibly have "advice of our approach; and in ſome val-"ley, wood, or behind ſome rock perhaps, "lie ready upon the catch for us with an "ambuſh: Or ſuppoſe we ſhould attempt "to engage them, they will order the mat-"ter ſo as to manage their retreat by little "and little till they have drawn us into the "ſnare, and *David's* whole body to fall in "upon us before we know where we are. "Now I ſubmit myſelf to your judgment, "betwixt the conſternation it will cauſe on "the one hand, and the encouragement "it will give on the other, what a confuſion "this way of proceeding will create among "us: And now you have heard both opi-"nions, you may follow either *Achitophel's* "or mine, which is moſt to your liking. "But let the whole nation of the *Hebrews* "be ſummoned to appear with all their

“ troops, at ſome certain time and place, to make war againſt *David*: And when they are met, do you yourſelf take the command. When this is done, *David* muſt either expoſe himſelf in the plain field, or otherwiſe fly to ſtrong holds, walled towns, and the like. If he keeps the plains, you will have enow to eat him up; and I do not ſpeak of your numbers only, but of a world of public-ſpirited patriots too, that value themſelves upon their zeal and ambition to ſerve their prince and their country: So that this way you have him ſure. Or if he ſhall go the other way to work, of hiding and ſkulking up and down, to keep upon the defenſive, there are twenty ways, by mining, battering, ſtarving, and the like, that will certainly reduce him.” They were all ſo unanimouſly for his advice, that *Abſalom* himſelf gave his voice for him, even in preference to the counſel of *Achitophel*. But it is to be noted, that the hand of God was in all this. [*]

Huſhai, upon this reſult, made all poſſible haſte to the high-prieſts, *Zadock* and *Abiathar*, with the ſtory of what had paſſed at the counſel betwixt *Achitophel* and himſelf, deſiring them to diſpatch an expreſs immediately to *David*, with a caution, by all means to paſs the river *Jordan* that very night, for if they ſhould either get intelligence where he was, or change their minds, they might fall upon him before he could get over.

The high-prieſts had provided lodgings for their ſons out of the town, and a faithful maid-ſervant at hand to carry them the intelligence, which they were to tranſmit forthwith to *David*. Upon the receipt of this information, they ſpeeded away with it as became dutiful and faithful ſervants. But by the time they were advanced two furlongs upon their way, they were diſcovered by certain horſemen, and *Abſalom* having notice of it, gave order preſently for the taking of them up. The meſſengers were quickly aware of their danger, and ſo turned out of the way towards *Bahurim*, a ſmall village near *Jeruſalem*, where they met with a woman that was ſo charitable as to conceal them, by letting them down into a well, and throwing ſome ſkins of beaſts over the mouth of it. This matter was no ſooner ordered, but into the yard comes a hue and cry after them, that examined the woman very ſtrictly, if ſhe had ſeen any ſuch men or not. She could not deny, ſhe ſaid, that two ſuch men drank at the gate juſt now, and ſo went their way; but ſays ſhe, if you make haſte after them, they may eaſily be overtaken. When they had hunted up and down a long time after them to no purpoſe, they returned to their quarters. As ſoon as the woman ſaw that all was ſafe, ſhe drew the young men out of the well, and they proſecuted their journey time enough to give *David* a ſeaſonable account what *Abſalom* was doing. It was late before they got thither, but *David* however got his people over the water the ſame night.

It ſtuck in *Achitophel*'s ſtomach, that *Abſalom* ſhould reject his counſel, and at the ſame time entertain *Huſhai*'s: So that he mounted his aſs, and went home to *Galmon*, where he called his family together, and told them the advice he had given *Abſalom*, but that he would not follow it, and that in a ſhort time that refuſal would be his ruin; for *David* would certainly baffle him, and ſoon after recover his kingdom. “Now it is more honourable for me,” ſays he, “to die aſſerting my liberty like a man, than to wait ſneaking till *David* comes in again, and to be ſlain at laſt for the ſervices I have done the ſon againſt the fa-

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[*] This reflection of *Joſephus*'s, that God brought to nought the dangerous counſel of *Achitophel*, and directly infatuated wicked *Abſalom* to reject it, is a very juſt one: And in him not unfrequent. Nor does *Joſephus* ever puzzle himſelf, or perplex his readers, with ſubtle hypotheſes, as to the manner of ſuch judicial infatuations by God; while the juſtice of them is generally ſo obvious.

“ ther.” With theſe words he withdrew into a private apartment in his houſe, and hanged himſelf, in the conſcience of a ſelf-condemnation.

David having now paſſed the river *Jordan*, came to *Mahanaim*, the faireſt and ſtrongeſt city in that tract of land: Where he was treated by the principal perſons of the whole country, with the higheſt inſtances of generoſity and good will. There was *Siphar*, a prince of *Ammon*: *Barzillai*, and *Machir*, two principal men of *Gilead*, &c. Theſe generous perſons took ſuch care of *David*, and his people, that they wanted neither beds, bread, wine, fleſh, nor any thing elſe that might be needful, either for their ſuſtenance or refreſhment.

Abſalom, in the mean time, was gotten over the river with a mighty army againſt his father, and encamped not far from *Mahanaim*, a town of *Gilead*, having made his kinſman *Amaſa* general, in the place of *Joab*: *Amaſa* being the ſon of *Jothar* by *Abigail*. *Abigail*, and *Zerviah*, the mother of *Joab*, were *David*'s ſiſters.

The king took a review of his men, and found himſelf upon the muſter to be only four thouſand ſtrong; but yet he choſe rather to act the part of an aggreſſor, than to lie ſtill upon his guard till *Abſalom* ſhould give the attack. He preſently conſtituted his officers, and divided the little body of his army into three parts: *Joab* had the firſt diviſion; *Abiſhai*, the ſecond; and his old friend *Ittai* the *Gittite*, the third. *David* would needs have gone himſelf in perſon, but his friends oppoſed it, and he was prevailed upon to ſtay at *Mahanaim*. *David* then adjured his friends by all the ties of honour, gratitude, and conſcience, to acquit themſelves in their duty; and in caſe God ſhould give them a victory, to ſpare the life of the young man. This was followed with a thouſand bleſſings and good wiſhes, and ſo he diſpatched them to the army.

When *Abſalom* ſaw that *Joab* had drawn up his diviſion upon a plain, with a wood at his back, he diſpoſed of his own troops likewiſe into the ſame form over againſt the other. When the two bodies came to ſhock, there was great bravery ſhewn on both ſides. In the concluſion, *David*'s veterans broke the enemy's order, and put them to a total rout, chaſing them over woods, mountains and craggs, which way ſoever they fled: Some they killed, ſome they took, and more were loſt in the purſuit than in the battle. They reckoned about twenty thouſand men ſlain in that day's action.

Abſalom was ſo ſingular, both for his beauty and his ſtature, that he was every body's mark. And for fear of being taken alive, he ran away upon the fleeteſt mule he could lay hands of. But in her courſe, upon the whiffling of the wind, a ſnagged bough of a tree took hold of his hair, and the mule running forward from under him, left him dangling in the air. One of *David*'s ſoldiers ſaw this, and carried the tidings to *Joab*, who bad him go quickly and diſpatch him, and he ſhould have fifty ſhekels of ſilver for his pains. “ No,” ſays the ſoldier, “ I would not do ſuch a thing to the ſon of “ my lord and maſter for two thouſand: “ eſpecially conſidering the charge he gave “ in your hearing, not to touch the life of “ the young man.” Why then, ſays *Joab*, where was it that you ſaw him? In ſhort, having found him out, he gave him his death's wound through the heart with his javelin. His armour-bearers that were then preſent, took down the body from the tree, and caſt it into a dark deep hole, piling a great heap of ſtones upon it, in the form of a ſepulchre. This being done, *Joab* ſounded a retreat, to take his men off from the chace, and ſave the effuſion of more blood in a civil war. *Abſalom* had already erected a marble column, with an inſcription upon it, in a place called *the King's Valley*, ſome ſhort way from *Jeruſalem*; which he called by the name of *the Hand of Abſalom*, to perpetuate his name, as he ſaid, even if he ſhould leave no children behind him. He had three ſons, and one daughter.

CHAP. XI.

David's *Grief for* Abſalom: *And* Joab's *Plain-dealing with him. With other Occurrences.*

ABSALOM being now dead, his people ſlipt away by ſtealth; every man to his own home. *Ahimaaz*, the ſon of *Zadock* the high-prieſt, making it his ſuit to *Joab* that he might be the man to carry *David* the firſt news of the victory, as being the work of God's power and providence, *Joab* gave him this anſwer, that it would not look well, for him that had always heretofore been the meſſenger of good news to the king, to be now the firſt man to tell him of his ſon's death. So *Joab* called to *Cuſhi*, and ſent him on the errand, and that he ſhould tell the king what he himſelf had ſeen. *Ahimaaz* was at *Joab* a ſecond time, to let him carry the tidings; for, ſays he, the king's thoughts will be ſo intent upon the main, that he'll never trouble his head about the death of *Abſalom*. *Joab* gave him leave, and he knowing the neareſt way better than the other, got thither before him. *David* was at this time ſitting at the gate, in a longing expectation to know the event of the battle, when a ſcout brought him word, that he ſaw one come running that way, but he was too far off to diſcern who it was. The king looked upon it as a good omen, and the ſcout immediately upon this, told the king that he diſcovered another, which gave him ſtill more hope than before. The meſſenger being now come within diſtance, was found to be *Ahimaaz* the ſon of *Zadock*, the high prieſt, who came poſting away in a chariot. "Well!" ſays *David*, "this " is the man that muſt certainly bring me " good tidings." The words were hardly paſt his lips, when *Ahimaaz* caſt himſelf at *David*'s feet to do him reverence; who aſked him what news from the army? Great ſucceſs, he ſaid, and victory. *David* aſked him then, what was become of *Abſalom*? *Ahimaaz* anſwered him, that ſo ſoon as ever he ſaw the enemy routed, he came away with the intelligence; but that he heard a mighty clamour and ſhouting all the while, upon the purſuit of *Abſalom*; and *Joab* ſent him away in ſuch haſte, that his orders were only to carry the news of the victory, without any mention of *Abſalom*. By this time, *Cuſhi* was at the king's feet, with the tidings of a victory: And the king putting the ſame queſtion to him as to the other, i. e. What was become of *Abſalom*? May it be, ſays *Cuſhi*, with all the enemies of my lord the king as it is with *Abſalom*. Theſe words turned a day of joy and triumph into a day of mourning. So it proved to the king, for the loſs of *Abſalom*; and to the people. For he withdrew upon it, to the top of one of the higheſt turrets about the city, beating his breaſt, and tearing his hair! with cries and exclamations, "Ah my ſon, *Abſalom*, " my ſon, *Abſalom*, Ah that I myſelf could " but have died with thee, my ſon!" This put *Joab* and the army quite out of countenance; ſo that they looked rather like fugitives than conquerors. *David*, in ſhort, went on ſo far in this way of an abandoned dejection, that *Joab* broke in upon him in the very agony of his paſſion, to expoſtulate the mattter with him.

"Sir," ſays he, "are you aware of the " diſhonour you bring upon yourſelf by this " wilful and effeminate way of impotent la- " mentations? Why it makes you look as " if you had a hatred for your friends, that " have ſaved your life at the hazard of their " own; nay, for yourſelf and your family

“ too: and at the ſame time, as great a kindneſs even for thoſe of your enemies, which divine juſtice hath taken away in your favour. If *Abſalom* had carried the day, and ſettled himſelf in his uſurpation, who do you think, ſir, would have bemoaned either your fate or ours. He was your ſon, 'tis true, but a moſt ungracious one, and you cannot be juſt to God's providence, without acknowledging the bleſſing of his being taken away. Pray ſhew yourſelf chearfully to your people, and tell them, that it is to their loyalty and bravery, next under God, that you are indebted for the honour of this day. For if you go on as you have begun, your kingdom and your army will moſt infallibly be put into other hands, and you will then find ſomething elſe to cry for.”

This blunt liberty of *Joab* brought *David* to himſelf again, and he ſhewed himſelf at the gate with more ſatisfaction in his countenance. This wrought ſo effectually upon the multitude, that they came flocking to him from all parts to pay him their reverence.

While matters were in this diſpoſition, *Abſalom*'s men that fled from the late battle ſent meſſengers up and down, to remind their friends of the infinite obligations they had to *David* upon all accounts, and particularly for the toils and hazards he had undergone in his own perſon, for the vindication of their liberty; how ungratefully they had behaved themſelves in their revolt, &c. and recommending to them to beſeech him once again to receive them into his care and protection, as formerly. The king had addreſſes of this kind ſent him in abundance, which he ſtill communicated by letters to the high-prieſts *Zadock* and *Abiathar*, with certain hints, how they were to manage the heads of the tribe of *Judah* toward his reſtoration. They, on the other hand, were not idle, but inſinuated accordingly how great a ſhame it would be for them to ſtand looking on, and let others go before them in doing a common right to a prince ſo generous, and of their own tribe and extraction. This way of proceeding created an emulation among them, who ſhould be foremoſt. They likewiſe expoſtulated the matter with *Amaſa*, the enemy's general, how it came to paſs that he, who was the nephew of *David* by his own ſiſter, ſhould not diſpoſe the army to a ſenſe of their duty; and the reſtoring of the government to the right owner. They told *Amaſa*, that for what was paſt, he might be ſure of his pardon; and they doubted not but he might have the ſave command under *David* that he had under *Abſalom*.

The high-prieſts proceeded in this manner with the principal of the tribe, and upon theſe aſſurances brought *Amaſa* over to *David*. The tribe of *Judah* were the firſt that ſent their commiſſioners to invite the king back to the command of his government: And by the influence of his example, and the credit of *Amaſa* they were all to attend, and receive the king at *Jeruſalem*. The tribe of *Judah* were the moſt forward of the whole body, and very officious in their reſpects, going even to the very bank of the river *Jordan* to meet him. There was *Shimei* the ſon of *Gera*, at the head of a thouſand *Benjamites*; and *Ziba*, *Saul*'s freeman, with his fifteen children, and twenty ſervants; who, together with the tribe of *Judah*, laid a bridge over the river, for the more commodious paſſage of *David* and his troops.

Upon his coming to the river, the tribe of *Judah* were the firſt that ſaluted him; and *Shimei* then advancing to the bridge, threw himſelf at *David*'s feet, begging his pardon for the indignities he had put upon him: deſiring that his early repentance, and return to his allegiance might attone for his paſt faults. “Well!” ſays *Abiſhai*, *Joab*'s brother, “and do you think to come off ſo eaſily, that could have the face to blaſpheme the king that God ſet over you, at ſo unpardonable a rate?” “Be quiet, ye ſons of *Zerviah*,” ſays *David*, “for I would have you look upon this as the firſt day of my reign, and I do now declare upon my oath, that no creature ſhall ſuffer for any thing done againſt me, or "againſt any body elſe for my ſake: ſo that "*Shimei*, your life is in no danger." Upon this aſſurance, he made his reverence, and went his way.

After him came *Mephiboſheth*, *Saul*'s nephew, in as forlorn and uncouth an appearance, as could well be imagined; for upon the king's being forced away from his palace, this good man, reckoning the king's calamity as his own, bound himſelf by a vow, never to cut his hair, or change his cloaths till it might pleaſe God to reſtore him. Upon *David*'s aſking him how he came to leave him when he was under perſecution; he laid the fault upon *Ziba*, for not obeying his orders, but on the contrary treating him like a ſlave, notwithſtanding the expreſs charge he had given him to have all neceſſaries in readineſs for his journey. "But, "ſir," ſays he, "if I had the uſe of my "legs, this ſhould not have hindered me. "He has not only diſappointed me in the "exerciſe of my duty, but I perceive he "has done me ſpiteful offices to yourſelf "alſo: But ſir, you are ſo juſt, and ſo "great a lover of God and of truth, that I "am ſure your generoſity and your wiſdom "will never entertain a calumny to my pre-"judice. Our family have had the expe-"rience of your piety, modeſty, and good-"neſs, to a degree never to be forgotten, "in pardoning the innumerable hazards "and perſecutions that you were expoſed "unto in the days, and by the contrivance "of my grandfather, when all our lives "were forfeited, and in your power: But "then after all this gracious tenderneſs, "your ſuperadding the honour of taking me "to your table as your friend, and as a "gueſt, nothing could be either greater, or "more obliging." *David* having heard all this, told him, that having given the whole eſtate to *Ziba*, he would order him the one half of it back again. "Nay, ſir," ſays *Mephiboſheth*, "ſo long as I have the ſa-"tisfaction of ſeeing my lord the king upon "the throne again, even let *Ziba* take the "whole."

David during the war, had been much beholden for ſeveral good offices to *Barzillai* a *Gileadite*, a man adapted to all good and honourable purpoſes. *Barzillai* would needs bring the king towards the river *Jordan*, and the king preſſed him with great earneſtneſs to go through with him to *Jeruſalem*, promiſing that he ſhould want nothing that might be a relief and refreſhment to his old age. But he excuſed himſelf, that he ſhould be more at eaſe in a private way of life, than in the ſplendor and luxury of a palace. He was now eighty years of age, he ſaid, and paſt the reliſh of court-pleaſures, having no other buſineſs in the world than to prepare for death, and to give orders for his funeral. Wherefore he begged his majeſty's leave to retire home again, where he might more conveniently govern himſelf after his own faſhion. His taſte was now gone, as to the ſatisfaction of delicious meat and drink; and as to the delights of ſinging, dancing, revels, harmonious conſorts of inſtruments or voices, and the like, he had no longer any ſenſe of theſe entertainments. The king was prevailed upon at length, to part with him, but upon condition, ſays he, that your ſon *Chimham* ſhall go along with me, and take his part in the beſt offices I can do him. *Barzillai*, with all dutiful acknowledgments, left his ſon with the king; and taking his leave, with the moſt paſſionate wiſhes of a long and proſperous reign to him, he returned to his own home.

CHAP. XII.

A ~~new~~ Rebellion againſt David, *which is ſuppreſſed, and the Head of* Sheba, *the Principal in it, cut off.*

WHEN *David* came to *Gilgal*, he had one half of the whole nation with him, and tribe of *Judah* entire. There flocked to him ſeveral of the prime men of the country with a vaſt multitude of people at their heels, and charged the tribe of *Judah* with taking too much upon them in going to the king, without conſulting their brethren; whereas they ought unanimouſly to have gone together. The heads of the tribe of *Judah* deſired the reſt not to take any thing amiſs in their going before; for they looked upon it as a duty incumbent on them for kindred ſake, which made them the more officious, upon that conſideration. The heads of the other tribes were not at all pleaſed with this way of reaſoning. "How came you" they cried, "to engroſs the " king to yourſelves, as if he were not our " king as well as yours? For he is indifferently the governor of us all: So that if " we are eleven parts of the whole, and " you but one, you have certainly done very ill in ſtealing away to the king by yourſelves, without acquainting us." While the great men were at words in this controverſy, up ſtood *Sheba* the ſon of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, and called out; "What do they " talk to us for of a part in *David*, or what " have we to do with the ſon of *Jeſſe?*" So he cauſed the trumpet to be ſounded, with a kind of a proclamation for the people to depart to their tents, and thereupon war was denounced againſt *David*.

The multitude joined the party and intereſt of *Sheba*, ſaving only the tribe of *Judah*, who ſtood by the king, and conducted him to *Jeruſalem*. On his arrival there, he cleared his palace of his concubines, and had never more to do with them. He made *Amaſa* his general, in the place of *Joab*, giving him orders to draw what troops he could get together out of the tribe of *Judah*, and bring them to him in three days, that he might be ready to march out with them againſt the ſon of *Bichri*. *Amaſa* went to execute his commiſſion; but finding more work to do than he expected, and out-ſtaying the appointed time, *David*, upon the third day, diſcourſed the matter to *Joab*. "This buſineſs of *Sheba*," ſays he, "is a " thing not to be trifled with; wherefore " do you immediately take what forces you " have at hand, with the ſix hundred veterans, and take your brother *Abiſhai* along " with you, and march directly againſt the " ſon of *Bichri*: For if we let him alone, " he will gather like a ſnow-ball, ſtrengthen himſelf, and when he has gotten into " ſome ſtrong hold, he will give us more " trouble perhaps than *Abſalom* did." *Joab* inſtantly poſted forward with his brother, and the troops that were aſſigned him to ſearch for *Sheba*. At his coming to *Gibeon*, a village about forty furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, he met *Amaſa* upon his march at the head of a fine army. *Amaſa* advancing toward him to embrace him, *Joab*, with a breaſt-plate upon his body, and his ſword girt to him, dropt his ſword out of the ſcabbard, going to meet him, and preſently catched it up again with one hand, while he took *Amaſa* by the beard with the other, as if it had been to have kiſſed, but ſtabbed him, and he died upon the place. There was no provocation for ſo impious and execrable an outrage upon ſo good a youth, and his kinſman too, but a diabolical envy of his preferment, and a jealouſy of his being too great in the king's favour.

Upon the death of *Amaſa*, *Joab* proſecuted his march in queſt of *Sheba*, leaving only one man with the general's body, with order to make proclamation thro' the army, that all thoſe who were for the king ſhould follow *Joab* and his brother *Abiſhai*. While the body lay expoſed in the way, there were multitudes gathered together, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, ſtaring at it: So that he that had it in charge, got it out of the way, with a coat thrown over it; and then the ſoldiers marched forward after their commanders.

Joab had ſoon almoſt quite run through the land of *Iſrael*; and getting intelligence that *Sheba* had ſheltered himſelf in a ſtrong town called *Abel-Maacha*, *Joab* ordered the place to be beſieged, and a trench caſt up about it; and at the ſame time to have it plied with mines and batteries, being reſolved to deſtroy it, even for the affront of ſhutting their gates againſt him.

While theſe preparations were on foot, a prudent woman mounted the wall, and called out to *Joab* from the battlements, to ſpeak a word with him, and the diſcourſe ſhe made to him was to this purpoſe. "Whereas God," ſays ſhe, "has given "us kings and governors to protect us a- "gainſt our enemies, and to maintain and "preſerve us in peace and unity one with "another, here are you come, without any "injury, or provocation, to ruin one of "the moſt eminent cities in the whole land "of *Iſrael*." "No," ſays *Joab*," "ſo far "am I from the leaſt thought of an unne- "ceſſary violence to this famous city, that "your people have only to deliver up *She*- "*ba*, the rebellious ſon of *Bichri*, to juſtice, "and in that ſame moment to be quit of "my army." Upon this promiſe and declaration, the woman called out to *Joab*, only to have a little patience, and *Sheba*'s head ſhould be thrown down to him over the wall. She went back, upon this, to the citizens, to reaſon the matter with them. "Are you then reſolved," ſays ſhe, "like "a company of wicked men, and for the "ſake of a mere ſtranger to you, to ſacri- "fice your habitations, your wives, and "your children, and all in ſo wicked a "manner too? What has *Sheba* done for "you, to balance the obligations you have "to *David*? Or ſetting aſide all other argu- "ments, are you able to defend your city "againſt this army?" The reaſon of the thing was ſo plain, that they cut off *Sheba*'s head, and caſt it over the wall: Whereupon the ſiege was raiſed; and the people returning to *Jeruſalem*, *David* declared *Joab* general of all his troops. *Benaiah* had the command given him of all the guards of the body, and the ſix hundred veterans. *Adoram* was the treaſurer, *Sabathes* and *Achilaus* were the records; *Suſa* the ſecretary; *Zadock* and *Abiathar* continuing in the prieſthood.

Some time after this there was a famine in the land, and *David* earneſtly beſought God to reveal unto him in mercy, both the provoking cauſe of that grievous judgment, and how it might be removed. Anſwer was returned by the prophets, that the blood of the *Gibeonites*, which *Saul* had moſt perfidiouſly cauſed to be ſhed, cried to Heaven for vengeance, as an action not only contrary to the oath and promiſe of *Joſhua*, and ratified alſo by the elders, but againſt conſcience and common juſtice: Wherefore let the king give ſuch ſatisfaction to the *Gibeonites* as they ſhall require for the loſs of their ſlaughtered citizens, and the *Iſraelites* may expect that God will deliver them from their preſent calamity. When *David* came to underſtand this from the prophets themſelves, he ſent to the *Gibeonites*, and aſked them what ſatisfaction would content them. So they demanded that ſeven of *Saul*'s ſons, or of his race, might be delivered up to juſtice. The king ordered to have ſeven of them found out, and put into the hands of the *Gibeonites*, to do with them as they pleaſed: But ſtill excepting *Mephiboſhet* out of the number, for the ſake of *Jonathan*

nathan his father. The *Gibeonites* accepted of this as a compoſition, and puniſhed them as they thought fit themſelves: In which inſtant God ſent them rain, and ſo kindly a continuance of it, that the earth in due time came to itſelf again.

CHAP. XIII.

David *obtains new Advantages over the* Philiſtines; *and having made an end of War, compoſes the Book of Pſalms.*

IT was not long after this that *David* marched out with his army againſt the *Philiſtines*, fought and routed tnem; but following the chace too eagerly, *Achmon*, the ſon of *Araph*, one of the race of the giants, whoſe arming was a coat of mail, a launce weighing three hundred ſhekels, and his ſword by his ſide, ſeeing *David* alone, and quite ſpent, turned ſhort upon him, and ſtruck him down, and had certainly ſlain him, if *Joab*'s brother, had not in that preciſe moment come to his relief; beſtriding the king, and not only protecting him, but killing his enemy. The whole army was ſo ſenſible of the danger the king's life was in, and of the providence of his deliverance, that the commanders bound him by an oath never to hazard his royal perſon any more in a battle; for if he ſhould miſcarry, it would be an irreparable loſs to the nation.

This battle had not been long over, before the *Philiſtines* rallied again, and came to a rendezvous at *Gaza*. *David* having notice of it, diſpatched away an army immediately againſt them. In this expedition *Sobach* the *Hittite* (one of the braveſt men in the whole body) got himſelf great reputation by cutting off ſeveral of the race of the giants, and men of a prodigious bulk and ſtrength, with his own hand. He had in ſhort the honour of a great ſhare in that day's ſucceſs. The *Philiſtines*, after this, brought yet another army into the field, and the king ſent out his troops to encounter them. *Nephan*, *David*'s kinſman, did wonders; he ſlew in a ſingle combat, one of the boldeſt men the *Philiſtines* had in their party: The reſt turned their backs upon it, and loſt great numbers in this action and retreat. But in a ſhort time they recruited again, after all their loſs, and encamped at a certain town not far from the borders of the *Hebrews*. The *Philiſtines* had in their camp a man ſix cubits high, ſix fingers on each hand, and ſix toes on each foot, and one that valued himſelf upon his deſcent from the ſtock of the giants. *Jonathan* the ſon of *Shimei* killed this over-grown monſter in a ſingle combat, and at the head of his troops. This was the laſt battle the *Iſraelites* had with the *Philiſtines*.

David having now made his way through all the toils and dangers of war into the quiet of a profound peace, gave himſelf wholly up to the compoſing of divine hymns, and pſalms, to the glory of God; in variety of meaſures, as *Trimeters*, *Pantameters*, and the like. Theſe airs he ordered to be ſung by the *Levites* upon the ſabbaths, and other feſtivals, in company with muſical inſtruments provided for that purpoſe: As they had an iuſtrument with ten ſprings, to be touched with a quill; the pſaltery with twelve ſtrings, to be played upon with three fingers; and large cymbals of braſs.*

The king had about him, men of honour and valour in abundance; but for worthies of the firſt rate, he reckoned only eight and thirty. Of theſe I ſhall only name five, as a meaſure to judge of the reſt by.

The firſt was *Iſſem*, the ſon of *Achem*, who broke ſeveral times into the body of the enemy, and killed nine hundred of them in one encounter, with his own hand.

After him comes *Eleazar*, the ſon of *Dodo*, who was with the king in *Araſam*. It was his fortune to be in a battle, where the *Iſraelites*, finding themſelves overpowered by numbers, gave way and fled, leaving him alone to make good his ground; which he did ſo effectually, that he put a ſtand to the whole army of the enemy, killing and wounding great numbers of them, ſo that his ſword was in a manner glued to his right hand with the blood. The example of this bravery put courage into the fugitves, and brought them to their duty again, by which they recovered the day, and crowned it with a moſt illuſtrious victory.

The third was *Sebas*, the ſon of *Ilus*, who at the place called *the Jaw*, upon another engagement with the *Philiſtines*, finding the *Iſraelites* giving way, oppoſed his ſingle body to the whole force of the enemy, and put them to flight.

At another time, when the king was at *Jeruſalem*, and the *Philiſtines* encamped before it, in the great valley that ſtretches out as far as *Bethlem*, twenty furlongs from the town: *David* went up to a high tower to aſk counſel of God, about the event of the war: And ſpeaking of the well at *Bethlem* that was next the gate, ſaid, "what would I "give for a ſup of that water!" Theſe three men over-hearing him, went their way, broke through the camp of the *Philiſtines*, fetched of the water from the well itſelf, and came back with it the ſame way they went: The *Barbarians* ſtanding in amaze all the while, at the hardineſs of the undertaking. Upon their preſenting of this water to the king, he gave God thanks for the ſafety of them that brought it, but would not drink it, for it was the price of blood: And ſo poured it upon the ground as an offering to the lord.

In the fourth place may be reckoned *Abiſhai*, the brother of *Joab*, that in one day ſlew five hundred of the enemy.

The fifth and laſt of theſe worthy champions, ſhall be *Benaiah*, a man of a ſacerdotal family. He fought, upon a challenge, with two brothers, men of eminent fame for feats of arms among the *Moabites*. He fought again with an *Egyptian*, of a monſtrous force and ſize, and cloſing with him, though naked himſelf, and his adverſary well armed, he forced his ſpear out of his hands, and diſpatched him with his own weapon. A lion having dropt by chance into a pitfall, the ſnow drove into the hole, and covered the mouth of it: The beaſt finding no way to get out again, ſet up a roaring, which *Benaiah* hearing went to the place, into the pit, and with a cudgel killed the lion.

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* This ſection is a very remarkable one, and ſhews that, in the opinion of *Joſephus*, *David* compoſed *the Book of Pſalms*, not at ſeveral times before, as their preſent inſcriptions frequently imply; but generally at the latter end of his life, or after his wars were over. Nor does *Joſephus*, nor the authors of the known books of the Old and New Teſtament, nor the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* ſeem to have aſcribed any of them to any other author than *David* himſelf.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The Iſraelites *viſited with a dreadful Peſtilence.*

DAVID had now a fancy to take an account how many thouſand men he could muſter out of *Iſrael*, * forgetting the old precept of *Moſes*, that ſo oft as there ſhould be occaſion to number the people, there ſhould be an oblation of half a ſhekel by the head to the Lord: and he ſent to *Joab* to take the account. He would have excuſed himſelf, as a thing that was needleſs, but *David* poſitively commanded him to go about it. *Joab* upon this, ſummoned the ſcribes, and the heads of the tribes to adviſe with, and went through the whole land of the *Iſraelites* to make this computation. After nine months and twenty days, *Joab* returned to *Jeruſalem*, and told the king upon the whole matter, that beſide the tribes of *Benjamin* and of *Levi*, which he had not as yet taken an account of, he found the number of the reſt of the *Iſraelites* to amount to nine hundred thouſand men that were able to draw the ſword. In the tribe of *Judah* alone he reckoned four hundred thouſand.

David, while this was executing, repented of what he had done, and was alſo told by the prophets that God was highly offended at him; whereupon he betook himſelf to a true repentance, begging pardon of Almighty God with prayers and ſupplications, and at length obtained it. Soon after this, God ſent the prophet *Gad* to him with an offer of three things to his choice. That is to ſay; either a ſeven years famine: To fly three months before an enemy, or a three days peſtilence; and to demand, which of the three he would take. *David* found himſelf in a great ſtreight, which to chuſe: If the famine, ſays he to himſelf, it would look as if I had more care of myſelf, than of my people; for probably I can never want bread. If to lie at the mercy of an enemy, it looks the ſame way ſtill; for I have ſtrong holds and caſtles to repair to for my own ſafety. But for the third, it is a calamity that threatens governors in common with their ſubjects. So he anſwered, that he would rather fall into the hands of God, than of man; and therefore ſubmitting himſelf to God's pleaſure and goodneſs, he choſe the peſtilence. The *Iſraelites* were preſently ſeized with a moſt ſtrange and dreadful diſtemper, that was attended with certain death, and accompanied with accidents that baffled all the doctors, either to find a remedy or a reaſon. Many dying upon the neck of each other, and nobody knew how. Some went off with gripes and torments that diſpatched them in a trice; ſome with incurable faintneſſes and languors. Others with vertigoes, dimneſs of ſight, ſuffocations, &c. Some again expired in the very office of mourning for the death of others. The mortality was ſo great, that betwixt break of day, and dinner-time, there were ſwept away by this peſtilence ſeventy thouſand perſons. The deſtroying angel was going to *Jeruſalem* upon the ſame commiſſion; but the king putting on ſackcloth, humbly ſupplicated God with prayers and tears, to remove this dreadſul judgment; in the midſt of his ejaculations, he liſted up his eyes, and diſcovered an angel, with a drawn ſword, moving toward *Jeruſalem*. Upon this apparition, he brake out into freſh and more paſſionate exclamations. "Lord," ſays he, "puniſh the ſhepherd, but alas! what have "theſe ſheep done? Pour down thy "wrath rather upon me, and my fami-"ly; but ſpare the innocent people I be-"ſeech thee."

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* The words of God by *Moſes*, *Exod.* xxx 12. ſufficiently juſtiſy the reaſon here given by *Joſephus* for th great plague mentioned in this chapter: "When thou takeſt the ſum of the children of *Iſrael*, after their "number, then ſhall they give every man a ranſom for his ſoul unto the Lord, when thou numbereſt them "that there be no plague amongſt them when thou numbereſt them." Nor indeed could *David*'s or the *Sanhedrim*'s neglect of executing this law at this numeration excuſe the people; who ought ſtill to have brought their bounden oblation of half a ſhekel a piece with them, when they came to be numbered.

David's prayers were heard, and God immediately put a ſtop to the peſtilence, ordering the king, by the prophet *Gad*, to go up to the threſhing floor of *Araunah*, and there to erect an altar, and offer ſacrifice upon it. *David* went to the place, where he found *Araunah* threſhing his corn, who no ſooner ſaw *David*, and his ſons, coming towards him, but he ran out with infinite reverence to receive them. *Araunah* was a *Jebuſite*, and ſo particular a friend of *David's* that he protected, and ſecured him from all damage upon the taking of the city.

"Well," ſays *Araunah*, "is there any "thing now that my Lord will be pleaſed to "command of his ſervant?" "I come," ſays *David*, "to buy your threſhing floor, and "to raiſe an altar to God upon it, and "to offer ſacrifice." "Nay," ſays *Aruanah*, "not only my threſhing floor, but my "ploughs, my oxen, and burnt-offerings, "are all at my lord's ſervice gratis: And I "beſeech that God to look graciouſly down "upon your worſhip and ſacrifice." The king told him that it would not be fair to offer a ſacrifice that ſhould coſt him nothing. So *Aruanah* ſubmitted himſelf to *David*, who gave him fifty ſhekels of ſilver for the floor; offered ſacrifices and burnt offerings, and peace offerings likewiſe upon it. After this ſolemnity, *David* was reinſtated in God's grace and favour. This was the place that *Abraham* brought his ſon *Iſaac* to, when he ſhould have been offered up for a ſacrifice.

When *David* found that his prayers were granted, and his ſacrifice accepted, * he reſolved to call the whole place by the name of *the People's Altar*, or *the Iſraelites Altar*, and to build a temple there; which purpoſe of his was afterward ratified by God himſelf, who ſoon after ſent his prophet to him with a prediction, that his ſuceſſor ſhould there build a temple.

David upon this employed people to take an account how many ſtrangers he had in his dominions, which were reckoned to amount to about one hundred and eighty thouſand perſons. Out of theſe he choſe eighty thouſand to work in ſtone: the reſt to be employed in carrying all ſorts of materials; out of which he appointed thirty five thouſand to overſee the workmen. There was got together a mighty maſs of iron and braſs; a prodigious quantity of cedar, which he had from *Tyre* and *Sidon*, the largeſt and faireſt trees that were to be got.

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* God's repeated mercies to *David*, are ſtriking examples of his goodneſs to mankind, and his readineſs to pardon thoſe who, through human weakneſs, fall into ſin and error, upon their ſincere contrition, and return to the obſervance of his divine precepts.

CHAP. XV.

David *gives* Solomon *Inſtructions for the building of a Temple.* Adonijah *ſets up for King.* Solomon *anointed King.*

THUS was the face of things when *David* called his ſon *Solomon* to him, and gave him ſpecial charge, that whenever he came to the throne, he ſhould immediately enter upon the building of a temple, for the honour and worſhip of God.

“I would have done it myſelf,” ſays he, “but being frequently in war, and conſequently a man of blood, I was forbidden by an expreſs command from Heaven, and the work reſerved by providence for my youngeſt ſon, who was to be called *Solomon*, and who ſhould be a prince of peace; of whom it was foretold, that God would take him with a paternal affection into his own care, and that the whole people of *Iſrael* ſhould be happy under his adminiſtration, and enjoy not only a peace with foreigners, but live free from inteſtine diviſions among themſelves.

“Now,” ſays *David*, “ſince you are deſigned to be a king, even before you were born, do your endeavour to behave yourſelf, as a man otherwiſe worthy of that providence. Govern yourſelf according to the meaſures of piety, juſtice, and true fortitude: pay a reverence to the precepts, laws, and traditions of *Moſes*: Obſerve them religiouſly yourſelf, and do not ſuffer any violation of them in others. As for the temple that God hath appointed to be built in your reign, let not the difficulty of the work diſcourage you; for I have made a proviſion of ten thouſand talents of gold; one hundred thouſand of ſilver; braſs and iron to a quantity not to be imagined, beſide timber and ſtone in a vaſt abundance. You ſhall have alſo many thouſands of carpenters and maſons, and the means of ſupplying yourſelf with what you want. And upon finiſhing of this undertaking, you may aſſure yourſelf of the perpetual favour and protection of Almighty God.”

After this, he recommended it to the princes of the people to aſſiſt his ſon in this fabric. He appointed alſo, that upon the finiſhing of the temple, the ark ſhould be placed in it, with all the holy veſſels and utenſils thereunto belonging, which he told them ſhould have been there depoſited long ſince, if their forefathers had minded the injunction God laid upon them, of raiſing a temple to him immediately upon their coming into the land of promiſe. Theſe counſels and exhortations of *David* were addreſſed both to his ſon and to the princes.

David being now ſeventy years old, was greatly afflicted with the infirmities of age, and his blood ſo chilled, that all the coverings and blankets they could throw over him would hardly keep life and ſoul together. A council of phyſicians was called hereupon, who gave their opinion, that the beſt thing was a fair young bedfellow, for the warmth being gentle and kindly, would relieve nature without force. They found out upon this, a delicate ſweet creature, agreeable to the preſcription, and put her to bed to him. Her name was *Abiſhag*, and her buſineſs only to lie by him, hug him, and comfort him, which ſhe might ſafely and innocently do, the king being now paſt the temptations of all irregular diſpoſitions.

David had a fourth ſon, whoſe name was *Adonijah*, born to him by *Haggith*, and the next to *Abſalom*. His beauty, ſtature, and the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and his ambition too, were not inferior to his elder brother. This *Adonijah* ſet up a claim to the government, as the next in ſucceſſion. He put himſelf into a pompous equipage of chariots, horſes, guards, and the like; while the good man his father let him go on, without ſo much as a queſtion of curioſity, what all this ſplendor tended to. His chief accomplices were *Joab* the general, and the high-prieſt *Abiathar*; but *Zadock* the high-prieſt, and the prophet *Nathan*, *Benaiah* the captain of the guards, *Shimei* the king's friend, and the generality of the ſword men were all for *David*.

Adonijah prepared a mighty treat in the ſuburbs of *Jeruſalem*, near the fountain in the king's gardens. To this entertainment he invited all his brothers, ſave only *Solomon*; and there was *Joab* alſo, and *Abiathar*, and the chiefs of the tribe of *Judah*: but for *Zadock*, *Nathan*, and *Benaiah*, and others of that intereſt, there was not a man of them ſent to. The prophet *Nathan* took notice of this, and told it to *Bathſheba*, the mother of *Solomon*. "Look ye," ſays he, "here's *Adonijah* kinging of it already, and *David* knows nothing of what's done: Wherefore let it be your care, as well for your ſon's ſake, as for your own, to look after this affair. Go you to *David*, and mind him of his oath, that *Solomon* ſhould reign after him; and yet here's *Adonijah* as good as upon the throne already. While you are diſcourſing this matter with the king, I may come in and ſecond your information." *Bathſheba* went into the king, and gave him an account of the affair in the very words the prophet had put into her mouth, adding withal, that the people were in ſuſpence what to do, till he ſhould declare his ſucceſſor, and that her own life and her ſon's were both at ſtake upon the iſſue. While this diſcourſe was a-foot, the ſervants brought *David* word, that the prophet *Nathan* was at the door to wait upon him. He was immediately called in, and upon entering the preſence, he aſked *David* in ſome confuſion, whether or no he had transferred his government to *Adonijah*, and had declared him his ſucceſſor: "For he has made," ſays he, "a mighty feaſt yonder; invited ſuch and ſuch to it; left out ſuch and ſuch others; and there are they eating, drinking, and making merry, with healths and acclamations to the honour of their new king, *Adonijah*: But for myſelf, *Zadock* the high-prieſt, and *Benaiah* the captain of the guards; we are all ſtrangers to the matter. Now it would be well, ſaid he, to let the world underſtand whether this be done with your privity and approbation or not." *Bathſheba* withdrew when the prophet came in, and was now by the king's order called for back again. She was accordingly brought to *David*, and he ſpake to her after this manner; "The thing that I have ſworn formerly, I do now ſwear over again, in the preſence of the great God, your ſon *Solomon* ſhall reign after me, and ſit upon my throne; and you ſhall ſee it done this very day:" Upon which declaration and aſſurance, ſhe ſubmiſſively took her leave, wiſhing the king a long life.

David, upon this reſolution, ſent for *Zadock* and *Benaiah*, and bad them take the prophet *Nathan*, and the royal guards along with them; mount *Solomon* upon the king's mule, and carry him out of the city to the fountain that is called *Gibon*, there to anoint him with holy oil and proclaim him king. This office being aſſigned to the high-prieſt and the prophet, command was further given, that they ſhould conduct him through the heart of the city with trumpets ſounding before him, and multitudes of troops following, with ſhouts and rejoycings, crying, long live king *Solomon*: to the end, that the whole nation might take notice, that his father had declared him his ſucceſſor. *David*, for a concluſion, gave *Solomon* in charge to be ſure to govern, not only the tribe of *Judah*, but the whole nation of the *Hebrews*, according to the ſtricteſt rules of piety and juſtice.

Benaiah, after this, with an affectionate ejaculation for God's bleſſing upon *Solomon*, and the whole proceeding, mounted *Solomon* upon the king's mule, conducted him out of the city to the fountain, where they anointed him with holy oil, and then brought him back again attended with acclamations, and the unanimous wiſhes of a long and happy reign. They brought him afterward to the palace, and placed him upon his father's throne. This ſolemnity being over, the people gave themſelves up to jollity, and feaſting, muſic, dancing, and all other chearful diverſions.

The clamour of this extravagant joy coming to the ears of *Adonijah* and his gueſts, did not a little ſurprize them; *Joab* himſelf declaring, that the noiſe he heard of ſhouts and trumpets, did not at all pleaſe him. In a word, in confuſion they forſook their meat upon it, and as they lay muſing what ſhould be the matter, in comes running to them *Jonathan* the ſon of *Abiathar* the high-prieſt, whom *Adonijah* was very glad to ſee, upon a miſtaken opinion that he brought good news with him. *Jonathan* gave them the whole relation of the king's orders, and the proceeding concerning *Solomon*, which they no ſooner heard, but every man ſlipt away from the banquet to his own home, except *Adonijah*, who being conſcious to himſelf of an indignity too great to be forgiven, fled for ſanctuary to the horns of the altar, and there begged for pardon. When *Solomon* came to underſtand the ſubmiſſion of *Adonijah*, he granted him a pardon for what was paſt, but with a precaution, that if he ſhould ever be found in any ſuch practice again, his deſtruction ſhould lie at his own door. *Solomon* ordered him to be brought to him, and when he had paid his duty to the new king, he bad him go ſo his own houſe in peace, and to behave himſelf thence forward like a good man.

It being *David*'s intention to have *Solomon* declared and recognized the king of the whole nation of *Iſrael*, he ſummoned all the princes to *Jeruſalem*, together with the prieſts and *Levites*, and he found upon the roll thirty eight thouſand men among them, that were above thirty years of age, out of which there were twenty three thouſand to attend the building of the temple: Judges and their clerks ſix thouſand; four thouſand porters belonging to the houſe of God, and as many ſingers and muſicians, or players upon inſtruments: Theſe he divided into families, and upon dividing the prieſts from the reſt of the tribe, he found four and twenty of them, that is to ſay, ſixteen deſcended from *Eleazar*, and eight from *Ithamar*: Appointing every family to officiate eight days, or from ſabbath to ſabbath, and ſo to do duty one after another. The lots of the whole were all caſt in the preſence of *David*, and of the high-prieſts *Zadock* and *Abiathar*, together with the heads of the tribes. The lot that came out firſt being entered upon the roll the firſt family, and ſo the ſecond, and the third, &c. to the four and twentieth, in order as it happened, which way of diſtribution continues in uſe to this day.

He divided the tribe of *Levi* alſo in twenty four parts, to ſucceed one after another, according to the chance of the lot, in the ſame manner with the prieſts. But the preference was ſtill given to the poſterity of *Moſes*; to whom was committed the truſt and cuſtody of the holy treaſure, and the bounties and donations of princes and royal benefactors. He likewiſe ordered the whole tribe of *Levi*, and the prieſts, to attend the ſervice of God, day and night in their turns, according to the primitive inſtitution of *Moſes*.

In the next place he made a diſtribution of the whole army into twelve diviſions, with their commanders in chief, tribunes, centurions, and their ſubordinates. Every diviſion to conſiſt of twenty four thouſand men, and each of thoſe diviſions to do a month's duty in their reſpective courſes, upon the guard of *Solomon's* palace, together with their tribunes and centurions: Every part to have its diſtinct officer or judge, who muſt be a perſon of tried integrity and juſtice. He appointed alſo overſeers of the king's income, vineyards, lands, huſbandry, flocks, and herds, &c.

When *David* had ordered matters as before-mentioned, he called a general aſſembly of the *Hebrew* magiſtrates, the princes of the tribes, the officers of the army, and the managers of the revenue; and then ſpake to the people from his throne to the following effect:

" I am now to give you to underſtand," ſays he, " my countrymen and brethren, " that I have had it a long time in my " thought to erect a temple to the Lord, " and I treaſured up a mighty maſs of gold, " and a hundred thouſand talents of ſilver; " but it hath pleaſed God in his providence, " by the mouth of the prophet *Nathan*, to " put a ſtop to my deſign, upon this conſideration, that he would not have the " foundation of his holy houſe laid by hands " that had been dipt in blood, which mine " have inevitably been, though in the blood " of your enemies, by reaſon of the wars I " have been forced upon, in the righteous " and neceſſary defence and vindication of " your liberties. But the prophet told me " further, that God would tranſmit the care " of it to my ſon and ſucceſſor, both to begin and finiſh the work: Wherefore I " muſt now require of you, and of all my " ſons, that you ſubmit chearfully and dutifully to my ſon *Solomon*, without any " grumbling, faction, or civil diſſention, " for it is from God's immediate command " and commiſſion that he derives his authority. There is nothing I ſo much long " for as to ſee God's gracious promiſes take " a ſpeedy effect, and the whole people " without any more delay put into a full and " laſting poſſeſſion of the bleſſings they are " to enjoy under the reign of *Solomon*. All " this, my dear ſon, will be made good, " ſays *David*, and every thing ſucceed to " your wiſh, ſo long as you govern according to piety and juſtice, with a reſpect to " your duty both to God and man, upholding a reverence to the laws, and treading " in the ſteps of your foreſathers: But " whenever you paſs theſe bounds, there is " nothing but miſery and ruin to be expected."

Upon the finiſhing of this diſcourſe, *David* gave his ſon, in the ſight of all his people, a draught of the form and model of the temple from top to bottom, the foundation and the ſuperſtructure, the height and breadth of the fabrick, the private cells, their number and dimenſions, what veſſels of gold and ſilver were to be provided, with directions for their preciſe weight.

Both the princes, prieſts, and *Levites*, were all zealous for the forwarding of the work, every one in his proportion. They offered, among them, to bring in five thouſand talents of Gold, a hundred thouſand of ſilver, ten thouſand ſhekels, and a maſs of iron not to be imagined. They that had precious ſtones brought them into the treaſury, where they were depoſited in the cuſtody of one *Jalus*, of the race of *Moſes*. The people were infinitely pleaſed upon the whole matter, and *David* above all the reſt, to ſee ſo unanimous an agreement, bleſſing God all the wile with a loud voice, in the ſtile of The father and Creator of Heaven and earth, the governor and protector of the *Hebrews*, and the bleſſed fountain of happineſs to the people committed to his charge; concluding his devotions with a fervent prayer for the comfort and happineſs of the nation, and with particular wiſhes of peace of conſcience, and the bleſſing of an unſpotted innocence and integrity to his ſon. He called then upon the people to join with him in their thanks to Almighty God for all his mercies, who fell upon their faces and worſhipped; and coming after this to *David*, made their acknowledgments for all the benefits and advantages they had enjoyed under his reign.

The day following was a great day of ſacrifices; a thouſand calves, a thouſand rams, and a thouſand lambs, for a burnt offering, and afterward, ſeveral victims more for peace offerings. It was a day, in fine, dedicated to feaſting and harmony, both by king and people. *Solomon* was now a ſecond time anointed, and declared, and owned by the people, for their lawful king; and *Zadock*, by the voice of the whole multitude, deſigned for their high-prieſt. *Solomon* was now conducted to the palace, and placed upon his father's throne, from which day forward, the people paid him their true allegiance.

CHAP. XVI.

David's laſt Charge, Death and Burial.

DAVID finding himſelf near his end, called for his ſon *Solomon* to give him his counſel and his bleſſing, and take his laſt leave of him.

"Son," ſays he, "I am now going to my fathers, and you that I leave behind me, are in due time to come to me: Wherefore, while I am yet among the living, pray let me mind you of the ſame things once again, that I have ſo often inculcated to you heretofore. Govern your ſubjects according to juſtice. Worſhip that God from whom you have received your dignity, as well as your being, as you are bound to do: Obſerve his precepts, and keep his laws, as they have been handed down to you from *Moſes*; and have a care that you never forſake them, either for fear, flattery, or any other paſſion or intereſt whatſoever: For otherwiſe, you can never pretend to hope for the bleſſings of God's favour and providence. But if you behave yourſelf with reverence and ſubmiſſion towards God, as you ought to do, your kingdom will be eſtabliſhed to yourſelf, and the ſucceſſion of it continued to your family, from generation to generation.

"Let me now mind you of the iniquity of *Joab*, in the aſſaſſination of *Abner* the ſon of *Ner*, and of *Amaſa* the ſon of *Ithra*, two great captains, and worthy good men, and all this purely out of a malicious ſpite and envy. I had puniſhed him myſelf, but that he was ſo popular, I durſt not meddle with him. As for the ſons of *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, I muſt deſire you for my ſake to be very kind to them, in requital of the generous friendſhips I received from their father in the time of my baniſhment, which I reckon as a debt incumbent upon our whole family; for the ſon of *Gera*, *Shimei* the *Benjamite*, that hunted me with ſuch bitterneſs of curſing and reviling in the days of my perſecution, at *Bahurim*, and afterward meeting me at the river *Jordan*, obtained my pardon for it, you may take ſome warrantable occaſion to reckon yet with him for that affront."

Soon after *David* had finiſhed this diſcourſe he gave up the ghoſt, in the ſeventieth year of his age, after he had reigned ſeven years and ſix months over the tribe of *Judah* at *Hebron*, and thirty three years more over all *Iſrael*, at *Jeruſalem*. He was a man of wonderful goodneſs, and endued with all the royal excellencies that might qualify a prince for the diſcharge of ſo great a truſt. He was valiant, often being perſonally at the Head of the greateſt dangers, for the protection, and defence of his people. He did more with his ſoldiers by his example, than by any imperiouſneſs of his command. He was a judicious prince in the choice of his counſels; of ſingular preſence of mind, to make the beſt of what he had before him; and of as ſharp a a foreſight for the improving of all advantages, and the obviating of difficulties. To this, he was temperate and ſober; affable to all; tender toward people in diſtreſs; righteous and humane; which are all princely virtues. He was a prince, in ſhort, that never made an ill uſe of his power, ſaving only in the caſe of the wife of *Uriah*. He left a treaſure to his ſucceſſor greater than ever any other prince whatſoever left before him: And he was buried at *Jeruſalem*, with a ſolemnity of royal pomp and magnificence that was glorious to the higheſt degree: And over and above the ſplendor of the ceremony, his ſon *Solomon* depoſited in his monument an ineſtimable treaſure.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK VIII.

From the Year of the World 2931, to 3048.

CHAP. I.

Solomon *cauſes* Adonijah, Joab, *and* Shimei *to be put to Death*; *and depoſes* Abiathar.

SOLOMON being advanced to the throne, the people came all running in to him, as is uſual upon ſuch changes, with congratulatory acclamations, and multiplied wiſhes of long life, and a happy reign. Only *Adonijah* applied himſelf in a fawning way of addreſs to *Bathſheba*, the king's mother. She received him with great curteſy, and with large aſſurances of her aſſiſtance, if there were any thing in her power that ſhe could ſerve him in. "Great princeſs," ſays he, "I "ſhall not need to tell you, that if I were "diſpoſed to be troubleſome upon this turn "of government, the right of priority, and "the good will of the people would be on "my ſide. But ſince it has pleaſed God to "devolve it upon your ſon *Solomon*, I ſhall "very well content myſelf within the "bounds of my preſent condition. I only "beg that you will uſe your intereſt with "your ſon, that I may take *Abiſhag* to "wife."

Batſheba promiſed him the utmoſt of what ſhe could do in the matter, encouraging him to hope well of the iſſue. She went directly to her ſon upon this errand. *Solomon* went out to meet his mother, and conducted her to his bedchamber, where he placed her, with filial duty, on his right hand, upon a chair of ſtate next to his own. "Son," ſays ſhe, "I have an humble ſuit to you, and it would go to the very heart of me if you ſhould refuſe it." "Pray what is it?" ſays *Solomon*, not without ſome uneaſineſs at ſuch a preface, and bid her depend upon his readineſs to comply with her in any thing he could do. "Well, ſon," ſays *Bathſheba*, "I make it my requeſt then, that you will give *Abiſhag* in marriage to your brother *Adonijah*." The king ſtarted at that propoſal in a ſurprize, and diſmiſſed his mother. "No, no," ſays *Solomon*, "*Adonijah* has another freak in his head beſide the marrying of *Abiſhag*. Why does he not ſpeak plain rather, and put in his claim to the kingdom, as elder brother; firſt, he deſires *Abiſhag* in marriage; and then he has fortified himſelf with great friends and intereſt to back his pretenſion: As *Joab* the general, for one, *Abiathar* the high-prieſt, for another, and the like." *Solomon* deliberating upon the preſent ſtate of things, ſent *Benaiah*, the captain of the guards, forthwith to make away his brother, and then calling for *Abiathar*, the high-prieſt, he told him, that though he had deſerved to die, yet in regard of the ſervices he had done his father, and of the hand he had in bringing back the ark, his puniſhment ſhould be thus. "Get you gone to your own home," ſays he, "take up your habitation in the country, and there continue to the day of your death. You have been falſe to me in joining with *Adonijah*, and have made yourſelf unworthy of the honour of the prieſthood; and you ſhall exerciſe the function no more."

This was the cauſe of tranſlating the ſacerdotal dignity from the houſe of *Ithamar*, (as God had foretold to *Eli*, the grandfather of *Abiathar*) into the family of *Phinehas*, to *Zadock*. During the continuance of the pontificate in the houſe of *Ithamar*, reckoning from *Eli*, the firſt that executed that office: There were of the family of *Phinehas*, that led private lives, *Boccias*, the ſon of *Joſeph*; *Jonathan*, of *Boccias*; *Maræoth*, of *Jonathan*; *Arapha*, of *Maræoth*; *Achitob*, of *Arapha*; and *Zadock*, the ſon of *Achitob*, who was the firſt high-prieſt that was erected under *David*.

When *Joab* heard of the death of *Adonijah*, being conſcious to himſelf of a conſpiracy with him againſt his maſter, he apprehended that his turn would be next, and fled for ſanctuary to the altar. When *Solomon* underſtood that *Joab* had taken ſanctuary, he ſent *Benaiah* to cite him to a court of juſtice, from the altar, to anſwer for what he had done; but *Joab* declared, that he would rather die there than in another place. *Benaiah* gave the king an account of *Joab*'s behaviour, who preſently ordered him to cut off his head where he was, as a juſt puniſhment upon him for the deteſtable murders of *Abner* and *Amaſa*, againſt all the meaſures of honour, humanity and juſtice: But the king gave it in charge to *Benaiah*, to ſee his body buried, for a memorial to poſterity of ſo execrable a wickedneſs, and likewiſe to acquit both himſelf and his father of any rigour in the death of *Joab*. *Benaiah* was made general in *Joab*'s place; and upon the removal of *Abiathar* the high-prieſt, the king aſſigned *Zadock* to ſucceed him.

Solomon at the ſame time appointed *Shimei* to build himſelf a houſe at *Jeruſalem*, and not to ſtir out of it, or paſs the river *Kebron*, upon the peril of his life. *Shimei* ſeemed very well ſatisfied with the conditions, and gave his oath for the obſervance of them. Hereupon he quitted his own country, and dwelt at *Jeruſalem*. It happened three years after this, that two of *Shimei*'s ſervants ran away from him, and the maſter hearing that they were at *Gath*, went over to fetch them back again. Upon his return, the king took the double contempt ſo heinouſly, firſt of the command, and then of the oath, that he called *Shimei* to a ſevere account for the miſdemeanor. "Didſt not thou ſwear," ſays *Solomon*, "that thou wouldſt never ſtir out of this town into "any other, to the day of thy death? And like a falſe wretch as thou art, thou haſt now broken that ſacred oath, and for that perjury thou ſhalt die. The hand of God is in this judgement upon thee, not only for thy late perjury, but for thy ſins of ancient date: I mean thy ribaldry and inſolences againſt my dear father of bleſſed memory, in the depth of his diſtreſſes." And *Benaiah* put *Shimei* to death by the king's order.

CHAP II.

Solomon *marries the Daughter of the King of* Egypt. *His Wiſdom. He builds a Temple; erects a ſtately Palace; and fortifies* Jeruſalem.

SOLOMON had by this time all his enemies at his feet; his throne eſtabliſhed; the minds of the people ſettled, and his government conſequently made eaſy to him. In this interval of a profound peace, he took to wife the daughter of the king of *Egypt*; fell to work upon building the walls of *Jeruſalem*, and applied himſelf cloſely to the office of his publick adminiſtration. He was very young, 'tis true, yet managed every thing with a judgment that might have become the gravity of the moſt experienced.

Now finding himſelf in the ſtate of quiet and freedom, he thought he could not do better than to addreſs himſelf by prayer and ſacrifice, in acknowledgment for theſe mercies: And ſo went to *Hebron*, * where he offered upon *Moſes*'s brazen altar, long ſince erected there, a thouſand victims for a burnt offering. This piety and zeal was ſo acceptable to God, that the very night following he appeared unto him in a dream; and to ſhew him that the ſervices of his heart and good will ſhould not go unrewarded, he bad him aſk what he would, and it ſhould be granted him. "Lord," ſays *Solomon*, "grant me a right apprehenſion of matters, and a ſound judgment, that may enable me to govern this people according to truth and juſtice." This choice was ſo acceptable to God, that he not only promiſed him what he deſired but alſo riches and glory; in the firſt place he was bleſſed with ſuch a degree of underſtanding, and practical wiſdom, as no man etiher public or private, could ever pretend to before him; with a further promiſe, that, upon condition of his continuing juſt to the world, obedient in all things to God, and treading in the ſteps and imitating the eminent virtues of his father, the government ſhould remain in his family for many ages. Upon theſe words, *Solomon* awaked; leaped out of his bed, worſhipped, and gave thanks, and ſo returned to *Jeruſalem*, where he ſacrificed to God before the tabernacle, and feaſted all his people.

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* Although both the *Hebrew* and LXXII ſay 1 *Kings* iii. 4, 5, and 2 *Chr.* 1. 3. that the place whither *Solomon* now went, to the tabernacle or great brazen altar, was *Gibeon* and not *Hebron*, as *Joſephus*'s copy had it; yet is *Joſephus*'s copy confirmed by the vow of *Abſalom*; which was, according to our common copies, to be performed not at *Gibeon*, but at *Hebron*, 2 *Sam.* xv. 7------12. And ſince *Gibeah* or *Gibeon* denotes an hill, or elevation, as *Joſephus* elſewhere truly obſerves, VI. the original text perhaps meant an hill or elevated place at *Hebron*.

About this time there came to the king two common proſtitutes, for juſtice. The plantiff told her tale thus; " This woman," ſays ſhe, " and I lived both in a lodging, " and it was our fortune to be delivered " each of us of a male child on the ſame " day and hour. Within three days, this " woman having overlaid her own child " and ſmothered it, took mine ſoftly out of " my arms as I was aſleep, and laid her's in " the place of it. Early the next morning, " when I was thinking to ſuckle my own " infant, a dead one was laid in the place; " for I knew my own child by moſt infallible marks. I have preſſed her for my " child; but ſhe keeps it from me, and bears " me down that it is her own child ſtill, " and I have no witneſs to prove the con" trary. Now ſir, I humbly beſeech your " majeſty to ſee right done betwixt us." Well! ſays the king to the other woman, and what have you now to ſay for yourſelf? " She laid no ſuch child there," ſhe ſaid, " but the living child was her own," and ſo ſtood upon her juſtification. People were all in the dark what judgement to make of it, for want of competent proofs, till *Solomon* bethought himſelf of this expedient. He ordered the two children, one living, and the other dead, to be brought, and one of his guards to take his ſword, and cut them both in halves, juſt in the middle, and ſo divide them betwixt the two pretended mothers, half of the one, and half of the other, to either of them. This was looked upon to be a kind of a childiſh ſentence at firſt; but one of the women crying out earneſtly, and begging that her companion might rather have the child, and paſs for the mother, provided only that the life of it might be ſpared, and ſhe herſelf have the comfort of ſeeing it yet amongſt the living: The other woman quietly ſubmitting to the judgment, and not without ſome ſeeming ſatisfaction at the calamity of her neighbour: The king adjudged the child to the right woman, upon the evidence of tenderneſs and natural affection, highly condemning the wickedneſs of the other, that after ſhe had killed her own child, did what ſhe could to deſtroy that of her friend too. This was ſo ſingular an inſtance of the king's wiſdom, that from that day forward the people honoured and obeyed him, as a prince that acted by the guidance and direction of a divine impulſe.

He had governors and great officers in all his provinces. *Uri* the ſon of *Hur*, was in the tribe of *Ephraim*, including *Bethlehem*. The ſon of *Aminidab*, ſon in law to *Solomon*, had the command of *Dora*, and the ſea coaſt. The great plain was under *Baana*, the ſon of *Achil*, and ſo far as to the river of *Jordan*. The ſon of *Geber* had the government of the *Gileadites*, and the *Gaulonites*, as far as *Mount Libanus*, within which command there were ſixty large and well fortified cities. *Abinidab* that married *Baſima*, another of *Solomon*'s daughters, had the government of all *Galilee* up to *Sidon*. Under *Baanah* was the government of the ſea coaſt about *Aſher*. *Jehoſaphat* commanded the mountains *Ittabyr* and *Carmel*, and all the lower *Galilee*, to the farther ſide of *Jordan*. The whole country of the *Benjamites* was under the government of *Shimei*: And the land beyond *Jordan* was under *Tabar*. Theſe were *Solomon*'s governors, and he had one lieutenant-general, to ſuperintend them all.

When the people found themſelves ſettled in a ſtate of peace and plenty, they gave themſelves up to huſbandry, and improvements, and in a ſhort time advanced their fortunes and poſſeſſions (the tribe of *Judah* eſpecially) to a miracle. The king had likewiſe other officers, beſide thoſe before-mentioned, over the *Syrians*, and other barbarous nations, between *Egypt* and *Euphrates*, to whom he committed the care of his receipts; thoſe people being his tributaries. The daily proportion of proviſions that thoſe people furniſhed every day for the king's own table, was thirty meaſures of fine flour, threeſcore meaſures of meal, ten fat oxen, twenty oxen out of the paſtures, and a hundred fat lambs, beſide deer, birds, fiſhes, and other curioſities of the chace. He had ſo prodigious a number of chariots, that there were 40000 ſtalls provided for the horſes that belonged to them, over and above 12000 horſemen that were of his guards; the one half being quartered in *Jeruſalem*, near his perſon, and the other half diſtributed into out-villages near the city. The ſame officer that was commiſſary for the expence of the king's table, was appointed alſo to provide neceſſaries for the king's houſe, which way ſoever he moved.

The wiſdom and knowledge of *Solomon*, being a divine infuſion, was ſo far beyond the philoſophy and underſtanding of the ancients, that the *Egyptians* themſelves, tho' reputed the wiſeſt men, fell infinitely ſhort of him, as did the great men of his age among the *Heberws*, how highly ſoever celebrated and eſteemed; as for example, *Athan* and *Heman*, and *Colcal*, and *Dodan*, the ſons of *Hamahon*. This wonderful prince compoſed 1500 odes, and 3000 parables and ſimilies. He wrote the hiſtory of plants, from the cedar to the hyſſop; and ſo of cattle, and beaſts of the earth, water-fowl, and the birds of the air: He underſtood the nature of all theſe creatures, ſtudied and philoſophized upon it, and upon their reſpective properties and diſpoſitions. And he did not only know and underſtand (by a gift from above,*) but likewiſe improve his knowledge and underſtanding of theſe things, for the help and benefit of mankind, even to the confuſion of the devils themſelves; for he compoſed charms and incantations, for the cure of diſeaſes, and left behind him forms of conjuration, in writing, ſo effectual againſt evil ſpirits, that they fly before them, without ever daring to return: Which way of remedy is much in requeſt with our people to this day.

“ I ſaw one *Eleazar*, a countryman of mine, diſpoſſeſſing of people in the preſence of *Veſpaſian*, and his ſons, officers, and ſoldiers. And his way was this; he applied a ring to the noſtrils of the perſons poſſeſſed, with a piece of a root conveyed under the ſeal of it, being a ſecret of *Solomon's*. The demoniac did but ſmell to it, and the devil was drawn out by the noſe. The ſpirit threw the man down; but *Eleazar* adjured it never to trouble him any more: Making frequent mention of *Solomon's* name in the time of the operation, and reciting charms and incantations of his invention. *Eleazar*, after this, was willing to ſhew the company a maſter-piece: So he ſet a cup, or baſon of water, at a little diſtance from one that was poſſeſſed, and adjured the devil to overturn this baſon at the leaving the man, as a token that he had quitted him. This being done, no body doubted of the admirable knowledge and wiſdom of *Solomon*.”

Upon the death of *David*, and the ſucceſſion of *Solomon* to the throne, *Hiram* the king of *Tyre*, who ever had a great affection for the father, ſent a congratulatory embaſſy to the ſon, upon the news of his acceſſion to the government, expreſſing great joy to ſee it continued in the family. Upon the return of the ambaſſadors, *Solomon* laid hold of the occaſion, and wrote a letter to *Hiram* in theſe terms.

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* Some pretended fragments of theſe books of conjuration of *Solomon* are ſtill extant in *Fabricius's Cod. Pſeudepigr. Vet. Teſt.* page 1054. Though I entirely differ from *Joſephus* in this his ſuppoſal, that ſuch books and arts of *Solomon* were parts of that wiſdom which was imparted to him by God in his younger days, they muſt rather have belonged to ſuch profane, but curious arts, as we find mentioned, *Acts* xix. 13---20. and had been derived from the idolatry and ſuperſtition of his Heathen wives and concubines, in his old age, when he had forſaken God, and God had forſaken him, and given him up to demoniacal deluſions. Nor does *Joſephus's* ſtrange account of the root *Baara*, *Of the War*, VII. ſeem to be other than that of its magical uſe in ſuch conjurations. As for the following hiſtory, it confirms what Chriſt ſays, *Matt.* xii. 27. “If I by Beelzebub caſt out demons, by whom do your ſons caſt them out?”

King *Solomon* to king *Hiram*, greeting.

“ Be it known unto thee, O king, that my father *David* had it a long time in his mind and purpoſe to erect a temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in war in his days, and under a neceſſity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work: He hath left it to me in a time of peace, both to begin and to finiſh it, according to the direction, as well as the prediction of Almighty God. Bleſſed be his great name for the preſent tranquility of my dominions! And by his gracious aſſiſtance, I ſhall now dedicate the beſt improvements of this liberty and leiſure to his honour and worſhip. Whereſore I make it my requeſt, that you will let ſome of your own people go along with ſome ſervants of mine to *Mount Libanus*, to aſſiſt them in cutting down materials towards this building; for the *Sidonians* underſtand it much better than we do. As for the workmen's reward or wages, whatever you think reaſonable ſhall be punctually paid them”

Hiram returned him this anſwer.

King *Hiram* to king *Solomon*.

“ Nothing could have been more welcome to me, than to underſtand that the government of your bleſſed father is devolved by God's providence into the hands of ſo excellent, ſo wiſe, and ſo virtuous a a ſucceſſor: His holy name be praiſed for it. That which you write for, ſhall be done with all care and good will. For I will give orders to cut down, and to export ſuch quantities of the faireſt cedars and cypreſs trees, as you ſhall have occaſion for. My people ſhall bring them to the ſea ſide for you; and from thence ſhip them away to what port you pleaſe, where they may lie ready for your own men to tranſport them to *Jeruſalem*. It would be a great obligation, after all this, to allow us ſuch a proviſion of corn in exchange, as may ſtand with your convenience; for that is the commodity we Iſlanders want moſt.”

The duplicates of theſe letters are extant to this day, both in our own, and in the *Tyrian* records. Upon the receipt of *Hiram*'s letter, *Solomon* was wonderfully pleaſed, with the frankneſs and humanity of the proceeding: And in return for his goodneſs and reſpect, he ordered him a yearly preſent of a thouſand meaſures of wheat, and likewiſe of two thouſand veſſels of oil, and as many of wine, of ſeventy two quarts apiece. This was the firſt earneſt of a friendſhip betwixt theſe two kings; and it encreaſed to the laſt, every day firmer and greater than the former.

The king ordered his people to provide him thirty thouſand workmen, which he diſpoſed of in ſuch a manner, that their labour was conducted with eaſe and ſatisfaction. Their duty was for one month by ten thouſand at a time, in cutting down wood upon *Mount Libanus*; being allowed two months liberty to be at their own homes: Their inſpector-general, or ſuperintendant, was *Adoniram*. Beſide theſe there were ſeventy thouſand foreigners, formerly deſigned by *David* for the carrying of ſtones, and other materials, eighty thouſand ſtone cutters and maſons, and thirty two thouſand overſeers of the work. Their order was to make uſe of the largeſt ſtones they could get for the foundation, and to have them ſquared, and ready wrought upon the mountains where they grew, and thence to be carried to *Jeruſalem*. In which injunction, *Hiram*'s men were alſo particularly concerned, as well as the reſt.

Solomon was now in the fourth year of his reign, when he began this mighty work; and of that year, the ſecond month, which the *Macedonians* call *Artemiſius*, and the *Hebrews Jar*: five hundred and ninety-two years from the *Iſraelites* coming out of *Egypt*, one thouſand and twenty years from *Abraham*'s coming out of *Meſopotamia* into the land of *Canaan*, one thouſand four hundred and forty from the deluge, and from the creation of the world three thouſand one hundred and two; it was alſo in the eleventh year of *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, and two hundred years after the building of that city.

The foundation was laid prodigiouſly deep, and the ſtones not only of the largeſt ſize, but hard, and firm enough to endure all weathers, and proof againſt the worm: Beſides, that they were ſo mortiſſed one into another, and wedged into the rock, that the ſtrength and curioſity of the baſis was not leſs admirable than the bulk and ornament of the intended ſuperſtructure: The one every way anſwerable to the beauty and magnificence of the other. The walls were all of a white ſtone, from the ground to the cieling. The height of the building was ſixty cubits, the length as much, and the breadth twenty; over which there was another ſtage of the ſame dimenſions. The whole height of the building, from bottom to top, was a hundred and twenty cubits, and it looked toward the eaſt. The porch or court, next to the entrance, was twenty cubits in length, to anſwer the temple, ten in breadth, and a hundred and twenty cubits in height. There were built round it, and againſt the outward walls, like ſo many buttreſſes to ſupport it, thirty cells, or little houſes, in the form of galleries, opening one into another. The length and breadth of theſe cells was five cubits each, and the height twenty. There were two other floors over this, of the ſame make and proportions, amounting altogether to the juſt height of the lower part of the fabric, which we have been ſpeaking of; for theſe cells or galleries went no higher than the top of the firſt ſtory. They were all cieled with cedar, and every partition had its covering apart, independent one of another; but they were all coupled and faſtened together, by long and large beams, in ſuch a form, that they looked but like one piece, and as if the very walls were the ſtronger for them. Under theſe beams were curious varieties of carving, fret work, gilding, &c. the walls all wainſcotted with cedar, and ſo illuſtrated with works in gold, that the dazling ſplendor made every thing about it look glorious. The whole frame, in fine, was raiſed upon ſtones, poliſhed to the higheſt degree of perfection; and ſo well put together, that there was no joint to be diſcerned, nor the leaſt ſign of a hammer, or of any working tool that had ever come upon it.

The ſecond ſtory had not a large door to it at the eaſt end, as the lower had; but only ſome ſmall doors to go in at, from the ſides above. *Solomon* contrived a pair of winding ſtairs to be cut through the thickneſs of the wall, for a paſſage to the upper part. The inſide of the temple was all lined with cedar; and the cramping of the timbers together with ſtrong irons was a great ſtrength and ſecurity to the building. The King cauſed it to be laid in two diviſions; that is to ſay, the inner part, or holy of holies, twenty cubits ſquare, which was inacceſſible; and the other of forty cubits, which was aſſigned to the uſe and ſervice of the prieſt. In the partition wall, betwixt the inner and the outward part of the temple, he built large cedar doors, which were richly gilt, and delicately carved; beſide choice curioſities of fancy and hiſtory, embroidered upon a hanging veil before it, of rich ſilks and fine linen, interwoven with beautiful flowers, ſome purple, ſome ſcarlet, and the colours all in perfection.

Solomon cauſed alſo to be made two cherubims of maſſy gold, which he dedicated to God in the holy place, both of a ſize, being each of them five cubits high, and two wings, each of them of five cubits length, which, being ſtretched out, one touched the ſouth ſide, and the other the north, and with their other two wings they met one another, overſpreading the holy ark in the middle. It is not for any man to deſcribe, or ſo much as to imagine a deſcription

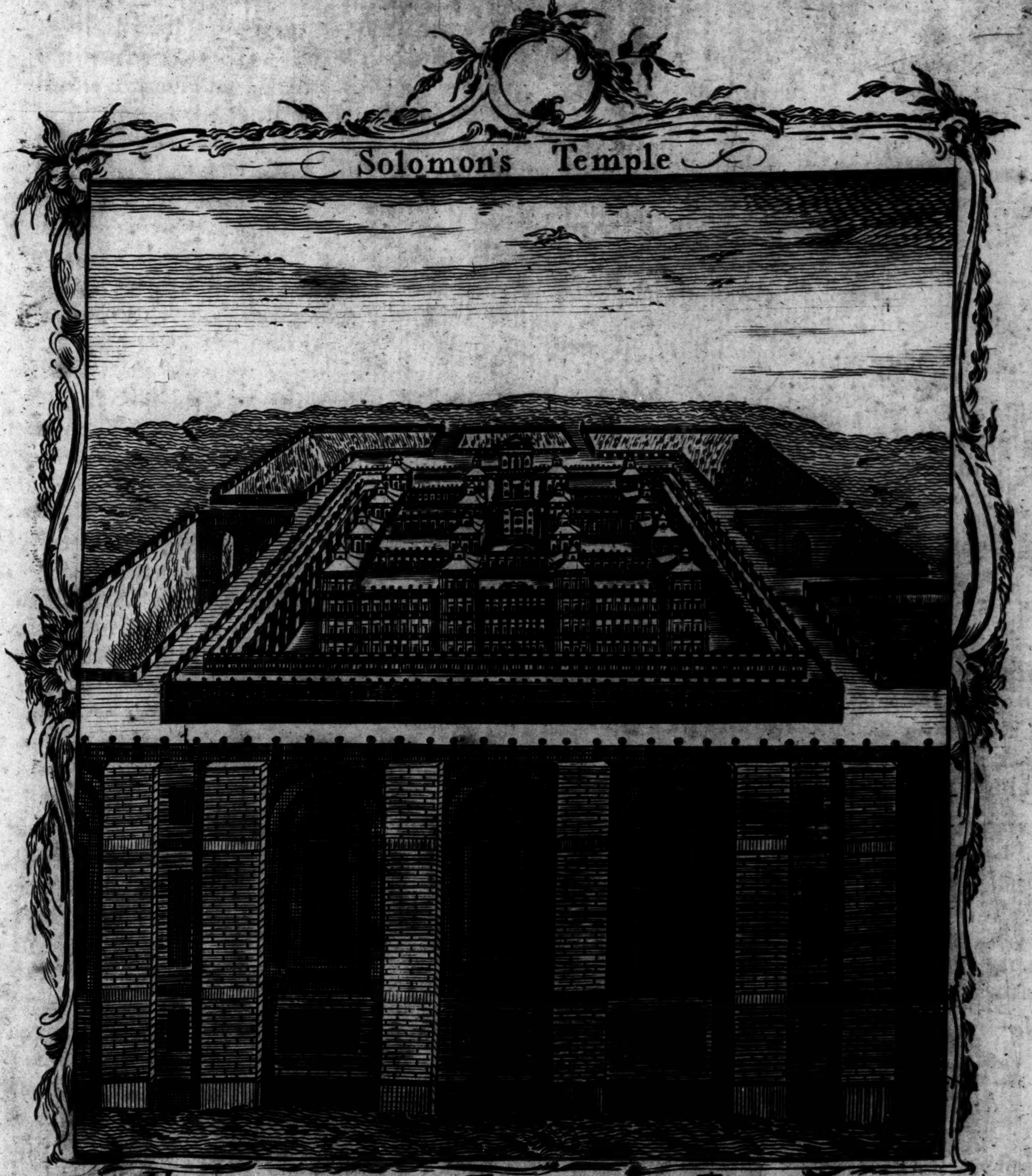
tion of theſe cherubims. And then the very floor of the temple was overlaid with beaten gold; the doors very large, and proportioned to the height of the walls, twenty cubits broad, and ſtill gold upon gold. To ſpeak all in a word, it was gold all over, and nothing wanting, either within or without, that might contribute to the glory and magnificence of the work. There was a curious curtain, or hanging, put up at this gate as at the other; but none at the entrance into the porch.

Solomon had heard of a famous man in *Tyre* for working in gold, ſilver, and other metals: his name was *Chiram*, who was alſo an eminent architect over and above. His mother was of the tribe of *Naphthali*, and his father by extraction an *Iſraelite*. He ſent for this man to *Tyre*, and employed him in his buſineſs; and whereſoever *Solomon* had any thing to do that was difficult or curious, *Chiram* executed it. He caſt him two brazen hollow pillars, of four fingers thick in the metal, eighteen cubits high, and twelve hands in circumference; two chapiters of braſs on the tops of the two pillars, five cubits each. Theſe were covered with a kind of braſs net-work; and below them were flowers or lilly-work of the ſame contrivance, with two rows of pomegranates hanging down, a hundred in each row. Theſe two pillars he placed in the entrance of the porch, one on the right hand, which he called *Jachin*; and the other on the left, which he called *Boaz*.

He made a veſſel alſo of molten braſs, ſomewhat after the figure of a globe cut off in the middle; which, for the largeneſs of it, he called his *Sea*. It was made goblet-faſhion; the diameter ten cubits from ſide to ſide, four fingers thick, with a twiſted pillar of one cubit over, under the middle of it, for a ſupporter. Around this pillar were placed the figures of twelve bulls, or oxen, facing, by three and three, the four principal quarters of eaſt, weſt, ſouth, and north. They ſtood in a poſture lower behind than before, which was both an eaſing to the weight, and kept it firm and ſteady. This ſea or veſſel held three thouſand baths, reckoning every bath at about ten *Engliſh* pottles.

Chiram made alſo ten baſes of braſs of an oblong ſquare, and all of the ſame ſize and dimenſions; that is to ſay, five cubits in length each of them, four in breadth, and ſix in height. The ſeveral pieces caſt apart, and then put together after this manner. There were four pillars or underſetters, one to the corner of every baſe, which were ſo incorporated with the reſt of the work, that they ſerved not only to uphold the weight, but to keep the ſides tight one to another. Upon the ſquares were the figures of a lion, a bull, an eagle, &c. and the like images alſo upon the pillars, and upon the plates of the borders. The whole work was mounted upon four wheels, a cubit and a half over, all of caſt work, nave, ſpokes, and every thing that belonged to it. It was wonderful to ſee how true and accurately every inch of it was wrought. The angels were made good with emboſſed work, of ſhoulders, hands, paws of lions, talons of eagles, with reſts, or ledges of rail upon them, to receive the laver; but ſo artificially fitted to the figures of thoſe creatures, as they were there repreſented upon the pannels, together with branches of palm-trees intermixed upon the ſame piece, that every thing looked as natural as if it had been to the life.

This was the ſtructure of the ten baſes; and to theſe baſes he made ten lavers of the ſame metal, and of a roundiſh conchous form, each containing forty baths; the height four cubits, and the diameter as much. Theſe ten lavers were ſet upon as many baſes, which, in their language, they called *Mechenoth*. They were all placed in the temple; five of them on the left hand, at the north ſide, and the other five at the ſouth ſide, on the right, looking toward the eaſt. In the ſame place ſtood likewiſe the brazen ſea. They were all filled with water; the ſea for the prieſts to waſh their hands and feet with, upon entering the ſanctuary, before they went up to the altar; and the reſt of the lavers for cleanſing of



Solomon's Temple

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the inwards, and other parts of the burnt-offerings.

He erected moreover a brazen altar of twenty cubits in length, as many over, and ten in depth, for the ſervice of the holocauſts; providing all the veſſels thereunto belonging of the ſame ſtuff, as boilers, water-pots, fleſh-hooks, &c. He dedicated alſo a world of tables, and one of pure gold for the ſhew-bread, larger than the reſt. But there were a great many others yet of ſeveral makes and ſizes, not much inferior to that for the ſhew-bread, and ſufficient to hold twenty thouſand golden cups and veſſels, and twice the number of ſilver ones. He made a proviſion likewiſe of twelve thouſand candleſticks, according to the appointment of *Moſes*; and one of them to be applied by a particular dedication to the ſervice of the temple, and there to be kept with lights in them burning day and night, after the direction of the law. The table of the ſhew-bread was placed on the north ſide, over againſt the candleſtick, which ſtood on the ſouth. Betwixt theſe two was the golden altar. This was all in the fore-part of the temple of forty cubits, and a partition-veil betwixt that and the holy of holies, where the ark of the covenant was to be kept.

The King cauſed to be made likewiſe fourſcore thouſand wine-cups, and ten thouſand golden veſſels and goblets of other ſorts and faſhions, and twice as many ſilver ones. Plates and diſhes of gold to ſteep the flour in, upon the altar, eighty thouſand; and of ſilver, double the number. Golden meaſures, ſuch as the *Moſaical* hin and aſſaron, twenty thouſand; and as many more of ſilver. Golden cenſers for incenſe twenty thouſand, and fifty thouſand other cenſers to carry fire from the great altar to the little one within the temple.

This mighty prince made a proviſion alſo of a thouſand prieſts habits, as robes, ephods, ſuits of precious ſtones, &c. only there was but one crown with *Moſes*'s inſcription of God upon it, which is to be ſeen to this day. There were alſo ſilken veſts, and purple girdles for the prieſts, ten thouſand of each; two hundred thouſand trumpets, according to the inſtitution of *Moſes*, and as many ſilken ſtoles for the *Levites* that chanted the holy hymns: beſides four hundred thouſand muſical inſtruments, as harps, pſalteries, and the like, which were made of a mixt metal betwixt gold and ſilver, to accompany the voices.

When the preparatory part was over, the church ſtuff was depoſited in the holy treaſury, and ſet apart for religious uſes. The temple itſelf was fenced with an encloſure of three foot in height, (in *Hebrew Giſon*) to keep out the laity from entering into a place where only the prieſts were to be admitted. Beyond this partition was another ſquare court or building, with large porticoes or galleries about it, and four ſtately gates, that opened eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth; the doors all plated and inlaid with gold. This place was common to all people, provided they came thither with that purity of preparation and legal qualification which the law required.

The erecting of this outward building was ſo ſtupendous an undertaking, that no tongue can expreſs the difficulties of raiſing it; and the man would have much ado to believe his own eyes that ſaw it: Such hollows, ſuch depths, to be filled up, as a body could hardly have looked upon, or ſo much as fancied. without turning his brain. Four hundred cubits to be brought up to a level with the top of the mountain, only to make the work regular, and the ground even. This part was encompaſſed with a double cloiſter, and two rows of pillars to ſupport it, every pillar being cut whole out of the rock. The doors were all ſilver-work, the roof fret-work, and the wainſcotting all of cedar.

This admirable ſtructure was but ſeven years in hand, and it is hard to ſay, conſidering the magnitude, the curioſity, the expence, and the ornament, on the one hand, and the diſpatch of it on the other, whether was the more wonderful of the two.

For it was the buſineſs of many ages drawn into the compaſs of a very few years.

This mighty undertaking being now brought to perfection, *Solomon* wrote to all the elders of *Iſrael*, and the heads of the tribes to ſummon the people up to *Jeruſalem* to ſee the temple, and to aſſiſt in tranſporting thither the ark of the covenant. The reſolution was duly notified, and in the ſeventh month, which we call *Thuri*, and the *Macedonians Hyperbretæus*, whith much ado they got together. In this month was the feaſt of the tabernacles, which among the *Hebrews* was accounted the moſt ſacred and ſolemn feſtivals. The prieſts took up the ark, and *Moſes*'s tabernacle, with the holy veſſels belonging to the altar, and carried them all into the temple, the king, and the whole congregation, with the *Levites*, marching before them, with their ſacrifices and oblations, ſprinkling the ground, as they paſſed, with their blood, and perfuming the air with the fragrancy of incenſe, and ſweet odours.

When they were come to the holy of holies, the people withdrew, and the prieſts only that brought it, carried it in to the oracle, and there placed it under the figure of the two cherubims, that were repreſented with the points of their wings touching one another; which looked like a kind of cover, and protection to the ark that was juſt under them. There was nothing more in it than the two ſtone tables with the ten commandments engraven upon them, as God delivered them upon *Mount Sinai*. The candleſtick, table, and golden altar, ſtood in the ſame order now in the ſanctuary, as they did at firſt in the tabernacle, when they offered their daily ſacrifices. The brazen altar was placed directly againſt the door, for the better view of the magnificence of the worſhip on either ſide: And the reſt of the holy utenſils and veſſels were all laid up together in the temple.

The ark being diſpoſed of into its proper place, and the prieſts withdrawn, there deſcended a cloud, which ſo filled and darkened the place, that they could hardly ſee one another thorough it: Not like a cloud, big with foul weather; but only ſuch a temperate, breathing diffuſion, as was looked upon to be rather a token of God's ſpecial approbation and acceptance of the work they were upon, than the effect of any natural cauſe.

Solomon then ſtood up, and with a becoming grace and majeſty, addreſſed himſelf in a ſhort prayer to Almighty God in words to this effect: "Lord! thou that inhabiteſt eternity, and haſt raiſed out of "nothing the mighty fabric of this univerſe, "the Heavens, the air, the earth, and the "ſea: Thou that filleſt the whole and every thing that is in it; and art thyſelf unbounded and incomprehenſible, look "down graciouſly upon thy ſervants that "have preſumed to erect a temple here to "the honour of thy great name. Lord! "hear our prayers, and receive our ſacrifices: Thou that art every where, vouchſafe alſo to be with us; thou that art all "goodneſs and mercy, vouchſafe to bleſs us; "thou that ſeeſt and heareſt all things, look "down from thy throne in heaven, and "give ear to our ſupplications in this place. "Thou that never faileſt to aſſiſt thoſe "that call upon thee night and day, and "love and ſerve thee as they ought to do, "have mercy upon us."

Upon the finiſhing of this prayer, *Solomon* made a diſcourſe to the people upon the ſubject of God's power and providence: Telling them what wonderful things had been revealed to his father *David*, concerning himſelf, his ſucceſſion to the throne, &c. "Now," ſays he, "a great part of "theſe predictions being already verified, "you are to thank God, not only for the "comforts you enjoy, but for the good "things alſo that are further promiſed, and "to look back upon the former, only as the "earneſt of greater bleſſings."

After the ſpeaking of theſe words, the king turned his eye again toward the temple; and with his hand advanced, "Lord!" ſays he, "what are the moſt glorious works "of man, in balance, even with the ſmall-

"eſt of thy benefits and mercies? Or what can we that have nothing to give, pretend to do for thee that wanteſt nothing, when the very leaſt of thy bounties are above, and beyond all requital? We can only render thee praiſe, acknowledgment and thankſgiving; and that indeed is a prerogative faculty, that thou haſt vouchſafed to mankind above all other creatures: So that this I am not only allowed, but obliged to do, in the name of myſelf, and my family, and the whole people of *Iſrael*, for all thy multiplied favours and infinite goodneſs towards us. Be pleaſed therefore to accept of our humble gratitude in that human capacity: Firſt, for thy gracious goodneſs to my dear father, in raiſing him from a ſhepherd's crook to an imperial ſceptre: And in the ſecond place, for making good to thy ſervant *Solomon* all thy promiſes and predictions in his favour.

"Lord! continue thy bounties to us, as to thy choſen people; preſerve, proſper, and perpetuate the government to our family, by a conſtant train of ſucceſſions from generation to generation, according to thy promiſes to my father, living and dying. Lord! grant us all this; and to all mine, the virtues and the graces that may make them acceptable in thy ſight.

"I do further moſt humbly beſeech thee, to let thy holy ſpirit deſcend upon this temple, in the bleſſing of thy peculiar preſence. Heaven and earth I know are too little for thy majeſty and glory; and much more the workmanſhip of men's hands, in a fabric of wood and ſtone: And yet I cannot but preſume to implore thy providence and protection over it: Lord! preſerve it from the power and rage of enemies, and be pleaſed to take care of it, as of thy own propriety and poſſeſſion. And if at any time hereafter thou ſhalt be moved in thy juſt diſpleaſure to puniſh this people for their tranſgreſſions, with famine, peſtilence, or any other judgment whatſoever, Lord! be pleaſed upon their humble ſupplications to thee in thine own houſe, to accept of their true repentance, and to remove thy judgments. This I beſeech thee, not for the *Hebrews* alone, but for the relief indifferently of all people whatſoever, that ſhall offer up their petitions to thee in this thy holy place. By this means it will appear, that this is thy houſe, and we thy people: And that the *Hebrews* envy not ſtrangers the common diſpenſations of the author and fountain of all our happineſs."

With theſe words *Solomon* caſt himſelf upon the ground, and after a little pauſe he roſe and offered ſacrifices in abundance; having the ſatisfaction alſo of an aſſurance, by a token effectually from God, that his oblations were accepted; for there fell a flaſh of fire from above, down to the altar, and conſumed the offerings. This prodigy being ſeen by the whole multitude, they all looked upon it as a certain ſign of God's owning both the worſhip and the temple; which put them into ſuch an extaſy of joy, that they all fell down together, and joined in the adoration. *Solomon* went on upon the point of praiſes and thankſgivings, perſuading and encouraging the multitude to do the like, in the contemplation of ſo clear an evidence of God's ſpecial favour toward them.

The king then diſcharged the aſſembly; having firſt offered up in ſacrifices for himſelf and his people, twelve thouſand calves, and a hundred and twenty thouſand lambs. This was the firſt blood that was ſpilt in the temple; and the *Iſraelites*, with their wives and children were all feaſted at it. There was celebrated at the ſame time before the temple, beſide this ſolemnity, the feaſt of tabernacles, which laſted fourteen days at the king's expence, with great jollity, magnificence, and ſplendor.

The noiſe and pomp of things being over, every man was now returning to his own habitation, but not without infinite acknowledgments of the king's wiſdom, care and bounty in all reſpects; and prayers for the long life of *Solomon*, and the long continuance of the people under the bleſſing of his government. God appeared now a ſecond time to *Solomon*, in his ſleep ; and a voice told him, "that God had accepted his ſacrifices, and heard his prayers ; that he would preſerve his temple, and make it the houſe of his dwelling, ſo long as he himſelf, and his poſterity and people ſhall continue to walk before him, as *David* his father did in pureneſs of heart: promiſing him upon that condition, to advance him to the higheſt degree of earthly bliſs ; to perpetuate the throne of *Iſrael* to his family ; ſo that there ſhall never want a prince of that line, and of the tribe of *Judah*, to wield that ſceptre. But on the other hand, if ever they ſhould betray, and depart from, or forget the worſhip they profeſſed, and run after ſtrange Gods, they ſhould be quite rooted out from off the face of the earth, and *Iſrael* be no longer a people ; but after being torn to pieces, and broken with wars, and other calamities at home, be forced away to ſhift for themſelves, as vagabonds and exiles." The voice told them further, "That in caſe of ſuch apoſtacy, his new erected fabrick ſhould, with divine permiſſion come to be ſacked and burnt by the hands of barbarians ; and *Jeruſalem* itſelf laid in rubbiſh and aſhes, by a mercileſs enemy: Inſomuch that people ſhould ſtand amazed at the very report of ſo incredible a miſery and diſtreſs, and be wondering one to another how it ſhould come to paſs, that a people that were but yeſterday the envy of all mankind, for riches, external glory and reputation, ſhould now all on a ſudden be ſunk and loſt to the laſt degree of wretchedneſs and contempt ; and reduced to this deſpicable ſtate too, by the ſame hand that raiſed them. To which queſtion their own guilty conſciences ſhall make this anſwer: We have forſaken our God; we have abandoned the religion of our forefathers, and of our country, and all this is juſtly befallen us for our ſins."

After the finiſhing of this temple, *Solomon* entered upon building a royal palace for himſelf, which was full thirteen years more a perfecting. This indeed was in appearance much inferior to the majeſty of his temple, not only for want of time to provide his materials; but the one was deſigned only for the honour and convenience of a temporal prince, and the other dedicated to the king of kings: It may however be worth the while to ſay ſomewhat particularly of the model and diſpoſition of this majeſtical fabric.

There was erected upon ſeveral rows of pillars, a fair ſpacious pile of building, in the nature of a common hall for the hearing of cauſes. It was a hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and the depth thirty: It was ſupported by ſixteen ſquare columns, covered with Corinthian * work, in cedar, and fortified with double doors curiouſly wrought, that ſerved both for the ſecurity, and the ornament of the place. In the middle of this court or hall, was another edifice of thirty cubits ſquare, ſupported by ſtrong pillars ; in which quarter was a throne of ſtate, where the king uſed to ſit perſonally in judgment. Next adjoining to this royal court of juſtice, was the queen's houſe, and other apartments thereabouts ; for diverſion and retreat, after the fatigue of cares and buſineſs: Fitted up with cedar, and raiſed upon ſtones of ten cubits ſquare, which were partly plain, and part overlaid with the moſt precious marble after the faſhion of the moſt magnificent of palaces or temples. The rooms were hung with three depths of rich hanging, and beautified with images, in ſculpture, of trees, plants, branches, leaves, &c. ſo miraculouſly wrought that they appeared to the eye to be all in motion. The remainder of the ſpace up to the cieling, was all ſet out with delicate party-coloured figures, upon a ground of white. Beſide all theſe, there was a great variety of other chambers for retirement and delight, long and large galleries, vaſt rooms of ſtate, and others for feaſting and entertainment, with gilding and coſtly furniture: And all the ſervices for the king's table were of pure gold. In ſhort, the whole houſe was in a manner made up from top to bottom of white marble, cedar, gold and ſilver, with precious ſtones here and there intermingled upon the walls or cielings, after the manner of the adorning the temple. There was alſo erected a very fair, large ivory throne, with delicate carved work, and engraving upon it, after the faſhion of a tribunal. There were ſix ſteps that led up to it; the figure of a lion at each end of every ſtep, and two lions more above; that is to ſay, one on either ſide of the ſtate. As the king reſted upon his throne, there were arms put forth, as in a readineſs to take care of him, and to receive him; and the figure of a bullock placed in a proper poſture under him, for his ſupport: The whole piece being covered all over with gold.

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* This mention of *Corinthian* ornaments of architecture in *Solomon*'s palace by *Joſephus*, ſeems to be here ſet down by way of prolepſis. For though it appears that the *Grecian* and *Roman* moſt ancient orders of architecture were taken from *Solomon*'s temple, yet it is not clear that the *Corinthian* order was ſo ancient. Although what the ſame *Joſephus* ſays, of the war, V. that one of the gates of *Herod*'s temple was built according to the rules of this *Corinthian* order, is no way improbable: that order being, without diſpute, much older than the reign of *Herod*.

Theſe two magnificent ſtructures were twenty years a finiſhing; and it was a huge maſs of gold, and a greater of ſilver, beſides a vaſt quantity of cedar and cyprus, which *Hiram*, the king of *Tyre*, contributed to the perfecting of the work. *Solomon* was not behind-hand with him in his acknowledgments and preſents; for he ſent him every year great quantities of corn, wine, and oil. He beſtowed upon him moreover, twenty cities upon the borders of *Galilee*, not far from *Tyre*, which, upon view, he declined. From this refuſal that part of the country was called *Chabalon*, which is as much as to ſay, *It does not pleaſe me.*

Hiram had ſo great an opinion of the wiſdom of *Solomon*, that whenever he found himſelf at a loſs for the underſtanding of any difficulty or myſterious queſtion, he applied himſelf to this wiſe prince for the ſolution of it, who never failed of anſwering him to his ſatisfaction, according to the true reaſon and nature of the matter in hand.

The hiſtorian *Menander*, that turned the *Tyrian Annals* out of the *Philiſtine* tongue into *Greek*, makes mention of theſe two princes, as follows:

" *Hiram*," ſays he, " the ſon of *Abibale*, " ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of " *Tyre*. He lived three and fifty years, and " reigned four and thirty. He annexed a " piece of forced ground called the great " field, to the iſland, and dedicated a golden pillar to *Jupiter* in his temple. He " cut down materials alſo in abundance upon the *Mount Lebanus* for the covering of " holy places; and demoliſhing ancient " temples, he built new ones, to *Hercules* " and *Aſtarte*. He erected a ſtatue for *Hercules*, in the month of *Peritius*: And then " in an expedition againſt the *Eyceans*, for " not paying the duty of a tribute, as they " ought to have done, he overcame them, " and came home again. In his days there " was one *Abdemonus*, a young man, that " took upon him to give *Solomon*, the king " of *Jeruſalem*, a ſolution of all myſterious " queſtions that you ſhould put to him."

Dius writes alſo to this effect. " *Abibale* " being now dead, *Hiram* his ſon ſucceeded " him; who, by filling up void places on " the eaſt quarter of the town, enlarged " the borders, and brought the temple of " *Olympian Jupiter*, that before ſtood apart, " and at a diſtance, into the compaſs of the " city, enriching and adorning it with golden offerings to a very great value: After " which he ordered the cutting down of " cedars upon *Mount Lebanus*, for the uſe " of holy places." He tells us farther, " that *Solomon*, the king of *Jeruſalem*, had " often ſent problems and riddles to *Hiram*, " upon the forfeiture of a great ſum of money if he failed of expounding them. " Thoſe difficult caſes were afterward not

“ only unriddled by *Abdemonus*, a *Tyrian*, “ but new propoſitions ſtarted by him ; and “ *Solomon* himſelf would have incurred a “ great forfeiture, if he did not explain the “ meaning of them.” Thus far goes *Dius*.

Solomon repaired and enlarged the walls of *Jeruſalem*. He built ſeveral cities alſo of conſiderable note, as *Aſor*, *Magedon*, and *Gazara*, in the land of the *Philiſtines*; which *Pharaoh* the king of *Egypt* had formerly taken by aſſault, and raſing it to the ground, put every creature in it to the ſword; giving it afterwards to his daughter upon the match with *Solomon*. This city the king rebuilt, from the ſtrength of its ſituation, and the uſe it might be of to the government, as well in war as peace. He built likewiſe, not far from thence, *Betachorah* and *Baleth*, beſides other places of pleaſure, in reſpect of the temperature of the climate and the delicacy of the fruits, and the conveniencies of excellent air and water. He poſſeſſed himſelf after this, of the entrance into the deſart that lies towards *Syria*, where he built a very fair city, two days journey from the *Upper Syria*, one from *Euphrates*, and ſix from *Babylon*. The reaſon of erecting a city at ſuch a diſtance from the habitable parts of *Syria*, was that it might ſerve for a watering place (there being ſeveral ſprings and fountains in it) to thoſe that travelled through that deſart. This town being built, walled, and ſtrongly fortified, was called *Thadamora*, which name it bears among the *Syrians* to this day. The *Greeks* call it *Palmyra*.

As many people are inquiſitive how it came to paſs that the kings of *Egypt*, from *Minæus* the firſt founder of *Memphis* itſelf, which was long before our father *Abraham*, to the days of *Solomon*, being upward of thirteen hundred years, ſhould be all called by the name of *Pharaoh*, and from what original they took their denomination, I ſhall give this plain and ſhort account of it. *Pharaoh*, in the *Egyptian* language, ſounds as *King*. My opinion is that they were brought up by other names; and that upon coming to the exerciſe of a public character, they exchanged the diſtinction of the family for the common name of power. It was the ſame thing with the kings of *Alexandria*, that were educated by one name, and governed by another; being all called *Ptolomeys*, from the firſt of their kings: And ſo it is with the *Roman* Emperors, who drop their private and hereditary names, and are all called *Cæſars*. This it was, perhaps, that made *Herodotus* of *Halicarnaſſus*, in his account of the ſucceſſors to *Minæus* the firſt king of *Memphis*, to reckon upon three hundred and thirty kings, referring to the number without mentioning their names, *Pharaoh* being one common name to them all. Upon the coming of a woman afterwards to the government, he ſpeaketh of her by the particular name of *Nicaulis*, the apellation of *Pharaoh* being only proper to the other ſex. Neither do I find in the whole hiſtory of our affairs, that after *Pharaoh*, the father-in-law of *Solomon*, there was ever any other king of *Egypt* known by that name. I am alſo well aſſured that this *Nicaulis* was the queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, that came afterward to *Solomon*.

CHAP. III.

Solomon *ſubdues the* Canaanites. *His prodigious Wealth.*

THERE was ſtill a ſtubborn remainder of the *Canaanites*, betwixt *Mount Libanus* and the city *Amathe*, that for ſome time diſputed their allegiance to the kings of *Iſrael*, till *Solomon* at laſt made them his tributaries, upon condition of furniſhing him yearly with a certain number of ſlaves, as was agreed upon, to be employed upon tilling the land, and other ſorts of drudgery; for the *Hebrews* were not upon any work that was coarſe and ſervile; neither would it have been reaſonable, when God had ſubdued ſo many nations to his power, for the conquerors to deſcend to do the buſineſs of their captives. As to the *Iſraelites*, their genius lay more toward arms, chariots, horſes, exploits of war, and military exerciſes. The *Canaanites* in the mean time were held to their labour, and ſix hundred officers of the king's put over them, to appoint them their taſks, and keep them to their work.

The king built a fleet of ſhips alſo in *Ezion-Gezer*, an *Egyptian* bay upon the *Red-Sea*. The port is now called *Berenice*, not far from the city of *Elan*, under the juriſdiction of the *Hebrews*. In the fitting out of this navy *Solomon* was highly obliged to king *Hiram*; for he ſent him as many expert pilots, and ſkilful mariners, as he had occaſion for, that ſerved the king's officers for guides to the land of *Ophir*, ſince called *India*, or the *Golden Land*, where they got together four hundred talents of gold, and went back with it to the king.

The fame of *Solomon*'s virtue and wiſdom was ſo advantageouſly repreſented, upon this occaſion, to *Nicaulis* the Queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, that being a princeſs of wonderful underſtanding herſelf, the very glory of the character made her reſolve to hear and ſee the original. In this determination ſhe ſet forward toward *Jeruſalem*, with a train and equipage ſuitable to her royal dignity, taking along with her a number of camels laden with gold, variety of rich perfumes, and precious ſtones. Upon her arrival, the King received her with all poſſible honour, courteſy, and reſpect; and with ſo much eaſe and clearneſs ſolved all the difficulties ſhe propoſed, that it put her into amazement to find his excellencies, in truth and effect, ſo much beyond what ſhe had heard of them in fame and report. She ſtood in great admiration at the majeſty and curioſity of his palace, the order and diſpoſition of the building, and at the King's incomparable prudence through the whole contrivance and conduct. But ſhe was moved at nothing more than at the maſter-piece of that fabric called the grove of *Libanon*, the magnificent and the regular courſe of his entertainments, the diſcipline and œconomy of the family, and the doing every thing with ſo peculiar a grace. She was likewiſe pleaſed with the ſpectacle of the daily ſacrifices, and to ſee with what application, care, and veneration, the prieſts and *Levites* performed their part in the worſhip.

"Great prince," ſays ſhe, "the credit "of reports is ſo uncertain, that without a "demonſtrative and experimental confirma"tion of the truth of what we hear, we "are forced to ſuſpend our aſſent, for want "of knowing what to believe, eſpecially "where the fame of things biaſſes toward "either extreme of good or evil: But in "the queſtion of your incomparable great"neſs; that is to ſay, the internal advan"tages of the mind in a ſuperlative degree

" of knowledge and underſtanding, and the " glory of your outward ſtate; the rumour " has been ſo far from partial, that it falls " ſhort even of common juſtice, for I have " the happineſs at this preſent to ſee much " more than I heard. Bleſſed are the *Hebrews:* Bleſſed the friends and people of " *Solomon*, that ſtand ever before him, and " hear his wiſdom; and bleſſed be God for " his goodneſs to this land and nation, in " placing them under the government of " ſo excellent a prince."

Having proceeded thus far, this generous princeſs made him a preſent of twenty talents of gold, aromatical ſpices, rich perfumes, and precious ſtones to a prodigious value. They ſpeak alſo of a root of balſam that ſhe brought with her, which (according to a tradition we have) was the firſt plant of that kind that ever came into *Judæa*, where it hath propagated ſo wonderfully ever ſince. Neither was *Solomon* wanting, on the other hand, in a ſuitable return; for he denied her nothing, and was much readier to give than ſhe to aſk. After this reciprocal interchange of preſents, the queen went back again into her own country.

About this time came *Solomon*'s return-ſhips from *Ophir*, with ſtones for jewels, and pine wood in abundance; the latter was made uſe of partly for pillars and ſupporters to the King's temple and palace, partly for muſical inſtruments, as harps, cymbals, pſalteries, and the like, for the *Levites* to glorify God upon, in company with their voices. It is to be noted, that for ſize and beauty, *Solomon* had never ſeen any of this ſort of wood comparable to it before. This was none of the wood that paſſes commonly upon the world for pine, in the way of trade, betwixt buyer and ſeller. This has ſomewhat of the grain of a fig tree, only a little whiter, and more gloſſy.

This plate fleet brought the King ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix talents of gold, over and above the merchants adventure, and what the governors and kings of *Arabia* ſent him for preſents. Of this gold he cauſed to be caſt two hundred targets, weighing ſix hundred ſhekels of gold each; and theſe were all hung up in the great hall of *Libanon*. His drinking cups were all of beaten gold too, garniſhed with precious ſtones, and wrought with all the curioſity imaginable; and, in ſhort, the reſt of his utenſils were of the ſame metal. There was no trading with money in this caſe; for the King had his ſhips in the ſea of *Tarſus*, that dealt upon the truck with foreign nations; and, in exchange for commodities of his own, returned him gold and ſilver, great quantities of ivory, blacks, apes, &c. Going and coming, they reckoned this expedition as a three years voyage.

The reputation of *Solomon*'s greatneſs and wiſdom was now ſpread far and near, inſomuch that ſeveral great kings were inflamed with a deſire to ſee him, and by their munificence ſhewed the deſire they had to ſerve him. They ſent him gold and ſilver plate, purple robes, ſpices and perfumes of all ſorts, horſes, chariots and mules for burdens, ſuch as for ſtrength and beauty they thought might be moſt acceptable to the king: So that he had now an addition of four hundred chariots to what he had before, that is to ſay, a thouſand chariots, and twenty thouſand horſes, that for beauty and ſpeed were beyond all others; and they had the flower of the youth to ride and manage them. They were all fine perſons, in purple veſts, their hair diſhevelled and flowing, to the great advantage of their motion, and ſuch an intermixture of golden threads with their locks, that the ſun playing upon them, irradiated their heads with a kind of glory. This was the guard, which, with their arms and quivers, attended the King's chariot, (himſelf mounted in it cloathed in white) to a houſe of pleaſure he had at *Ethan*, not far from the city, which, for the delicate gardens, walks, and fountains, and the fruitfulneſs of the place, he took great delight in.

This prince looked ſo far, that there was hardly any thing ſo minute as not to fall under his care. He provided for the very paving of the highways that led to his palace at *Jeruſalem*, partly for the convenience of comers and goers, and in part for the honour of his own magnificence. He kept not many chariots about his perſon, but diſpoſed of them here and there, at ſo many in a town, upon free quarter; and theſe places were called his chariot towns. Silver was as plentiful in *Jeruſalem* as ſtones; and cedars, which had never been ſeen in *Judea* before, were now as common as mulberry trees. He gave commiſſion alſo to his *Egyptian* merchants to buy him a proviſion of chariots with two horſes, at the price of ſix hundred ſilver drachms a-piece; and theſe were to be ſent away to the Kings of *Syria*, and beyond *Euphrates*.

CHAP IV.

The Love of Women brings Solomon *to Idolatry.* Adad *ſtirs up a Sedition againſt him.*

AS this King was hitherto the moſt glorious, pious, and the moſt wiſe and powerful prince that ever ſat upon that throne; ſo he made the latter part of his life a ſcandal to the former, by departing from the precepts of *Moſes*, and the laws and religion of his forefathers; his raging luſt after women made him ſtark mad, and the women of his own country would not ſerve his turn neither, for he took indifferently women of all nations, *Sidonians*, *Tyrians*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, &c. quite contrary to the inſtitution of *Moſes*, who wiſely foreſaw that ſtrange women would inveigle men over to ſtrange gods too. *Solomon* had ſeven hundred wives that were princeſſes, (the daughter of the King of *Egypt* for one) and three hundred concubines; and the paſſion he had for their charms tranſported him into compliances in the impiety of their practices and opinions. As he came further into years, he grew more and more careleſs and remiſs in the exerciſe of the true worſhip, he was the more eaſily prevailed upon to join with the women in a falſe one. Not that this was the firſt breach of the law that he was guilty of; for he had tranſgreſſed the rule in the very figures of his bulls under his brazen ſea, and in the lions afterwards that were ſet as a guard upon his throne; which was all directly againſt a poſitive inſtitution. He had at the ſame time, in his own family, the moſt glorious precedent for honour and virtue, in the example of his bleſſed father.

The word of the Lord came after this to *Solomon*, by the mouth of a prophet, telling him of his wickedneſs, and he ſhould not paſs long unpuniſhed; but in regard of a promiſe to his father, that he ſhould have no other ſucceſſor, that his government ſhould not be taken from him while he was living; and that after his death his ſon ſhould ſuffer for the iniquities of his father: That ten tribes ſhould revolt, and the other two continue in their allegiance to the ſon of *Solomon*, for his grandfather's ſake, and for the ſake of his temple at *Jeruſalem*, which God had made choice of for the place of his habitation. Theſe words wounded *Solomon* to the very ſoul, to ſee himſelf caſt down in a moment from the higheſt pitch of all ſublunary comforts and temporal glory, into the very depth of the contrary extreme.

A ſhort time after this meſſage, God ſtirred up a bitter enemy againſt *Solomon*, whoſe name was *Adad*, an *Idumæan* by birth, and a branch of the royal family; the ground of his animoſity being as follows. When the *Hebrews* over-ran the country of *Idumæa*, under the command of *Joab*, who at that time was *David*'s general, *Joab* having ſubdued the people, put to the ſword all the males he could find in the province that were able to bear arms, and this execution continued for ſix months. This ſame *Adad*, who then was but a child, made his eſcape to *Pharaoh*, the King of *Egypt*, who gave him houſes, lands, and revenues for his entertainment, and upon his growing up, he married him to his own wife's ſiſter, whoſe name was *Taphines;* who bore him a ſon, that was trained up with the children of *Pharaoh*. In proceſs of time news was brought into *Egypt*, that *David* and *Joab* were both dead; and *Adad*, upon theſe tidings, deſired *Pharaoh*'s leave to return into his own country, but could not as yet prevail.

Solomon being * now in a declining condition, and the meaſure of his iniquity well nigh full, God put it into *Pharaoh*'s heart to let *Adad* go; who thereupon went to *Idumæa*, with a deſign to ſtir up the people to a rebellion againſt *Solomon:* But finding the garriſons ſo ſtrong, and the country in ſuch a poſture, that there was no good to be done by a ſurprize, he took new meaſures, and went from thence into *Syria*, where he joined intereſts with one *Rezon*, a fugitive from his maſter *Adadezer* the King of *Zobah*, and a famous captain of banditti. *Adad* ſtruck a league with this man, and, with his aſſiſtance, maſtered that part of *Syria*, where he got himſelf to be declared King, and made ſo many inroads upon the land of the *Iſraelites*, that all things were in confuſion with blood and pillage, even while *Solomon* himſelf was yet living.

There was alſo a more dangerous conſpiracy againſt him at the ſame time, in his own territories, i. e. that of *Jeroboam*, the ſon of *Nebat;* a man that had taken up a conceit long ſince, from an old prophecy, of a ſtrange part that he was to play in the overturning of the government. *Jeroboam* being left by his father very young, and under the tuition of his mother, *Solomon* took notice of him, as he grew up towards man's eſtate, for a youth of a frank, generous humour, and made him overſeer of his works, being at that time repairing and rebuilding the walls of *Jeruſalem*. He acquitted himſelf ſo well, that *Solomon* gave him the military command of the tribe of *Joſeph*. As he was one day travelling out of *Jeruſalem* about his buſineſs, the prophet *Ahijah*, the *Shilonite*, met him upon the way, and took him aſide, and there laid hold of a garment he had on, and rent it into twelve pieces, bidding him take ten of them to himſelf; for it was God's will and order that it ſhould be ſo: "for he is reſolved," ſaid the prophet, "to tear the government from *Solomon*, and, for his promiſe-ſake, to give "the two contiguous tribes to the ſon of *Solomon*, and the other ten to you, as a juſt "puniſhment for giving himſelf up to ſtrange "women, and to ſtrange gods. Whereſore let *Solomon*'s miſerable caſe be a "warning to you. Be juſt to all men, obſerve and protect the laws, imitate *David*'s "virtues of piety and religion, and you may "promiſe yourſelf the comfort of *David*'s "reward."

Jeroboam was not a little elevated with theſe words, and the firſt thing he did, after he came to the army, was to tamper with the people againſt their ſovereign, and to ſet up for himſelf: But *Solomon* all this while was no ſtranger to the malice and practice of his deſigns; and there was a train laid to take him up, and diſpatch him: But the plot was diſcovered, and *Jeroboam* ſlipt away to *Shiſhack*, the king of *Egypt*; where he waited the death of *Solomon*, for a fair opportunity to revive his pretenſion.

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* Since this beginning of *Solomon*'s evil life and adverſity was the time when *Hadad*, or *Ader*, who was born at leaſt twenty or thirty years before *Solomon* came to the crown, in the days of *David*, began to give him diſturbance, this implies that *Solomon*'s evil life began very early, and continued very long; which the multitude of his wives and concubines does imply alſo---I ſuppoſe when he was not fifty years of age.

CHAP. V.

The Death of Solomon. Rehoboam *diſcontents the People. Ten Tribes declare for* Jeroboam.

SOLOMON lived to a great age. He reigned eighty years, died at ninety-four, and was buried at *Jeruſalem*; the wiſeſt and richeſt prince that ever was heard of; and in all other reſpects the happieſt, bating only the ſin of his ungovernable paſſion for women, and of thoſe dotages he was led into by their arts.

Solomon being dead, and *Rehoboam* his ſon (by *Naama* an *Ammonitiſh* woman) ſucceeding to the throne, ſome of the great ones ſent into *Egypt*, to inform *Jeroboam*, and to recal him. He came preſently to *Sichem*, and *Rehoboam* came thither alſo, propoſing to himſelf the calling of an aſſembly, and ſo to enter upon government by the common declaration and conſent of the people. Upon this occaſion, divers of the princes, and leading men, together with *Jeroboam* himſelf, went to *Rehoboam*, and told him how his father had borne a little too hard upon his ſubjects, and that they were in hope they ſhould find him eaſier; for it was his own intereſt and ſecurity ſo to be, and rather to make himſelf beloved than feared. They recommended this humbly to his thought, and he took three days time to conſider of it. The delay of his anſwer gave them ſome jealouſy what would be the reſult. But they were not however quite out of hope yet.

Rehoboam adviſes with his father's friends and counſellors, what anſwer to return them; who adviſed him by all means to treat them with courteſy and deſcenſion, there being no ſuch charm upon the hearts of the people, as graciouſneſs and humility in the prince. But he rejected the counſel, called a cabal to him of his own humour and years, told them what had paſſed, and demanded their opinion upon the whole affair. They took the point into debate, and came all to this agreement upon the queſtion. *Rehoboam* was to tell them, "That ſince they complained of his predeceſſor, they ſhould find his little finger heavier than his father's loins: And that if his father chaſtiſed them with whips, he himſelf was reſolved to chaſtiſe them with ſcorpions."[*] The king was ſo much delighted with the miſtaken majeſty and dignity of this huffing anſwer, that upon the third day the king gave the people for anſwer, the very ſyllables the young men had put in his mouth, the providence of God having ſo ordered it, that the prophecy of the prophet *Ahijah* might be fulfilled. Theſe words were ſo many blows to them: inſomuch that they all cried out in a rage, as with one voice, "What have we to do "with the houſe of *David?* Let him take to "himſelf the temple that his father built." The ſedition was ſo outrageous that *Adoram*, one of the king's officers in the treaſury, being ſent to pacify them, the people ſtoned him to death, without ſo much as hearing him. *Rehoboam* looked upon this violence to be levelled at himſelf rather than againſt his officer: So that he preſently mounted his chariot in a fright, and in a hurry poſted away to *Jeruſalem*. The tribe of *Judea* and *Benjamin*, all as one man ſtuck to him, and proclaimed him for their king; but all the reſt of the people went over to *Jeroboam*, and from that day forward would have nothing to do with the houſe of *David*. *Rehoboam* had ſo great an indignation at the thought of this revolt, that he ſummoned a full convention of the two tribes that ſtood firm to their allegiance, and drew out one hundred and eighty thouſand ſoldiers upon the muſter, propoſing to ſubdue all the other ten tribes to their duty by force. While he was preparing for this enterprize, he was admoniſhed by a prophet from God not to engage himſelf in a civil war, eſpecially where the deſertion was in ſome meaſure the work of a divine direction.

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[*] That by ſcorpion is not here meant that ſmall animal ſo called, which was never uſed in corrections; but either a ſhrub, with ſharp prickles, like the ſtings of ſcorpions, ſuch as is our furz buſh; or elſe ſome terrible ſort of whip of the like kind. See *Hudſon*'s and *Spanheim*'s notes here; and Mr. *Barker*'s parallel obſervation.

Jeroboam built himſelf a palace at *Sichem*, which he made his place of reſidence; and for variety ſake, he built another at *Penuel*. This was a little before the feaſt of the tabernacles, which was the thing that put theſe thoughts into his head. "If," ſays he, "I ſhall now ſuffer the people to go up "to *Jeruſalem*, and leave them all at liberty for the celebration of that feſtival, "they'll be ſo taken with the ſhews and ceremonies of the place, and of the religion, that they'll be in danger of changing "their minds perhaps, and of going back to "their old way; which may lead to the extreme hazard even of my life as well as "of my government." For prevention ſake, he bethought himſelf of this expedient. He cauſed to be made two golden calves, and two temples to be built, the one at *Bethel*, and the other at *Dan*, which is a town ſituate at the head of the leſſer *Jordan*. Theſe images were conſecrated in both places.

The feſtival of the ſeventh month was now drawing on, and *Jeroboam* took up a reſolution to worſhip the ſame way at *Bethel* that the two tribes did at *Jeruſalem*. There was an altar erected before the golden calf: He himſelf perſonated the high-prieſt, and went up with his own prieſts after the manner of the temple worſhip. But as he was preparing to put fire to the offering in the ſight of all the people, there came a prophet from *Jeruſalem*, whoſe name was *Jadon*. He was ſent by God, and being advanced into the middle of the crowd, he addreſſed himſelf in the king's hearing to the altar, in words to this purpoſe. "Altar, altar, thus ſaith the Lord, there ſhall "ariſe one out of the houſe of *Judah*, "whoſe name ſhall be *Joſiah*, who upon "thee ſhall put to death the falſe prophets, "ſeducers, and impoſtors of thoſe times, "and upon thee ſhall burn their bones: "and that no creature may doubt the truth "of this prediction, the altar ſhall fall to "pieces, and the fat of the ſacrifices upon it ſhall be ſpilled upon the ground." The king was ſo inflamed upon theſe words of the prophet, that he lifted up his hand againſt him, and commanded aloud that ſome body ſhould lay hold of him; but his arm was immediately ſo benumbed and blaſted, that it was like a dead limb, and he could not draw it back again. The altar fell to pieces, and the fat of the ſacrifices was thrown upon the ground, as the prophet had foretold. The king, finding by what ſpirit the man ſpake, beſought him to pray to God for the reſtoring of his withered arm: Which being done, and the miracle wrought, *Jeroboam* thankfully acknowledged the benefit of the cure, and earneſtly preſſed the prophet to ſtay dinner with him, who excuſed himſelf upon an injunction that God had laid upon him, not ſo much as to taſte either bread or wine in that city, nor to return the ſame way that he came. This reſerve and ſobriety of the prophet, made the king give more heed to what he ſaid than otherwiſe he ſhould have done; ſo that he grew very uneaſy upon it in his forebodings concerning himſelf.

There was in that town a certain falſe prophet, that was much in *Jeroboam*'s good graces. This man was old and crazy, and as he lay at this inſtant doſing upon his bed, his ſons brought him news of a famous prophet that was come from *Jeruſalem*, and what wonders he had done: With the ſtory of *Jeroboam*'s withered arm, and the recovery of it at the prophet's interceſſion to God for him, and how he was gone back again, and which way he went. The fame of this ſtranger put ſuch a jealouſy in the ſick man's head, for fear of being ſupplanted in his maſter's favour, that he preſently ordered his ſons to fetch him his aſs, which was immediately done, and the man mounted, and away to ſeek after the ſtrange prophet. He followed him, till he came up to him, as he was reſting himſelf under the ſhadow of a large well-ſpread oak. After the firſt ſalute, the falſe prophet fell to expoſtulating with the other, why he would not be ſo kind as to call at his houſe, and take a collation with him. The ſtranger told him God had poſitively forbidden him either to eat or drink in that city. Nay, ſays the other, I am a prophet as well as you: And it is by God's expreſs command, that I am come hither now to invite you to dinner with me. *Jadon* accepted of his invitation, and ſo went along with him.

While they were yet at dinner, God appeared to *Jadon*, and told him, that for his diſobedience he ſhould be torn to pieces upon the way by a lion, and that his body ſhould not be laid in the ſepulchre of his forefathers. It fell out accordingly, and perhaps God ordered it ſo for the hardening of *Jeroboam*'s heart, into a diſbelief of *Jadon*, upon ſo remarkable a miſcarriage; for in his way back to *Jeruſalem*, a lion tore him off from his aſs and killed him, the aſs untouched and ſtanding ſtill, the lion couching by the carcaſs, like a guard to both. The relation of this diſaſter, being brought to the falſe prophet, he appointed his ſons to fetch the body into the city, which being done, he gave it a magnificent burial, charging his ſons, whenever he died, to ſee his own body laid in the ſame monument; for, ſaid he, whatever this good man has ſpoken concerning the city, the altar, the prieſts, and the falſe prophets, it is all true. Now when I am dead, ſays he, and my bones depoſited with his, I am ſafe, for who ſhall know his bones from mine?

So ſoon as *Jadon*'s funeral rites were well over, away goes the wicked wretch to *Jeroboam*; who finding him exceedingly diſturbed, aſked him what he meant to trouble his head at that rate, for the words of a madman? But, ſays the other, what do you think of the prodigy of the altar, and the miraculous loſs and recovery of my arm? The man, ſays he, is certainly a man of God, and a true prophet, he could never do all this elſe. The other ſhuffles off every thing with plauſible gloſſes, and diſtinctions, doing all he could, in ſhort, to diſguiſe the truth. As to the buſineſs of your hand, ſays he, you had overwrought yourſelf with lugging ſacrifices to the altar. The very wearineſs made it numb at firſt perhaps, but after a little reſt, you ſee, it came to itſelf again. And ſo for the altar, it was new built, and not being thoroughly ſettled, it ſunk under the weight of an inſupportable burden of ſacrifices that were laid upon it. And what was your holy man's end at laſt? Why he was killed by a lion: and here's not the leaſt ſign or token of a prophet all this while, that I can find, either in word, life, or death. The king was ſo poiſoned with the vanity and mockery of theſe looſe inſinuations, that from thence-forward he abandoned himſelf wholly to the love, ſtudy and practice of all manner of wickedneſs: But I ſhall paſs now to *Rehoboam*.

Rehoboam, being king all this while

of the two tribes, built and fortified *Bethlemen*, *Etan*, *Tekoa*, *Beth-zar*, *Shoco*. *Adullam*, *Ipa*, *Mareſha*, *Ziph*, *Adoraim*, *Lachiſh*, *Azekah* *Zorah*, *Ajalon*, and *Hebron*, all in the tribe of *Judah*, beſide other towns, in the lot of *Benjamin*, which he provided with good garriſons and governors, and with corn, wine, oil, and other neceſſaries in abundance, for their maintenance and defence ; beſide ſhields and lances many thouſands.

While *Rehoboam* continued at *Jeruſalem*, there came up from all parts, great numbers of prieſts and *Levites*, and ſo many of the laity too as made any conſcience of their ways, to worſhip there ; quitting their countries to attend the duties of their religion. They were all ſick of *Jeroboam*'s tyranny. The diſcontent was ſo great that in three years time the power and intereſt of *Rehoboam* was mightily encreaſed. This king's firſt wife was his kinſwoman, by whom he had three children, and he afterwards married *Maacah*, the daughter of *Thamar*, who was the daughter of *Abſalom*, by whom he had *Abiah*, and ſhe was a-kin to him too. He had ſeveral wives beſide, and children by them, but none ſo dear to him as *Maacah*. He had eighteen wives legitimate, and thirty concubines, by whom he had eight and twenty ſons, and ſixty daughters: But *Abiah* the ſon of *Maacah*, was the perſon he deſigned for his ſucceſſor, commiting his treaſure and ſtrong holds all to his truſt. But the greater he grew in the world, the more liberty he took to be wicked ; and made his people as wicked too, out of a kind of reverence to his example.

CHAP VI.

Shiſhak *King of* Egypt *lays Siege to* Jeruſalem. Rehoboam *gives it up ; and the Temple is pillaged. He dies.*

GOD avenged himſelf upon *Rehoboam* by the hand of *Shiſhak* the king of *Egypt*, not by *Seſoſtris*, as *Herodotus* miſtakes the matter. This *Shiſhak*, in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*'s reign, marched againſt him with a vaſt army. They reckoned twelve hundred chariots, ſixty thouſand horſe, and four hundred thouſand foot ; the ſoldiers being moſt of them *Africans* and *Ethiopians*. With this army, *Shiſhak* broke in upon the *Hebrews*, and took into his protection ſeveral of their ſtrong towns, that ſurrendered without any conteſt. In all which places he left garriſons, and marched afterwards directly up to *Jeruſalem*, where *Rehoboam* and his people were blocked up in the town. The king in this ſtreight betook himſelf to prayers and ſupplications, for victory over his enemies ; but *Sameas* the prophet told him, for his greater terror, that God threatened to forſake all thoſe that forſake him firſt ; which frighted them all into an acknowledgement of their wickedneſs, and of God's juſt judgment upon them for their apoſtacy and diſobedience. Being now brought to the utmoſt extremity of deſpair, the prophet told the king once again, that God was pleaſed ſo far to accept of their humiliation and repentance, that they ſhould not be utterly cut off, but only delivered up in ſubjection to the *Egyptians*, that they may learn upon experience whether it be better to ſerve God or man.

In this panic *Rehoboam* delivered up *Jeruſalem*

ruſalem to *Shiſhak,* upon certain conditions; but without any regard to faith or honour, he broke his articles, pillaged the temple, took away all the plate and treaſure, as well God's, as the king's; gold and ſilver to an ineſtimable value, without leaving ſo much as one grain behind him. He carried away the golden ſhields and bucklers of *Solomon's*, with the golden quivers that *David* took from the king of *Sophena,* and dedicated to the adorning of the temple. After which *Shiſhak* went back again with a prodigious booty.

Herodotus of *Halycarnaſſus* takes notice of this expedition, only miſtaking the name, where he ſpeaks of the king of *Egypt*'s march through ſeveral countries, and of ſubduing *Paleſtine Syria,* without ſtriking a ſtroke. Now this can only be underſtood of our country by the *Egyptians*; for he tells of ſeveral pillars erected, and left there, with the images of men cut upon them, with the privy-parts of women, as an emblamatical way of ſtigmatizing the men for giving up their country without a blow. Now this *Rehoboam* was undoubtedly our king that gave up all for the aſking. He ſays likewiſe, that the *Ethiopians* took up the cuſtom of circumciſing from the *Egyptians.* It is agreed however, on all hands, that the *Philiſtines,* and the *Paleſtine-Syrians,* had it from thence: And it is as clear, that there are no other people in *Paleſtine-Syria* circumciſed.

After the departure of *Shiſhak* into *Egypt, Rehoboam* repaired the loſs of the golden ſhields and bucklers, with the ſame number of braſs, and committed the care of them to his proper officers and guards: living himſelf in a private, quiet way; his fear being a continual check upon him, on account of an everlaſting feud btwixt *Jeroboam* and him. He lived ſeven and fifty years; ſeventeen of them in a ſtation of ſovereign power. He was a man weak and arrogant, and loſt his government and his reputation, by refuſing wiſe counſel when it was given him. He was buried at *Jeruſalem,* among the kings. His ſon *Abias* ſucceeded him, in the eighteenth year of *Jeroboam*'s reign over the ten tribes.

CHAP. VII.

The Death of Jeroboam; *and the Deſtruction of his Family.*

IT remains in the next place to ſee what became of *Jeroboam.* He was wicked out of all bounds. He was every day ſetting up, and multiplying altars in the high places; and raiſing prieſts to officiate, out of the dregs of the people; which indignities God, in his righteous judgment, avenged upon him and his family.

It happened at that time, that *Obimes,* his ſon, fell ſick, and he bid his wife put herſelf into the diſguiſe of a private perſon, and go to *Achias* the prophet, the perſon who told him formerly that he himſelf ſhould come to be king. "Go you," ſays he, "to " this prophet, and aſk him if the boy ſhall " recover or no." She dreſſed herſelf according to her huſband's order, and ſo went to *Shilo,* where *Achias* at that time lived. As ſhe was upon the way toward the houſe, a voice from Heaven ſpoke to the prophet, (who was now dim-ſighted with age) and told him that the wife of *Jeroboam* was then coming to him; told him likewiſe her buſineſs, what queſtions ſhe would aſk him, and what he ſhould anſwer. Upon her coming to the door, the prophet called her to him by the name of *Jeroboam*'s wife. Come in, ſays he, and never diſguiſe yourſelf, for he that told me who you are, and put the words in my mouth that I am to ſay to you, is not to be impoſed upon. Go therefore to your huſband, and tell him that "Thus ſaith the Lord God; as it was " I that raiſed thee out of a low condition " to the dignity of a throne; and cutting " off the family of *David* from the kingdom, " gave it to thee: So in return for all thoſe " bounties and benefits, thou haſt moſt ungratefully caſt off him that exalted thee, " and ſet up Gods of thine own fancy, and " of the founders making, in preference to " the Creator of Heaven and earth. Wherefore, I will now forthwith raſe thee and " thy family out of the roll of mankind; " give your carcaſſes to the dogs, and to " the fowls of the air, and ſet up another " king over my people, that ſhall not leave " one living man of the houſe of *Jeroboam* " upon the face of the earth: and the very " multitude ſhall be exterminated out of the " good land they were poſſeſſed of, and " driven away and diſperſed beyond *Euphrates*, for being wicked after the king's " example, in adoring his Gods, to the " contempt of me and my commandments. " Woman, begone to your huſband now, " and make haſte, and tell him as I have " told you: And for what concerns your " child, you ſhall find it dead when you " come back; for the very moment you " enter the city he ſhall breathe his laſt. " He ſhall be lamented, and buried with " the ſolemnity of a public mourning, as " the only creature of *Jeroboam*'s family " that had any thing of good in it."

The woman haſtened away in a fright; and being come to her journey's end, ſhe found the child dead, as the prophet foretold her, and ſo gave her huſband a full account of the diſmal ſtory ſhe had in charge from the prophet.

Jeroboam, in defiance of all theſe judgments, continued to make great levies, and marched out with an army againſt *Abias*, the ſon of *Rehoboam*, who was then king of the two tribes in the right of his father; making little doubt of his ſucceſs againſt a prince of ſo little experience, either in government or arms: But *Abias* preſently drew together an army out of the two tribes, and advanced with it toward *Jeroboam*, in a certain place they called the *Mount Samaron*; and there encamping himſelf, he made ready for battle. He had in his army four hundred thouſand men, and *Jeroboam* double the number. As the two armies were both drawn up, and ready to engage, *Abias* advanced to a riſing ground, and from thence held up his hand to beſpeak a ſilence.

"Good people," ſays he, "you cannot " be ignorant of God's promiſes, that this " kingdom ſhould be continued to *David*, " and his poſterity, for many ages. Now " this being the very caſe, I cannot but " wonder to ſee my father deſerted, and " *Jeroboam*, his ſubject, taken into his " place; and you yourſelves in arms againſt " the divine right of a government ſettled " by God himſelf: And not content with " that, unleſs you can force the rightful " heir out of the ſmall remainder that he " left him, when *Jeroboam* hath already " by violence and uſurpation engroſſed the " greater part of the kingdom to himſelf. " But he is not long to enjoy the fruit of " his wickedneſs; for God will call him to " a ſevere account for his iniquities, and " put an end to his courſe of rapine and oppreſſion: And what was the reaſon of this " defection? My father never did you any " injury; only by the advice of evil counſel, *Jeroboam* himſelf being at the very " bottom of it, he let fall an unlucky word " or two, and upon this you all went off in " a huff. You ſhould have weighed matters with allowances for human frailty, " and it would have been but reaſon to have " borne a little with the ſon, for the father's " ſake. But what is it you have to truſt to " at laſt? If your golden calves, your altars, " and your high places, 'tis not your religion that you depend upon, but your

“ wickedneſs: Beſides that you have the “ the laws of God and man to contend “ withal. Wherefore if you muſt needs be “ contending, let it be for the defence of, “ and not in oppoſition to thoſe laws that “ have made you ſo great and happy.”

While *Abias* was haranguing his people, a detachment of *Jeroboam*'s army had ſlipt away by ſtealth, and gotten upon the king's rear ſo unexpectedly, that his men were not a little ſtartled at the ſurpriſe, till he himſelf heartened them up, and bid them caſt themſelves upon God, for the cauſe, he told them, was his, who was not to be over-reached by ſtratagem or trick. Theſe words of the king's brought them to themſelves again, and they went preſently to their prayers; till at laſt the prieſt ſounding a charge, they fell on, with a mighty clamour, and ſo victoriouſly upon the enemy, that with the help of God they put them to a total rout. There were five hundred thouſand men ſlain upon the place; a victory never to be forgotten: Their ſtrongeſt towns taken and rifled; *Bethel* and *Ithen*, with their dependencies. After this blow, *Jeroboam* was ſo broken, that he was never able to make any farther attempt ſo long as *Abias* was living, who died not long after, in the third year of his reign, and was buried at *Jeruſalem*, in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors. He left two and twenty ſons behind him, and ſixteen daughters; which he had all by fourteen women. *Aſa* his ſon ſucceeded him, whoſe mother's name was *Maacha*; and under his government, the *Iſraelites* enjoyed a ten years peace.

After him died *Jeroboam*, the king of the ten tribes, in the ſecond year of the reign of *Aſa*, and the two and twentieth year of his own. His ſon *Nadab* ſucceeded him, and lived in a kind of competition for impiety, with the character of his father, and reigned only two years: In which time he led out an army againſt *Gabathon*, a city of the *Philiſtines*, upon an opinion that he might take it by ſiege, but was cut off by the treachery of a familiar friend, whoſe name was *Baaſha*, the ſon of *Machel*; who ſeized upon the government, and deſtroyed the whole family; which made good the words of the prophets, “ that the dogs “ ſhould eat him of *Jeroboam*'s ſtock that “ died in the city, and that the fowls of the “ air ſhould eat him that died in the field.” This was the end of *Jeroboam*, and his family, and the judgment was juſt upon them for their impious Apoſtacy.

CHAP. VIII.

Aſa *overthrows* Zaræus *the King of* Ethiopia. Baaſha *the King of* Iſrael, *is Murdered by* Creon: *and* Elah, *his Son, Aſſaſſinated by* Zimri.

ASA, king of *Jeruſalem*, was ſo conſcientiouſly ſtrict, both in his religion and morals, that he led a life in a moſt ſcrupulous conformity to the laws of God and nature. He rectified all that he found amiſs in his government, purged his dominions from all extravagant luſts, and foreign abominations. He had a ſelect body of men armed with lances and ſhields, to the number of three hundred thouſand, of the tribe of *Judah;* and of the tribe of *Benjamin* he had two hundred and fifty thouſand, with bows and bucklers.

In the tenth year of his reign, *Zaræus*, a king of *Ethiopia*, marched againſt him with an army of nine hundred thouſand foot, one hundred thouſand horſe, and three hundred chariots. When he was advanced as far as *Mareſa*, a city in the dependency of *Judah*, *Aſa* went out to meet him, and ranged his army not far from the city, in a certain valley called *Saphatha.* Upon the ſight of ſo prodigious a multitude of men, *Aſa* called out to God for his aſſiſtance, and beſought him “ that he would vouchſafe to proſper his “ arms, and give him victory over ſo for- “ midable an enemy: For it was wholly in “ dependence upon his divine goodneſs that “ he had now undertaken this enterpriſe; “ and that he wholly reſigned himſelf to his “ bleſſed pleaſure.” Upon this prayer, God was pleaſed to encourage him with a token and aſſurance of victory.

Aſa charged the enemy with ſo great ſucceſs, that with a mighty ſlaughter, and a total rout, he purſued them to the plain of *Gerar*, took and rifled *Gerar* itſelf, and likewiſe the enemy's camp, with a vaſt booty in gold, camels, flocks and herds, and then returned to *Jeruſalem.*

As they were upon the way, not far from the place, the prophet *Azariah* called to them to make a ſtand, and then ſaid unto them as follows. “ God hath been pleaſed “ to bleſs you with this glorious victory, in “ conſideration of your juſtice, your piety, “ and your obedience to his will; and if “ you go on as you have begun, you may “ expect the ſame providential advantages “ and ſucceſſes in all your affairs for the “ time to come. But if ever you faulter in “ your religion, you will find in all reſpects “ the clear contrary; and that the time “ will come, wherein there ſhall not be a “ true prophet among you, nor a prieſt an- “ ſwerable to the dignity of his function. “ Your cities ſhall be laid level with the “ ground; your nation ſcattered over the “ earth. Wherefore apply yourſelves to “ the ſtudy and practice of virtue: And “ join with thankſgiving in the acknowledg- “ ment of the bleſſings of God's ſavour.” Both the king and the people thereupon made it their expreſs buſineſs to keep their religion ſacred and inviolate, to which end the king had his commiſſioners every where, to attend that care and duty.

I ſhall now return to *Baaſha*, the king of the *Iſraelites:* This prince reigned four years, and his palace was in *Tarſhiſh:* A man that for all ſorts of lewdneſs and impiety, went beyond either *Jeroboam* or his ſon; a tyrannical oppreſſor of his people, and of a ſtubborn and contumacious ſpirit towards God: Inſomuch that the word of the Lord came to *Gimon* the prophet, commanding him to tell *Baaſha*, “ that God “ had fully determined to root out him and “ his family from off the earth, as he had “ done *Jeroboam* before him, for his ingra- “ titude to that power and goodneſs that “ raiſed him to the throne, and for his ty- “ ranny and impiety in the exerciſe of his “ government, that ſince he thought fit to “ make *Jeroboam* his example for all man- “ ner of iniquity, it was but reaſonable to “ have him as exemplary in his miſery and “ puniſhment.”

Baaſha, after all theſe frightful denouncings, went on ſtill, heaping ſins upon ſins, and every day encreaſing in wickedneſs, without any care or thought how to avert the judgment, and reconcile himſelf to God. In the concluſion, he marched with an army to *Ramath*, a place of ſome note, about forty furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, and having taken it, he fortified it, with an intent to make it the ſeat of the war, as a commodious ſtation for the advantage of making inroads into the dominions of *Aſa*. *Aſa* was not without ſome apprehenſion of his deſign; and ſent ambaſſadors preſently to the king of *Damaſcus*, with money and preſents, inviting him over to his alliance, as in reſpect of a former friendſhip that had been betwixt thoſe two families. The king received the money and preſents, broke off with *Baaſha*, and entered into a league with *Aſa*, ſending an army ſome little time after into the territory of *Baaſha*, fell upon his towns and ſtrong holds, burning ſome, and rifling others, as *Achion*, *Dan*, and *Abelmaen*. Upon the news of this incurſion, the king of the *Iſraelites* quitted *Ramath*, and went back to look to his poſſeſſions nearer home. In the mean time *Aſa* erected two ſtrong towns there, out of the materials that *Baaſha* left behind him; called the one *Gaba*, and the other *Maſpha*. This was the laſt of *Baaſha*'s military adventures, being cut off by *Creon*, and buried in the city of *Arſanes*; his ſon *Elah* ſucceeding: Who was afterwards treacherouſly ſlain by *Zimri*, the maſter of one diviſion of his horſe, in the ſecond year of his reign, as he was drinking with *Oſa*, the ſteward of his houſe, a troop of horſe breaking in upon him, in the abſence of his guards and officers, who were then abroad at the ſiege of *Gabathon*, a city of the *Philiſtines*.

CHAP. IX.

Zimri *murders* Elah, *the King of* Iſraelite's; *with the Fate of ſeveral of his Succeſſors.*

ZIMRI, after this exploit, advanced himſelf from maſter of the horſe, to the throne, and according to the prediction of *Gimon*, totally extirpated the whole race of *Baaſha*. The news of the king's death coming to *Gabathon* when the army was before the town, and that *Zimri*, the aſſaſſin, had taken the government to himſelf, the army preſently choſe *Omri*, the captain of the guards for their king; who raiſes the ſiege, and immediately goes to *Tirzah*, and takes it by ſtorm. *Zimri* finding the city without a guard, withdraws himſelf into a private apartment in the palace, ſets fire to it, and burns himſelf and the houſe together. This was in the ſeventh day of his reign. All things were now in confuſion, and the people immediately divided into two factions; the one was for *Thaman*, and the other for *Omri*: But the latter carried it; for *Thaman* was ſlain, and *Omri* had the whole government to himſelf.

This was in the thirtieth year of the reign of *Aſa*; and *Omri* governed twelve years, ſix at *Tirzah*, and the reſt *Mareon*, which the *Greek* called *Samaria*. He gave it the the name of *Samareon*, from *Samar*, the name that ſold the mountain whereupon it it was built. He differed little from the former kings, but in the degree of being ſtill worſe. Wherefore God in his wrath made uſe of them ſucceſſively for the deſtruction one of another, till in the end, the whole race was extinct. This prince died at *Samaria*, and *Ahab* his ſon reigned in his ſtead. For the kings of the *Iſraelites* were in a ſhort time cut off, with their whole families, by the hands of one another: Only *Aſa* the king of *Jeruſalem*, and of the two tribes, lived happily, and in the favour of God, to a great age, in conſideration of his piety and juſtice; and after a reign of one and forty years departed this life with comfort. His ſon *Jehoſhaphat* that he had by *Abida*, ſucceeded as well to his virtues, as to his government.

Ahab took up his abode at *Samaria*, where he ruled two and twenty years, without any innovation in the government, even where he made things worſe than he found them. He was a faithful imitator of the worſt of his predeceſſors, particularly of *Jeroboam*; not only in the worſhipping of the golden calves, but in the committing of other heinous offences. He took to wife *Jezebel*, the daughter of *Eth-baal*, then king of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, who drew him over to the idolatry of worſhipping her country gods. She was a woman of ſo impetuous and ungovernable a ſpirit, that ſhe had the confidence to erect a temple to *Baal*, the god of the *Tyrians*, to plant groves for ſuperſtition, of all ſorts of trees, and to appoint her prieſts and falſe prophets expreſsly for that idolatrous ſervice. There came to *Ahab*, about that time, a certain prophet. He was a *Tiſhbite*, and born in the city of *Gilead*. His meſſage was to tell the king, that from the time of his going away, there ſhould not be one drop of rain, or ſo much as the leaſt ſign of a dew in that province, till he came back again; confirming his prediction with a ſtrong aſſeveration that ſo it ſhould be. When he had delivered his errand, he went away to the ſouthward, till he came to a torrent, where he might ſupply himſelf with water, and there he ſtopped for the preſent; the ravens, time after time, bringing him meat. The drought continuing and encreaſing, the channel was dried up; whereupon God warned the prophet to remove to *Sareptha*, a town betwixt *Tyre* and *Sidon*; a voice from heaven foretelling him that he ſhould find a widow woman there, who ſhould feed and provide for him. He followed his order, and being come almoſt to the end of his journey, ſpied a poor woman gathering of ſticks, and called to her to give him a little water to drink; and as ſhe was going to fetch it, he ſpoke to her again to bring him a little bread too. The woman ſolemnly proteſted to him, that ſhe had nothing in the houſe but one handful of meal, and a little oil, and that ſhe was now getting a few ſticks for a fire, to bake a cake of it, for herſelf and her ſon, and when that was eaten, they muſt even ſtarve. "Well," ſays the prophet, "good woman, go thy ways, and bring me a piece of it, when it is ready; for I do aſſure thee, that when we have all eaten our fill, thy barrel ſhall never be without meal, nor thy cruize without oil, till God ſhall ſend rain upon the earth." The woman did as the prophet bade her, and found his words to be true; for they had all three their bellies full, and the proviſion was ſtill recruited again, as it waſted, till this miſerable drought was over. *Menander* ſpeaks of it in the hiſtory of *Eth-baal*, a king of the *Tyrians*. "In his time," ſays he, "there was an extreme drought for want of rain, that laſted from the month of *Hyberberetæus*, till the ſame month again next year. There were prayers indeed put up for the averting of the judgment which were followed with mighty claps of thunder. This prince built *Botrys* in *Phœnicia*, and *Auzates* in *Africa*." This was undoubtedly the drought under *Ahab*; for it was in his reign that *Eth-baal* was king of *Tyre*, as *Menander* has it in his commentaries.

About this time the woman's ſon fell deſperately ſick; and the mother, in a paſſionate extravagance for the loſs of her boy, laid the blame upon the prophet. "This man," ſays ſhe, "that I have entertained, hath diſcovered my ſins, and now brought this judgment upon me." The child being abſolutely given over for dead, the prophet bade the woman comfort herſelf, and deliver up her ſon into his arms. He took him up, and carried him into his chamber, laid him upon his bed, and offered up a prayer to God for him. "Lord," ſays he, "this will look like an ill requital to my preſerver, to have her ſon taken from her while I am in the family: Be pleaſed, in thy infinite goodneſs, to reſtore this innocent creature to life again." The child, upon this prayer, was revived, and the woman, with great thankfulneſs to the prophet, found herſelf now fully convinced, ſhe ſaid, that he was authorized and directed by the ſpirit of God.

The prophet after this was ſent *Ahab*, to tell him that there ſhould ſuddenly be rain. The famine was now ſo pinching all over the country, that not only the people were ready to ſtarve for want of bread, but the very cattle alſo, and other animals, upon the point of periſhing, for want of food and forage. In this diſtreſs the king ſent for *Obadiah*, the overſeer of his ſtables and his grounds, to come to him, and to ſearch every where about the brooks and rivers for graſs for his horſes and herds, charging him by all means to fetch *Elias* the prophet to him, whom they had been looking for, but could not find. When they had gone a while together, the king ſtruck off one way, and *Obadiah* another. This *Obadiah* was a very good man; and at the time when *Jezebel* was in the heat of her bloody perſecutions againſt the prophets, he concealed and protected a hundred of them in caves, and fed them with bread and water. The king and *Obadiah* were no ſooner parted, but the latter met *Elias* upon the way, and did him reverence. The prophet deſired *Obadiah* to go to the king and tell him he was coming. "Why what have I done," ſays *Obadiah*, "to be ſent of ſuch an errand, to a perſon "that is at this time looking after you to "put you to death? And there is no tor"ment you are not to expect whenever he "catches you. But what now, when I go "to the king, if the ſpirit that governs you "as it pleaſes, ſhould carry you another "way; and when you are not to be found, "my head lies at ſtake to anſwer for you? "Pray be not ſo indifferent in a caſe where "my life is in ſo much danger. You may "aſſure yourſelf I do not want affection for "your party, that ran the riſk of preſerving "a hundred of your prophets from the rage "of *Jezebel*, and to this day maintain them "in caves upon my own account." "Well," ſays the prophet, "fear nothing, "but go to the king, upon my ſolemn oath, "and promiſe that I will come to him." So ſoon as *Ahab* underſtood that *Elias* was there, he marching toward him, called out: "Are you," ſays he, "at this day the trou"bler of *Iſrael*? Are you the occaſion of "this drought and famine?" *Elias* told him, with liberty and aſſurance, "that it "was *Ahab* himſelf, and his family, and "their bringing in of foreign and falſe gods, "and the ſuppreſſing of the true religion, "that was the cauſe of all their miſery. "Pray," ſays the prophet, "will you give "order for all the people to meet in a con"gregation upon *Mount Carmel*, and let "your own, and your wife's prophets be "there alſo:" (expreſſing the very number of them.) "Summon likewiſe the "prophets of your groves," (about four hundred, more or leſs.) The king ſummoned them, and they met accordingly; *Elias* ſtanding in the middle of the throng, and calling out to them after this manner. "How long," ſays he, will you ſtand wa"vering betwixt two opinions. If you be"lieve ours to be the true and the only "God, obey him, and keep his command"ments; or if you are rather of opinion "for the worſhipping of ſtrange Gods, take "what you like." The people making no anſwer to what he ſaid, *Elias* went on, and proceeded to this challenge. "If," ſays he, "you have a mind to be certainly aſ"ſured which worſhip is the right, yours "or ours; here do I ſtand a ſingle prophet "on the one ſide, to defend the cauſe a"gainſt the four hundred on the other. I "will take an ox and lay it upon a pile of "wood, without putting any fire to it: Let "them do the ſame thing, and call upon "their Gods to ſet their pile in a flame. By "this means you will be able to diſtinguiſh "the true from the falſe."

The people were well enough pleaſed with the experiment, and *Elias* bad *Ahab*'s prophets take an ox, and call upon their gods by their names. When they had prayed, and called a good while, without any effect, *Elias* turned their ſuperſtition to ridicule, and bad them crie out louder, for their gods might poſſibly be upon a journey, or aſleep perhaps. At this rate they went on with outcries and exclamations, from morning till noon, cutting and lancing their bodies, after the cuſtom of their way of worſhipping; but all to no manner of purpoſe.

When it came to the other's turn to ſacrifice, and theſe phanatical oblations were taken away, *Elias* ſpake to the multitude to draw nearer, and ſpy every where if they could find any fire that was ſecretly conveyed there. Upon their coming up, *Elias* took twelve ſtones to anſwer to the number of the twelve tribes, and erected an altar out of them, cutting a deep ditch about it. The wood was fitted and laid upon the altar, the ſacrifice upon the pile, and four veſſels of fountain-water caſt upon the altar; ſo that it ran off, and filled the trenches. When every thing was ready, *Elias* called upon God, and beſought him to ſhew his power now for the conviction of a miſtaken and unbelieving people. While the words were yet betwen his lips, there fell a fire, as from Heaven, down upon the altar, that in the ſight of the people conſumed the ſacrifice, and dried up all the water about the altar, and in the ditch. The *Iſraelites*, upon this prodigy, fell proſtrate upon the ground, and agreed in the adoration of one Deity, confeſſing him to be the great and only true God: And for the reſt, they looked upon them to be only the vain imaginations of weak men. The four hundred prophets were taken, and put to death by the command of *Elias*, who then bad the king to go to dinner without troubling himſelf any farther.

When the king was gone, *Elias* went up to the top of *Carmel*, where he ſat down upon the ground, and laying his head upon his knees, ordered his ſervant to get up a rock toward the ſea, and look if he could ſee ever a cloud. He went up again and again, but ſtill ſaw nothing: At laſt, after the ſeventh time, he ſaid he ſaw ſomething blackiſh in the air, about the bigneſs of a man's hand. So ſoon as *Elias* heard that, he ſent away immediately to *Ahab*, to make haſte to the city; for he would be taken in a very great ſhower elſe: And by the time he was come to the city of *Jezreel*, the whole air was overcaſt, and there fell immediately a pouring rain. The prophet, by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God, ran before *Ahab*'s chariot, till he came to *Jezreel*.

When it came to the ear of *Jezebel*, what wonders *Elias* had done, and how he had killed all her prophets, ſhe ſent him threatening meſſages, that his life ſhould anſwer for theirs. *Elias*, upon theſe menaces, fled to *Beerſheba*, which is in the fartheſt part of *Judæa*, and bordering upon *Idumæa*: In which place he left his ſervant, and went into the wilderneſs, where he laid himſelf down, calling for death. "Lord," ſays he, "I am not better than thoſe that are gone before me; and I find no temptations left me to the deſire of longer life." He laid himſelf down under a tree, and there fell aſleep, till ſome thing or ſome body wakened him, he knew not how, nor for what, and upon raiſing himſelf he found meat and drink ſet before him, which he fed heartily upon, and in the ſtrength of that refreſhment he went forward to *Mount Sinai*. There was a large convenient cave there, which he entered. While he was there, the queſtion was put to him, how he came to leave the city, and wander thus in the deſart? He heard the voice diſtinctly; but whence it came he knew not. His anſwer was, that upon killing the falſe prophets, and preaching the doctrine to the people of only one God, the queen threatened to have him put to death. He was commanded upon this, by the ſame voice, to quit the cavern.

The day following he came out from his retreat, and immediately upon it there was a great earthquake, and after the earthquake the appearance in the air of a blazing fire, which fire was followed with a little pauſe of ſilence, and after that a voice, bidding him fear nothing, for his enemies ſhould not prevail againſt him; and ſo commanded him back again by the way of *Damaſcus*, and there to anoint *Hazael* king of *Aram*:

And *Jehu* the ſon of *Nimſhi* king over *Iſrael*; and to anoint *Eliſha*, of *Abel*, prophet in his room: For that God was reſolved to root out all the wicked from the land by the ſtroke of divine juſtice; and thoſe that eſcaped the ſword of *Jehu*, to fall by that of *Hazael*. Upon this *Elias* preſently returned according to his order, and found *Eliſha* the ſon of *Shaphai* ploughing, in company of others, with twelve yoke of oxen. He went to him, and caſting his cloak over him, *Eliſha* immediately began to propheſy, quitted his oxen and preſented himſelf to follow him: Only deſiring to take leave of his father and mother before he departed from them. This was granted him, and upon his return from his parents, he became a diſciple and companion to *Elias:* Which ſhall ſuffice at preſent for the ſtate of his affairs.

It happened that one *Naboth* of *Jezreel* had a vineyard near the palace of *Ahab*, the king of *Samaria*, which lay contiguous to the king's grounds. *Ahab* had a mighty mind to take this parcel of land into his own gardens, and ſo was often at *Naboth* to let him have it, either in exchange for ſome equivalent in another place, or otherwiſe for a ſum of money. *Naboth* excuſed himſelf, that it was his inheritance, and that he could not part with it either for money or otherwiſe. *Ahab* fell ſad and ſick upon it. *Jezebel*, upon this change, became very inquiſitive to know the true reaſon of ſo wonderful an alteration: Upon her importunity, he told her the ſtory of *Naboth*. "I gave him," ſays *Ahab*, "the beſt of "words in the world, and treated him, even "below the majeſty of a king, and all I "got by it was to be put off at laſt with a "repulſe." The queen, on the other ſide, bad him never trouble his head farther in the caſe, for ſhe would undertake to bring it about herſelf. Hereupon ſhe wrote letters in *Ahab*'s name to the elders and chief men of *Jezreel*, to this purpoſe: "That they "ſhould proclaim a faſt, call an aſſembly, "and aſſign *Naboth* a place there among "the principal men of the people: That "they ſhould have three witneſſes ready, "that would ſwear any thing, to give evi"dence againſt him, for ſpeaking blaſphe"my againſt God and the king, upon "which teſtimony he ſhould ſtand convict, "and receive ſentence to be ſtoned to "death by the people."

Every thing was done according to the queen's direction, and *Naboth* convict, ſentenced, and ſtoned. *Jezebel* inſtantly went her way to the king, and told him that *Naboth*'s work was now done, and that he might take poſſeſſion of the vineyard when he pleaſed. *Ahab* was ſo overjoyed, that the firſt thing he did was to take a journey to his new purchaſe; but God ſent *Elias* to him in his wrath, to charge him with the murder of the true owner of that vineyard, and the iniquity of his uſurping upon the poſſeſſion.

When *Ahab* ſaw the prophet coming toward him, he went to him of his own accord, with a confeſſion in his mouth, and a tender of any ſatisfaction the prophet ſhould require. This he did to prevent the other's ſeverity to him. *Elias* told him, by the direction, and in the name of God, that "where the dogs licked the blood of "of *Naboth*, they ſhould alſo lick the blood "of *Ahab* and *Jezebel*, and that the whole "race ſhould be rooted out for this flagitious "cruelty, in taking away the life of an in"nocent man by calumny and ſubornation." Theſe words of the prophet brought *Ahab* to the ſenſe of a true and ſincere repentance. He mortified himſelf in ſackcloth and faſting, going bare-foot, and giving all manifeſtations of a hearty ſorrow for his ſins. So that God ſent the prophet once again to him with another meſſage; and to let him know, that in regard of his penitence and humiliation, the judgment denounced ſhould not be executed in his days, but in the days of his ſon. Upon theſe words the prophet went away.

CHAP. X.

Adad *beſieges* Ahab *in* Samaria, *and is beaten off. He is worſted again the next Year, and flies to* Ahab *for Mercy; who treats him kindly, and diſmiſſes him.*

WHILE matters went thus with *Ahab*, *Adad* the king of *Syria* and *Damaſcus* levied a mighty army, and being joined by two and thirty confederate kings beyond the *Euphrates*, he marched with his mighty force againſt *Ahab*, who did not think it reaſonable upon ſo vaſt an odds of number to venture a battle in the plain field, but choſe rather to draw his military men out of the open country into ſtrong holds, and fortified towns, and to keep themſelves upon the defenſive. He himſelf made choice of *Samaria* for his capital, which he reſolved to make good. The place was ſtrong by ſituation, good walls and good works about it, and a good garriſon to maintain it. The *Syrian* brought his army before it, and began in form to make his attacks, ſending a herald to *Ahab* at the ſame time, for licenſe to diſpatch ambaſſadors to him, with inſtructions to propoſe what he ſhould demand. This was granted, and the ambaſſadors ſent, and received; having a commiſſion, as they ſaid, to tell him, that his treaſure, his wives and his children were all at *Adad*'s mercy; and that if he would acknowledge as much, and permit the other to take what he thought fit out of them he would inſtantly quit the ſiege, and withdraw his army. *Ahab* ſent the ambaſſadors back again with this anſwer; that he himſelf, and all that he had was at their maſter's ſervice.

The *Syrian*, after this demand and return, ſent yet another embaſſy, which was, that upon ſending his officers and ſervants to him next morning, they ſhould have free liberty to ſearch his own lodgings, with the houſes and apartments of all his relations, and domeſtics, and to take away with them whatever they ſhould think worth the while; and for the remainder, *Ahab* might keep it to himſelf.

This meſſage was the leſs troubleſome to *Ahab*, becauſe it gave him a fair occaſion of calling a council, and furniſhed him with matter for a very plauſible and ſeaſonable debate. "Look you friends," ſays he, "I have had two propoſals ſent me from *Adad*; the former for an acknowledgment that myſelf, my wives, and children are all at his mercy; and upon the terms of ſuch a confeſſion, he was to raiſe the ſiege. Now all this I yielded to, as I would part with any thing of my own intereſt for the ſake of the public peace, and the common good of my people: But they are now come up to inſiſt upon a general ſearch and rifle, out of a mere captious humour, to pick a quarrel with us: And nothing leſs, they ſay, will do. They began at firſt with my own particular concerns, out of an opinion I would have ſtuck there: But I am now to deliver up my country, and my people alſo, which they know I will never do: and ſo that muſt be the riſe of a war. But I am ready and reſolved at laſt to do only what you ſhould adviſe me to."

The council cried out upon the inſolency of this *Barbarian*, and gave their voices unanimouſly for a downright war: And the ambaſſadors were ſent away with this anſwer, "That the king would yet agree to "their firſt demands, but that for the ſecu-"rity and honour of the citizens, he would "never conſent to the other." *Adad* was ſo nettled at this anſwer, that he ſent a third embaſſy, which was much more peremptory and menacing than the former. "Tell "their king," ſays *Adad*, "that he values "himſelf upon the ſtrength and ſecurity of "his walls; but that I will, before he is a-"ware, caſt up works that ſhall over-top "them; and that it will be but every ſol-"dier a handful of earth to do his buſineſs;" giving to underſtand the incredible number of his people. To which *Ahab* replied, that "men of honour were to diſpute with "their ſwords, not with their tongues." *Adad* happened to be at ſupper with his two and thirty confederate kings, upon the ambaſſador's arrival with this anſwer: And he gave orders in the ſame moment for the ſiege and the works. *Ahab* in the mean while, and his party, were as much down and hopeleſs as men could well be, till a certain prophet came to him and rouſed him, with an aſſurance from God, that he ſhould prevail againſt that prodigious army. *Ahab* was now deſirous to know by what hands this victory ſhould be obtained. "By "the ſons," ſays he, "of the nobility, and "you yourſelf at the head of them." So the king called them together to the number of two hundred and thirty two: In the mean time *Ahab* having information that the *Syrian* was in the height of his cups and luxury, the gates were on a ſudden thrown open, and theſe heroes made a ſally.

The information of this was no ſooner brought to *Adad*, but he forthwith ſent out a party toward them with orders, that whether they came to fight or to treat, they ſhould bring them bound to him. *Ahab* in the mean time had the reſt of his army in readineſs within the walls, to iſſue out upon occaſion. Theſe great officers ſons firſt engaged the guards, killed a great many of them, and purſued the reſt up to their tents. When the king of *Iſrael* found that they ſucceeded thus far ſo well, he iſſued out with the remainder of the army, and made a furious charge upon the *Syrians*, took them at unawares, and routed them without any difficulty, having only men in drink, and without arms, to vanquiſh, who were forced to fly for their lives, *Adad* himſelf getting off only by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe. They had, in ſhort, the chace of them a great way, killing thoſe they overtook; and ſo with a mighty rich booty of gold, ſilver, and equipages that they took in the tents, and the very chariots and horſes of *Adad*, they marched back again to the city.

The prophet however adviſed the king after this, to have an army in readineſs to take the field next ſpring, for *Adad* would give him occaſion for it. *Ahab* accordingly prepares vigorouſly for it on the one hand; and *Adad* calls his friends together on the other, with the remains of his broken army, to adviſe how to manage it. *Adad*'s friends were againſt his fighting any more in the mountains, for the *Iſraelites* God, they ſaid, was the God of the mountains: But if they had fought upon the plains, the *Iſraelites* would have been worſted. They gave counſel alſo for the diſcharging of the confederate princes from any other perſonal ſervice and attendance, only their troops to ſtay, and be ſupplied with good officers at the head of them; in the mean time, that their commanders might be levying recruits of horſe and foot to fill up their ſhattered companies. The king was well enough pleaſed with this advice, and ſo applied himſelf to his preparations.

The ſpring being now at hand he marched his army againſt the *Hebrews*, and pitched his camp in a large plain, according to the advice of his prophets, not far from the city of *Apheca*. *Ahab* in the mean time, with his troops, advanced and drew up juſt over againſt him, though many thouſands ſhort of the number of the *Syrians*. While they were facing one another, the prophet came to the *Hebrews*, with an aſſurance from God, that they ſhould be victorious, and that the enemies ſhould find the God of the mountains

mountains to be the God of the valleys too. The armies continued for ſix days in the ſame ſtation without moving; and upon the ſeventh day they advanced on both ſides in a line, and began the battle. It was ſtrongly conteſted at firſt; but when the *Syrians* found that they were not able to ſtand the ſhock any longer, they turned their backs, and fled precipitately. Betwixt thoſe that were ſlain upon the purſuit, and thoſe that periſhed by miſadventure in the confuſion of their flight, by their own chariots and men, the calamity was very great. Thoſe that got into *Apheca*, the only place they had to fly to, were not many; they reckoned about ſeven and twenty thouſand buried under the ruins of the walls, beſides a hundred thouſand ſlain in the battle.

Adad, with ſome of his truſtieſt officers and ſervants, got into a cave and hid himſelf, where ſome of thoſe about him entered into diſcourſe of the natural humanity and good nature of the *Hebrews*, and adviſed their maſter to caſt himſelf at *Ahab*'s feet for mercy, in confidence that it would not be refuſed him. The king agreed to try the experiment; and thereupon a number of his train were immediately dreſſed up in ſackcloth, and halters about their necks, and ſent to *Ahab* with a commiſſion to tell him that *Adad* was his priſoner, and would ever own himſelf to be; and that they came in his name, only to employ his grace toward him for the ſaving of his life. "Well," ſays *Ahab*, "I am glad he is ſafe; "and you may aſſure him, that he ſhall be "as welcome to me, as if he were my own "brother."

The meſſengers, upon the ſolemnity of a ſacred oath that no violence ſhould be offered to his perſon, went away preſently to their maſter, and brought him to the king of *Iſrael*, who was at that time in his chariot. As ſoon as the priſoner had made his obeiſance, *Ahab* bowed himſelf to receive him, taking him up to him with his right hand, and kiſſing him, giving him his faith and honour alſo for his abſolute ſecurity and freedom. *Adad*, on the other ſide, returning as large acknowledgements, with repeated proteſtations that this generoſity and godneſs ſhould never be forgotten: And in the mean time, he ſaid, he would reſtore again to the *Hebrews* all the cities and lands that had been taken from them; and that *Ahab* ſhould be as free at *Damaſcus*, as ever the other's father had been at *Samaria*. Upon this *Adad* was diſmiſſed.

After this blow given to the *Syrians*, a certain prophet, whoſe name was *Micaiah*,* came to an *Iſraelite*, and bad him ſtrike him over the head; telling him withal, that it was God's will to have it ſo: But the man refuſing to do it, the prophet, with the ſame words in his mouth, went afterwards to another, who immediately gave him a blow that drew blood of him. Upon this he bound up his head, and went to the king with this ſtory, that he was a ſoldier, and a certain officer had delivered him a priſoner to keep, who had made his eſcape, and he himſelf was now forced to fly for't, for fear the officer that committed him to his cuſtody, ſhould put him to extremities now for letting him go. Well, ſays *Ahab*, and he ſhould ſerve you but right neither: Upon which words the prophet unbound his head, to give *Ahab* to underſtand that he that told him this ſtory was *Micaiah*; and that God would call him to a ſevere account, for letting go ſo impious and blaſphemous a wretch as *Adad*; for the time will come, ſays the prophet, when this very *Adad* ſhall be the death of you yourſelf, and the deſtruction of your army. *Ahab* was highly exaſperated at this liberty of the prophet, and ordered him to be impriſoned; but he returned home however with a heavy heart.

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* It is here very remarkable, that in *Joſephus*'s copy this prophet, whoſe ſevere denunciation of a diſobedient perſon's ſlaughter by a lion had lately come to paſs, was no other than *Micaiah*, the ſon of *Imlah*: Who as he now denounced God's judgments on diſobedient *Ahab*, ſeems directly to have been that very prophet, whom the ſame *Ahab*, in 1 *Kings* xxii. 8, 9. complains of, as "one whom he hated; becauſe he did not prophecy good concerning him but evil:" And who, in that chapter, openly repeats his denunciation againſt him: All which came to paſs accordingly. Nor is there reaſon to doubt but this and the former were the very ſame prophet.

CHAP. XI.

Jehoſhaphat *forms an Alliance with* Ahab.

TO return now to *Jehoſhaphat*, king of *Jeruſalem*: This prince had not only enlarged his territory, and put garriſons into all the cities under his juriſdiction, but he had put men and governors into thoſe alſo in the land of *Ephraim*, that his grandfather *Abias* had taken fron *Jeroboam*, the king of the ten tribes. This king never failed of God's bleſſing and protection in any of his undertakings, for he was a juſt and a pious man. The integrity of his life and manners gave him a very high reputation among all the neighbouring kings, as appeared by the frequency and munificence of their preſents.

In the third year of his reign, he called together the elders and the prieſts that were under his juriſdiction, and gave them orders to have commiſſioners ſent from town to town, throughout his dominions, to attend the care of God's worſhip, and to ſee that *Moſes*'s laws might be duly executed and obſerved. This care of his gave ſo great a ſatisfaction to all his ſubjects, that they ſtrove who ſhould be foremoſt in the promoting of ſo excellent a work. And the princes every where about him had ſo great a reverence for him, that they lived in a fair underſtanding one with another, and an inviolate peace. The *Philiſtines* paid their ordinary tribute punctually, and the *Arabians* their annuity of ſix hundred and thirty lambs, and the like number of kids. *Jehoſhaphat* alſo fortified his great and ſtrong towns, and kept in conſtant pay a well diſciplined army. Of the tribe of *Judah* there were three hundred thouſand ſheild-bearers, under the command of *Edra*, two hundred thouſand under *Johanan*, and of the tribe of *Benjamin* two hundred thouſand archers, under the ſame officers. There was another captain alſo, by the name of *Ochobat*, that commanded a hundred and eighty thouſand men armed with bucklers: Beſide the ſoldiers that were diſperſed into towns and garriſons. He married his ſon *Jehoram* to *Gotholia* the daughter of *Ahab*, king of the ten tribes: And when he had an occaſion to go to *Samaria*, he was moſt magnificently received by *Ahab*; and upon *Ahab*'s entreaty, joined with him in a war upon the king of *Syria* for the recovery of *Ramath-Gilead*, which had been taken, and was detained from him by that prince. *Jehoſhaphat* promiſed him his aſſiſtance, and ſent for his troops from *Jeruſalem* to *Samaria*, where both kings went out of the town, and each of them ſiting upon his throne, apart, took a review of their forces, and paid the army. *Jehoſhaphat* upon this occaſion,

caſion, was of opinion, if any of the prophets were within call, to adviſe with them, in this expedition againſt the *Syrian*, whether or no it might be a war at that time to be undertaken; for there had been a three years peace now betwixt thoſe two kings, ſince the *Syrian* was taken.

CHAP. XII.

Jehoſhaphat *and* Ahab *advance againſt* Adad, *the King of* Syria, *by one of whoſe Domeſtics* Ahab *is Slain.*

AHAB called his prophets together to the number of four hundred, and ordered them to enquire, whether or no they ſhould be victorious in this war againſt *Adad*, and carry the city. The prophets were altogether for the war, for the *Syrian*, they ſaid, ſhould be overcome, and made a priſoner, as before. *Jehoſhaphat* ſuſpected a double meaning in the words, and that they were falſe prophets: So he aſking *Ahab* what other prophets there were, that he might have recourſe to; who made anſwer, that there was one indeed, (one *Micaiah*, the ſon of *Imli*) but he hated the man, for he could never get a good word of him: Inſomuch that he would have perſuaded him into a fancy that he was to loſe his life in this action againſt the king of *Syria*; ſo that he had now laid him in jail for his pains.

Jehoſhaphat would needs have him ſent for; and an eunuch was diſpatched preſently to fetch him. This meſſenger was telling *Micaiah*, as they were upon the way together, what the reſt of the prophets ſaid, and how they were all agreed upon't, that *Ahab* ſhould be victorious. Well, ſays the other, I muſt not prevaricate with him that made me; but by the grace of God, what meſſage ſoever he ſhall think fit to put in my mouth, ſhall be moſt faithfully reported to the king. Upon the prophet's arrival, *Ahab* adjured him to ſpeak the very truth of the matter, as he found it, without making either more or leſs. Why then ſays *Micaiah*, "I ſaw all *Iſrael* ſcattered and flying, "as ſheep that had no ſhepherd; by which "repreſentation God hath given to under-"ſtand, that all the reſt of the people "ſhould return ſafe, and *Ahab* only fall in "the battle."

The king upon theſe words, turning to *Jehoſhaphat*: "Well!" ſays he, "and do "not you find it to be true now as I told "you, that this man is my enemy?" "No," ſays *Micaiah*, "the words that I "deliver are according to the expreſs di-"rection and command of God; but you "ſuffer yourſelf to be flattered by your "falſe prophets into a war, upon the hope "of victory, when you yourſelf are to fall "in it."

This firmneſs and reſolution of the prophet made the king very uneaſy. One of the falſe prophets, whoſe name was *Zedekijah*, ſtepped out, and adviſed the king not to give any heed to what the prating fellow ſaid, for there was not one word of truth in it; and there needed no other proof of his being an impoſtor, than the prediction of *Elias*, who undoubtedly ſaw further into things to come than he did, for he had foretold, that in the place where dogs licked the blood of *Naboth*, who was ſtoned to death by his procurement, in the field of *Naboth*, dogs ſhould lick the king's blood alſo. "Now this is a moſt palpable falſity "in contradiction to the foretelling of a "prophet of much greater authority than "himſelf; for he will have it, that within "the compaſs of three days, the king is to "fall in the battle; but it ſhall be quickly "ſeen," ſays the prophet, "by what ſpirit this man ſpeaks. I will now give him "a box on the ear, and let my hand wither upon doing of it, as *Jeroboam*'s did "upon his lifting up his hand againſt *Jadon*, when he would have had the prophet taken into cuſtody; if what he delivers to you be from Heaven." Upon which he ſtruck the prophet; and *Ahab* finding that no judgment followed upon it, was more hardened in his reſolution upon this war.

Zedekijah then made him horns of iron; and, ſays he, under the figure of theſe horns, is ſignified by God, the puſhing and breaking of all *Syria*: *Micaiah*, on the other hand, telling the falſe prophet, that in a very ſhort time he ſhould be called to an account for the vanity and falſity of his pretenſions, and be driven from one hiding place to another to ſave himſelf. *Ahab* was ſo exaſperated at this liberty, that he appointed *Apion*, the governor of the city, to take him into ſtrict cuſtody, and to feed him with only bread and water till he ſhould return.

The two kings, upon this, advanced with their troops towards *Ramath*, and the king of *Syria* hearing of it, went out to meet them. It was agreed upon betwixt them, that *Ahab* ſhould put himſelf that day into the diſguiſe of a private habit, and a native of *Jeruſalem* repreſent the perſon of the king in his royal robes, the better to evade the dint of the prophet's preſage: But a providential fatality found out the king; for *Adad* gave ſtrict charge to his officers, to fight neither with ſmall nor great, but with the king of *Iſrael*.

The *Syrians*, upon the firſt puſh, ſeeing *Jehoſhaphat* in the head of the army, immediately preſs upon him, taking him for *Ahab*, but when they found their error, they left him.

They kept the field from morning to night, the one flying, and the other purſuing, but not one drop of blood ſpilt all this while, only hunting after *Ahab*, and ſtill not finding him. But in the end, one of *Adad*'s domeſtics, *Aman* by name, drew an arrow at a venture, that ſtruck the king through the joints of his armour into his very lungs.

Ahab was willing to keep it private, for fear of diſcouraging his men; and ſo ſpoke to his charioteer to carry him a little out of the army, for he was mortally wounded. He kept his chariot, however, till about ſun-ſetting, and then departed this life; and the night coming on, the *Syrians* withdrew to their tents: And as ſoon as they were advertiſed by a herald of *Ahab*'s death, the camp brake up, and every man went to his own home.

The king's body was carried to *Samaria*, and there interred; and upon waſhing the blood off from the chariot, the prediction of *Elias* was verified, for the dogs licked up the blood, and the place was afterwards made uſe of for common women to bathe in.

He died at *Ramath*, according to the prophecy of *Micaiah*. So that for the greater honour and authority of the revelation, the preſages of both the prophets were made good, to the eternal ſhame and confuſion of fawning and time-ſerving impoſtors, that ſquare all their judgments to their profit; and inſtead of telling us from God what we are to believe and do, give us effectually to underſtand what we are not to believe, or do.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK IX.

From the Year of the World 3048, to 3224.

CHAP. I.

Jehoſhaphat *gets a great Victory over the* Moabites, *&c. The Wickedneſs and Death of* Ahaziah. Jehoram *ſucceeds.*

UPON *Jehoſhaphat*'s return to *Jeruſalem*, after his joining with *Ahab* againſt *Adad*, the prophet *Jehu* met him, and gave him a rebuke for eſpouſing the quarrel of ſo impious a wretch; but yet God was graciouſly pleaſed, for the good that was in him, to paſs over what he had done amiſs, and to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies. Upon this admonition, the king reconciled himſelf to God by prayers and ſacrifices, and appointed a general viſitation through all his dominion, with orders for inſtructing the people in the laws of *Moſes*, and in the religion of their forefathers. He alſo eſtabliſhed magiſtrates in all their great towns and places, giving them charge to adminiſter juſtice to all men indifferently, he then returned to *Jeruſalem*, where he conſtituted judges out of the moſt conſiderable of the prieſts and *Levites*, enjoining them to do juſtice impartially to all the people: Or if there ſhould ariſe any controverſies of more weight than ordinary, that they ſhould not paſs ſentence, without all poſſible care and conſideration. He choſe the chief magiſtrates out of the number of his friends; as *Ahaziah* the prieſt, for the matters of the lord; and *Zebediah*, of the houſe of *Judah*, for the king's affairs.

It was at this time that the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, with the people of *Aram*, made war upon *Jehoſhaphat* with a mighty army of mercenaries, and encamped at *Engeddi*, a city near the lake of *Aſphaltites*, three hundred furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, and a place famous for balſam and palm-trees. When *Jehoſhaphat* underſtood that they had paſſed the *Lake*, and broken into his country, he ordered an aſſembly to be called; and then ſtanding before the temple he betook himſelf to his prayers, for God's bleſſing upon his arms againſt them. *Jehoſhaphat* mingled his prayers with tears, and the joint ſupplications of the multitude, with their wives and children, went along with them.

As they were in the fervour of their devotions, there ſtarted up a certain prophet, whoſe name was *Jahaziel*, crying out to the people, that God had heard their prayers, and would fight their battle, in favour of the religion they profeſſed; appointing them, upon this, to be in readineſs the next day to march towards their enemies, whom they ſhould find encamped betwixt *Jeruſalem* and *Engeddi*, at the aſcent of *Sis*, which in *Hebrew* is as much as an eminence: Telling them farther, that they ſhould only ſtand looking on, as quiet ſpectators of an action wherein God would fight for them. After this declaration, both king and people fell proſtrate upon their faces, gave thanks, and worſhipped: The *Levites* in the mean while accompanying their hymns with muſical inſtruments.

The king early next morning went into the deſert under the city of *Tekoa*, where he admoniſhed the multitude to put their truſt in God according to the prediction of the prophet, and that there was no need of ranging themſelves in form of battle; but only to ſet the prieſts with their trumpets in the firſt line, and the *Levites* with their ſingers, and ſo to move chearfully forward, with muſic and thankſgiving, as upon a day of victory. They were all highly ſatisfied with the king's advice, and ſoon after they put it in execution; for God ſtruck the *Ammonites* and their allies with ſuch terror and conſternation, that falling one upon another, the outrage was ſo furious againſt their own people, that of ſo many thouſands of combatants, there was not one man left alive. When *Jehoſhaphat* came to take a view of the valley where the enemy were encamped, he found it all covered with dead bodies. There never was ſo eaſy and ſo abſolute a victory. *Jehoſhaphat*, in a tranſport of joy for ſo extraordinary a bleſſing, gave his ſoldiers the pillage of the camp, and the ſpoil of the dead, which was ſo exceſſively great, that it coſt them full three days to carry off the booty.

On the fourth day, all the people gathered together in a deep, craggy valley, called the valley of *Beracha*, where they praiſed and bleſſed God for all the works of his power and mercy. From hence it was that the valley took its name, which is as much as to ſay, *the Valley of Bleſſings*: And it is ſo called to this day. The king led his army from thence to *Jeruſalem*, where he paſſed ſeveral days in ſacrifice and feaſting.

The fame of this miraculous victory poſſeſſed all foreign princes and nations wherever it came, with ſuch a reverence for the piety of *Jehoſhaphat*, that they look'd upon him as a perſon for whom God had a peculiar kindneſs. But he was yet a friend to *Ahaziah*, the ſon of *Ahab*, king of *Iſrael*, and adventured with him in the ſetting out of ſhips for the gold trade: But they were of ſo unwieldly a ſize, that they were all caſt away, by which means the project fell to the ground, and was never afterwards revived.

Ahaziah the ſon of *Ahab*, and king of *Iſrael*, had his palace in *Samaria*. He was a wicked man, and the very picture of his father and mother: Beſide a certain emulation that he had to out-do *Jeroboam* himſelf, the capital ſeducer of *Iſrael*. In the ſecond year of his reign, the king of the *Moabites* fell off, and abſolutely refuſed to be any longer ſubject to the tribute he had formerly paid to his father.

It happened that *Ahaziah* got a terrible fall down ſtairs one day, that endangered his life: He ſent to the God of the *Accaronites*, or the *Fly*, to know whether he ſhould live or die. Upon this occaſion, the *Hebrews* commanded the prophet *Elias* to meet the meſſengers, and to aſk them whether the *Iſraelites* had not a God of their own; and if ſo, there was no need of conſulting a ſtrange god in the caſe: And therefore they had beſt go back to the king, and tell him that he ſhould not recover. The meſſengers immediately took their errand from *Elias*, and poſted away with it to the king, who was in great admiration to ſee them ſo ſoon back again; and enquiring farther into the matter, they told him of a man they met, that bad them go no farther, and withal charging them to tell their king, in the name of the God of the *Iſraelites*, that his illneſs was mortal. The king was very earneſt with them to deſcribe the man: So they told him, it was a hairy man with a leathern girdle about him. By this deſcription, the king preſently concluded this perſon to be *Elias*, and ſo diſpatched away an officer with fifty ſoldiers to take him into cuſtody. The commander found him upon the top of a mountain, and ſo called him down to go along with him to the king; and if he would not go by fair means, he would force him by foul. *Elias* told him, that to ſhew him the difference betwixt a true prophet and a falſe, he would now convince him by a prodigy that he was no impoſtor. "If I am a man of God," ſays he, "let "fire come down from Heaven, and de"vour thee and thy fifty: Upon which prayer a fire deſcended, and conſumed them all.

The tidings of this dreadful judgment came no ſooner to the king's ear, but in a rage he ſent another officer, with the ſame number of men, and upon the ſame errand. The captain ſaid the ſame things over again; and they were all deſtroyed after the ſame manner. After this the king ſent yet again a third officer with his party. But this man being a candid, good-natured perſon, when he came up to *Elias* he ſaluted him with reſpect. I need not tell you (ſays he) that I am under command; that I come upon this errand unwillingly, as they did likewiſe who came before me: Wherefore I beſeech you be pleaſed out of pity to me, and my ſoldiers about me, to come down willingly, and follow us to the king. *Elias* was ſo much moved with the modeſty and civility of the man, that he went down and followed him. When they had brought him into the king's preſence, the ſpirit of God came upon him, and he freely told the king, "thus ſaith the lord: Since you "have an opinion of me that I am no man "of God, nor able to foretel what will be "the iſſue of your diſtemper; and that you "have choſen to ſend to your god *Accaron* "for your ſatisfaction, take notice it will "be your death."

In ſome ſhort time, this prophecy was fulfilled; and *Ahaziah* dying without iſſue, *Jehoram* his brother reigned in his ſtead; a man no way inferior to *Ahab* for a vicious courſe of life.

It was in his time that *Elias* was taken away from the converſation of men, and no manner of account given what became of him even to this day; but he left *Eliſha* his diſciple behind him.

We find in holy writ, the ſame thing atteſted of *Enoch* before the flood, as well as of *Elias* here, and that they were both taken away; but no mention made of either of them.

CHAP. II.

The Kings of Jeruſalem, Iſrael, *and* Idumæa, *make War upon the* Moabites. *The Death of* Jehoſhaphat.

UPON *Jehoram*'s coming to the throne after his brother, he reſolved to make war upon *Meſha*, the king of the *Moabites*, for refuſing to pay the tribute of two hundred thouſand unſhorn ſheep a year, which was the ſtipulation formerly paid to his father *Ahab*. Wherefore he began with levying an army at home; and after that, prayed the aſſiſtance of *Jehoſhaphat*, (for the former kindneſs that ſubſiſted betwixt the two fathers) to join with him; who not only promiſed for himſelf, but undertook likewiſe to engage the king of *Idumæa*, having ſome tie upon him, in the party.

When *Jehoram* came to underſtand how well he was like to be ſeconded, he went forthwith to *Jeruſalem*, where he was ſplendidly received and treated. Being there in council, the ways and method of the expedition were taken into debate, and a vote paſſed by common conſent for their army to bend their courſe through the deſert of *Idumæa*, where the enemy would be leaſt aware of the deſign. The three kings, that is to ſay, of *Jeruſalem*, *Iſrael* and *Idumæa*, put themſelves upon their march according to the reſolution of the council, and when they had marched about for the ſpace of ſeven days, they were ſo greatly diſtreſſed for want of water, both for man and beaſt, that they were all ready to periſh. *Jehoram* called out to God in an expoſtulatory way of impatience, "What have theſe three kings "done," ſays he, "to be delivered up cap-"tives to the king of the *Moabites*, without "a ſtroke?" *Jehoſhaphat*, on the other hand, adviſed him to enquire, if there were ever a prophet in the army to aſk counſel of God. A ſervant within hearing told them that he had ſeen *Eliſha* the ſon of *Shaphat* there, the diſciple of *Elias*, upon which the three kings, upon the propoſal of *Jehoſhaphat*, went and found him out. When they came to his tent they aſked him what would become of this army; *Jehoram* eſpecially was moſt inquiſitive. Why, ſays *Eliſha*, you ſhould have gone to your father's and your mother's prophets for ſatisfaction, without troubling other people: They would have ſet you right no doubt. *Jehoram* ſtill begged for an anſwer, if it were but for the ſaving of ſo many men's lives that were ready to periſh. *Eliſha* ſwore ſolemnly to *Jehoram*, that if it were not for the ſake of *Jehoſhaphat*, who was a pious man, he ſhould have had no anſwer from him. And upon this, he ordered a muſician to be called, and as he was ſinging the ſpirit of God came upon the prophet, who ſpake to the kings to make ſeveral trenches, or ditches, and, ſays *Eliſha*, you ſhall ſee them all flowing with water, without either wind or rain; water ſufficient for yourſelves and your cattle, to all manner of purpoſes: Beſide that, henceforward you ſhall never feel any more drought. And God will bleſs you yet further ſtill, for by his grace and help you ſhall overcome your enemies, and ſcatter them, and ruin their plantations; lay their country waſte, and choke up their rivers, and their fountains. The next day, before ſun-riſe, there came down from *Idumæa* three days journey from the place, an impetuous torrent upon a mighty fall of rain, ſo that there was no longer any want of drink, either for horſe or man.

The king of *Moab* no ſooner underſtood that theſe three kings were advancing againſt him by the wilderneſs, than he raiſed all the force he was able to make, to meet them upon the borders, for fear of any inroad upon him by ſurpriſe.

The two armies being now approached near the land of *Moab*, whoſe king and people were ready to receive them, the riſing ſun ſtriking upon the torrent, made the water look ſo red, that the *Moabites* took it for blood, vainly imagining that the three kings had fallen to cutting of throats among themſelves, in a rage for want of water, and that this torrent was a ſtream of their blood. In this confidence they went to their king only for liberty to rifle the enemy's camp, taking for granted that it was all abandoned. They readily obtained leave, and ran in precipitate confuſion to the enemy's camp, but they met with a very indifferent reception, being ſet upon at all hands in the attempt, part killed, and the reſt ſo ſcattered, that it was with great difficulty they could make their way home again The kings, in the mean while, made an incurſion into the land of the *Moabites;* deſtroyed their towns and cities, drove away all their cattle, and covered all the turf with the ſand and gravel of the torrent, cut down the beſt of their woods and trees, dammed up the ſprings and fountains, and levelled their walls to the ground; Nay, the king himſelf was forced to take ſanctuary in a town, where he was afterward beſieged; and in ſuch danger of loſing it by aſſault, that he attempted a ſally with ſeven hundred horſe, upon the enemy's weakeſt quarter, to break through their body, but failing of his puſh, he was forced into the town again, where, in deſpair, he took his eldeſt ſon, the next heir to the government, and ſacrificed him upon the walls, in the view of the enemy's army. The kings reflecting upon the force of an abandoned deſperation, together with the viciſſitude of human affairs, were ſoftened to ſuch a degree of compaſſion, and making it their own caſe too, that they broke up the ſiege upon it, and every man returned to his own home.

Jehoſhaphat was at eaſe after this expedition; but he did not long outlive it. He died at *Jeruſalem* in the ſixtieth year of his age, and the twenty fifth of his reign; and he had in that city a moſt magnificent burial; ſuch a one as might become the imitator of *David.*

CHAP. III.

Jehoram *the Son of* Jehoſhaphat *ſucceeds him.* Eliſha *works Miracles.* Adad *conſpires againſt the Life of* Jehoram.

JEHOSHAPHAT left behind him ſeveral ſons; and *Jehoram*, the eldeſt of them, by his father's appointment, ſucceeded him in the kingdom. He bare the ſame name with his mother's brother the king of *Iſrael*, and the ſon of *Ahab*, who was then but newly returned to *Samaria* from the war with the *Moabites*, and brought *Eliſha* with him. The holy ſcriptures make mention of ſeveral memorable paſſages of that prophet. The wife of *Obadiah*, *Ahab*'s ſteward, apply'd herſelf to *Eliſha*, and told him that he was no ſtranger to the outrageous violence of *Jezebel* againſt the prophets, and how her huſband concealed and preſerved a hundred of them from deſtruction, and took up money upon his own credit to feed them while they were in the cave; but that her huſband being now dead, the creditors threatened to make ſlaves of her and her children for the debt: Wherefore ſhe entreated him, for her huſband's ſake, to procure ſome relief. The prophet aſked her what ſhe had in the houſe; who ſaid ſhe had nothing but a little oil in a cruſe. The prophet then bad her go borrow ſome empty pots or veſſels of her neighbours, and keep her chamber door ſhut, and put oil into all thoſe veſſels, for God would fill them all. The widow did as ſhe was ordered; and after diſtributing the oil, ſhe came back again to the prophet, and gave him a particular account of what ſhe had done; who adviſed her to ſell the oil, and diſcharge the debt, for there would be ſomewhat remaining, after ſatisfaction given to the creditors, for the relief of her children.

The prophet one time having got notice of a conſpiracy againſt the life of *Jehoram*, and that *Adad* had treacherouſly planted an ambuſh to ſurpriſe him, he gave the king intelligence of it, with a caution to have a care of ſuch a certain place, where the *Syrians* had laid a plot to entrap him. This precaution kept the king from going a hunting, and diſappointed the plot. But *Adad* was in ſuch a rage, when he found his malicious conſpiracy defeated, that he fell to ſtorming and railing at his own domeſtics, for a company of traitors, threatening them with no leſs than death itſelf, for diſcovering a deſign, that no other creatures were privy to but themſelves. Somebody made anſwer, that his enemy had *Eliſha* for a ſpy upon him, that lay perpetually prying into his ways and actions; and he had the faculty of diving into the moſt ſecret of his councils.

The king preſently ſent his ſcouts abroad to enquire after *Eliſha*, and to learn where he was, and word was brought him, that he might be found at *Dothan*. Upon this he immediately diſpatched away horſemen and chariots to apprehend him. They went and beſet the town by night, ſo that there was no paſſing either out or in unnoticed; and early the next morning a ſervant of the prophet's ran trembling to his maſter, to tell him the news, and how the town was beſet with a body of the enemy that came to take him priſoner. *Eliſha* bad him fear nothing; and immediately prayed to God for ſome ſpecial token of his preſence and protection, that might confirm his ſervant in a fearleſs reſignation to his holy will and pleaſure. The prophet's prayers were heard, and there appeared forthwith, in the ſight of the ſervant, a multitude of horſes and chariots round about *Eliſha*, as a guard upon his perſon. The conſideration of this ſuccour, put him out of all fear of any further danger for his maſter.

After this viſion, the prophet prayed once again that God would caſt a miſt before the eyes of theſe people, and ſtrike them with ſuch a blindneſs that they might not ſee him, ſo as to diſcern him from another man. Upon the granting of this requeſt *Eliſha* caſt himſelf into the middle of their troops, aſking them for whom they ſought. They told him, for *Eliſha* the prophet. Well, ſays *Eliſha*, do but follow me to the place where he is, and you ſhall have him: They accordingly went after him without any difficulty, till he brought them into *Samaria*. Upon their entrance into the city, the prophet bad *Jehoram* cauſe the ports to be ſhut, and the *Syrians* to be ſurrounded. *Eliſha* then betook himſelf to his third prayer; which was, that God would reſtore the *Syrians* to their ſight again: Whereupon the *Syrians* eyes were opened, and to their great aſtoniſhment found themſelves coop'd up in an enemy's town, and at the mercy of their adverſaries.

The king propoſed to the prophet the putting them all to death, which he abſolutely oppoſed, as a proceeding that would not ſtand with his honour and juſtice, and only to be allowed of in caſes where men are overcome in battle. But theſe were people guilty of no act of hoſtility upon his country, and only brought thither by the will and power of God, without any malicious intention. And therefore the prophet gave his opinion for the treating of them with hoſpitaliy and reſpect; and then leave them to their own freedom.

Jehoram took the prophet's advice, and ſent them back again ſafe to their maſter. They gave the king, at their return, ſo particular an account of this wonderful ſtory, that his conſcience was ſtruck with a conviction that the hand of God was manifeſtly in this prodigy, and that what the prophet delivered in the name of God, was no other than the dictate of a divine inſpiration.

CHAP. IV.

Adad *beſieges* Jehoram *in* Samaria. Hazael *ſtrangles* Adad, *and uſurps the Kingdoms of* Syria *and* Damaſcus.

AFTER this time *Adad* never entered into any under-hand practice againſt the king of *Iſrael*, but reſolved however to make open war upon him, in confidence of his great ſtrength and numbers.

Upon the forming of this reſolution, *Adad* raiſed a mighty army, and marched with his whole force againſt *Jehoram*: Who finding himſelf too weak to venture his ſafety upon the hazard of a field battle, kept himſelf within the walls of *Samaria*, where he had good works and defences to truſt to. It was a ſtrong place, and *Adad* in ſome doubt whether to attempt it by aſſault, or by famine: However he laid ſiege to the town, and brought the garriſon to ſo miſerable a ſcarcity of proviſions, that an aſſes head was ſold for fourſcore pieces of ſilver, and a pint of pidgeon's dung (for ſeaſoning) for five pieces. There was nothing the king feared ſo much in this extremity, as leſt ſomebody ſhould betray the place to the enemy under the neceſſity of an inſupportable famine: So that *Jehoram* every day viſited the walls and the guards himſelf; took care that no ſpies ſhould enter privately into the town, and had a vigilant eye upon all motions whatſoever.

As the king was attending his buſineſs, there came a woman crying to him for help; and *Jehoram* ſuppoſing ſhe had come to beg of him, turned her off with a kind of angry rebuke; "I have no barns, nor wine preſſes," ſays he, "and what have I left me to ſupply your wants?" The woman told him ſhe did not come to beg his meat, but to implore his juſtice, and to deſire he would do her right in a controverſy betwixt herſelf and another woman. The king aſked her what it was? And ſhe told him; "Sir," ſays ſhe, "a neighbour of mine, and myſelf, that were ready to die for want of food, came to an agreement betwixt ourſelves, having each of us a little male child, to eat our children by turns, barely to keep life and ſoul together. Mine was killed and dreſſed yeſterday, and ſhe had her part of it; and now I ſhould have my part of her child, ſhe has hid him." *Jehoram*, in a raging paſſion of grief and horror, rent his garment, raving and crying out, that he never knew what it was to be perfectly miſerable, till that inſtant: And all this might have been prevented, ſays he, if the prophet would but have interceded with God for me, on my behalf: But, ſays he, I'll have his blood for it; and in that heat diſpatched away an officer to cut off his head, who in the ſame moment ſet forward upon that commiſſion.

Eliſha told his diſciples as he was ſitting with them at home, that *Jehoram*, that ſon of a murderer, had ſent a party with an officer, that was then upon his way, to take off his head. Wherefore, ſays he, do you watch and obſerve them; and when they come near the houſe, be you ſure to ſhut the door againſt them, only to put them to a little ſtand till the king himſelf ſhall come up, who hath now changed his mind, and is haſtening after his people to prevent miſchief. They watched, ſhut the door againſt the men when they came, and kept them out till *Jehoram* appeared himſelf, who made all the haſte that was poſſible, for fear of being too late to ſave the life of the prophet.

Upon the king's coming to *Eliſha*, he reproached him, that he could have the heart to ſee him and his people in ſo many extremities of diſtreſs, without putting up one prayer to God for their relief. The prophet gave him for anſwer, that by the ſame hour the next day *Samaria* ſhould be ſo abundantly ſtored with all ſorts of neceſſaries of life, that a meaſure of fine flour ſhould be ſold publicly in the market for one ſhekel, and two meaſures of barley at the ſame rate. The king and his court made no doubt at all of the truth of his predictions, having had ſo many proofs of their authority and credit: So that they comforted themſelves upon the preſage, as if it had been a thing already done, and made their preſent difficulties eaſy to them in the hope of what was to come; but a certain favourite, and an officer of the king's, that commanded a tertia of his army, told the prophet, as the king was leaning upon him in a familiar way: "*Eliſha*," ſays he, "a body may as well "believe, that it ſhall rain flour and barley "from Heaven, as what you have now fore-"told; for it ſeems to me incredible." Well, ſays the prophet, you ſhall ſee it: But you ſhall only ſee it, without enjoying it: Which prediction was made good.

It was a cuſtom among the *Samaritans*, that no leprous perſons ſhould be ſuffered to live within the walls of the city. And at this time there were four lepers that had their habitations without the gates. The famine in the city was ſo extreme, that there was no proviſion to be expected from thence: So that whether they went back into the town, or ſtaid where they were, they had certain death before them. Upon this deliberation, they took up a reſolution of caſting themſelves upon the enemy. If they ſpared them, they ſhould live; or if they put them to death, it would be a gentler way of diſpatch. They ſlipt away by night into the enemies camp, at a time when it pleaſed God to poſſeſs the *Syrians* with a panic terror upon the imaginary noiſe of horſes, and armed men, breaking in upon them; and in the ſtrength of this fancy, they ran thronging to *Adad*, and told him that *Jehoram*'s confederate kings of *Egypt*, and of the *Iſlands*, were juſt at hand, and within hearing of the march of the army. *Adad* gave the more credit to the deluſion, in regard that he himſelf laboured under the ſame falſe imagination, and accordingly in this unaccountable affright, the whole army broke up in confuſion, and every man did what he could to ſhift for himſelf, leaving their horſes, carriages, baggage, and their whole treaſure in the camp, without any other care, than to ſave their lives. When the lepers came up to the *Syrians* tents, all things were in a profound ſilence, and they went from place to place, eating and drinking what they pleaſed, and taking as much gold and rich booty, as they could carry away, without finding ſo much as one perſon in the field. They loaded themſelves four times, and buried their burdens in a hole they dug for that purpoſe without the camp. Having ſatiated their appetite with eating and ſpoil, they concluded the enemy to be drawn off, and thought it high time to give *Jehoram* and the citizens an account of this wonderful deſertion, as they had not done it upon the firſt diſcovery. Wherefore they made all poſſible haſte back to *Samaria*, calling aloud to the watch, that the enemy had totally abandoned their camp. Upon this intelligence *Jehoram* preſently ſummoned a great council, and gave it as his opinion that it was a trick to draw his people into an ambuſh under that pretence. And therefore, ſays the king, I am for providing againſt treachery; I cannot think they are run away, and ſhould be loth to venture the main chance upon the credit of this intelligence. One of the council ſtood up, and recommended to ſend out two horſemen for diſcovery, as far as *Jordan*. If they ſhould happen to be taken, the loſs would not be very great; beſide that, if they eſcaped the ſword, they were in danger to die of famine.

The king ſent away his ſcouts immediately for intelligence; who returned ſoon after with this report: That they had been ſo far, without ſeeing ſo much as one enemy; but that they ſaw arms, and corn, and ſeveral bundles of things upon the way that looked as if the *Syrians* had thrown them there to eaſe them in their flight. The king, upon this information, ſent out his people to the rifling of *Adad*'s camp, where they found wonderful rich booty, in gold, ſilver, horſes, and ſeveral ſorts of beaſts; beſide ſuch an incredible proviſion of grain, that it ſeemed rather like a dream than a reality: So vaſt a quantity, in ſhort, that the people preſently forgot their former ſcarcity in this ſuperabundance; for two meaſures of barley were ſold for one ſhekel, and a meaſure of flour at the ſame price too, according to the prediction of *Eliſha*: This meaſure contains about an *Italian* buſhel and half. The officer before ſpoken of, that commanded the tertia, or third legion of *Jehoram*'s army, had no benefit by this relief, being poſted at the gate by the king's command, to keep the people in order, that they ſhould not crowd one another to death upon the ſally they were to make, and was ſmothered in the throng. This was a judgment that beſel him for his giving ſo little heed to what *Eliſha* foretold.

Adad having returned ſafe to *Damaſcus*, and being given to underſtand that all the alarms of arms and horſemen that had given ſuch an irreparable rout to him and his army, were only judicial impreſſions of affright and terror, he looked upon it as a declaration from Heaven againſt him: The anxiety of that thought made him as ſick in his body as he was in his mind. *Eliſha* went then toward *Damaſcus*; and *Adad* being informed where he was, ſent *Hazael* to meet him, and to enquire likewiſe of the prophet, whether the king ſhould outlive this diſeaſe or not? And what would be the iſſue of it? *Hazael* took forty camels, and loaded them with the choiceſt curioſities that either the court or the country afforded; and meeting *Eliſha* on the way, ſaluted him with great reverence, in the name of king *Adad*, telling him he had in his commiſſion to offer him thoſe preſents, and likewiſe to adviſe with him about his diſeaſe, whether or no he might hope for any relief. The prophet told *Hazael*, that the king was to die; but charged the meſſenger to ſay nothing of it to the king. This went to the heart of *Hazael*, and *Eliſha* fell upon that into an extreme fit of weeping, in the contemplation of the miſeries the people were to endure after the deceaſe of *Adad*. *Hazael* aſked the prophet what might be the cauſe of that exceſſive grief? "Why," ſays the prophet, "I cannot forbear weeping to think of the calamities that you yourſelf are to bring upon the *Iſraelites*. You ſhall put the beſt of their men to the ſword; burn their walled cities; daſh their children to death againſt the ſtones; and rip up the children out of the bellies of their mothers." Well, ſays *Hazael*, but how is it poſſible for me to compaſs all this miſchief? Why, ſays the prophet, it is declared to me by God, that you are to reign in *Syria*. *Eliſha* having finiſhed this diſcourſe *Hazael* left him, and returned to his maſter, with an account, that he ſhould recover of his diſtemper. On the day following, he made the king a viſit; and taking his opportunity, ſtrangled him with a wet cloth, and took poſſeſſion of his palace and government. He was a man of great intereſt and reputation with the people of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*; inſomuch that to this day, the memory of *Adad*, and of *Hazael* his ſucceſſor, is celebrated among the *Syrians* with divine honours.

CHAP. V.

The Idolatry of Jehoram *King of* Judah. *The deſtruction of his Family; and his own miſerable Death.*

THE death of *Adad* ſet the heart of *Jehoram* the king of *Iſrael* much at eaſe, as it gave him ſome ſuſpenſion from wars and broils. But *Jehoram*'s name-ſake (I mean the other *Jehoram*, the king of *Judah*) of whom I have ſpoken already, was no ſooner entered upon the ſovereignty, but he began with the ſlaughter of his brothers, and of his father's friends, with ſuch outrages as if he had been upon a competition with the worſt of former kings, which ſhould be the wickedeſt: Having alſo to his wife *Gotholiah*, the daughter of *Ahab*, an excellent inſtructreſs to all impious purpoſes, and the inſtrument of his idolatrous defection from the true worſhip to the ſervice of ſtrange gods. Though God would moſt certainly ſtand firm to the promiſe he made to king *David*, that he would never utterly extinguiſh the whole race; *Jehoram* did all he could yet to provoke a total extirpation, by a lewd, daily courſe of freſh impieties and abominations.

Idumæa at this time revolted from *Jehoram*, and they made way to their apoſtacy by the murder of their king, who had ever been faithful to *Jehoram*'s father, *Jehoſhaphat*, and ſetting up another in his place. Upon the firſt information of this violent outrage the king made an incurſion by night with a good body of horſe and charioteers, into the enemy's quarters: But they were forced to content themſelves with burning, and making a little havock upon the borders. This expedition was ſo far from ſtriking any ſort of terror into the deſerters, that it ſerved for an encouragement to others to follow the example of their leaders. *Libnach* rebelling alſo at the ſame time.

Such, in ſhort, was the madneſs and folly of *Jehoram*, that he forced the *Iſraelites* up to the groves and high places upon the mountains, there to worſhip falſe gods. He went on for ſome time, in the defiance and contempt of law and religion, till there came a menacing letter from the prophet *Eliſha* to him to this effect: "That ſince he had audaciouſly and wilfully ſet himſelf up againſt the practice and example of his forefathers, and eſpouſed the impious ſuperſtition of the *Iſraelites*, and not reſting there neither, had likewiſe debauched the tribe of *Judah*, and the citizens of *Jeruſalem*, from the religion of their country, into the *Paganiſh* ſuperſtition of idolatry, in making gods of images, "after the example of *Ahab*'s violence upon his people to force them into theſe abominations: For the doing of all this "and the dipping his hands in the blood of "his own brothers, and other good and "righteous men, this judgment was denounced againſt him; that his family "and people ſhould fall into the hands of "a mercileſs enemy, that ſhould ſpare "neither women nor children, and that he "himſelf ſhould be tormented with a lingering pain in the guts, till his bowels, "by little and little, ſhould rot, and fall "out."

Not long after this period, an army of *Arabians* from the borders of *Ethiopia*, together with a medley of other *Barbarians*, broke in upon the kingdom of *Jehoram*, ravaged the country, rifled the palace, put the king's wives to the ſword, and all his children, one only excepted, *Ahaziah* by name, who very narrowly eſcaped the fury of the enemy. The king, after this public calamity, fell into a diſeaſe, according to what the prophet foretold him, which was ſuch a kind of plague in the guts, that all people looked upon it, as a juſt judgment of God upon him in his diſpleaſure, his bowels dropping daily out of his belly before his own eyes. The people drew the inference from his puniſhment, that the wrath of God was upon him, and would neither vouchſafe him a royal funeral, nor a place in his father's monument. He lived forty years. He reigned eight; and the people of *Judah* placed *Ahaziah* upon the throne of his father.

CHAP. VI.

Jehoram *beſieges* Ramoth. Jehu *anointed King of* Iſrael, *kills* Jehoram *and his Nephew* Ahaziah.

JEHORAM, the king of the *Iſraelites*, was in hopes, after the death of *Adad*, that he might recover *Ramoth* of *Gilead*; and with that view he levied a great army, and advanced towards it. In that attempt he received a wound with an arrow from the bow of a *Syrian*. It was not mortal, but yet, ſuch as it was, he was fain to withdraw to the city of *Jezreel* for the conveniencies of the cure, leaving his whole army behind him at the ſiege of *Ramoth*, under the command of *Jehu*, the ſon of *Amaſis*, who took the town by force. *Jehoram* propoſed upon his recovery, to make war upon the *Syrians*; and in the mean time *Eliſha* ſent one of his diſciples with holy oil to *Ramoth*, there to anoint and declare *Jehu* king, in the name of God, and commanded him to ſlip away, without making any creature privy to his journey. When he came to the town, he found *Jehu* ſitting with the head officers of the army, as was foretold him by *Eliſha*; and deſiring to have a word or two in private with him, *Jehu* roſe up preſently, and the meſſenger followed him into his cabinet. The young man thereupon took out the oil, and poured it on his head, telling him that God had choſen him king, for the deſtruction of *Ahab*, and to revenge the blood of the prophets, ſpilt by *Jezebel*: And that as *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, and after him the family of *Baaſha*,

Baaſha, were utterly rooted out, and deſtroyed for their wickedneſs, ſo there ſhould be no remainder left of the wicked ſtock of *Ahab*. Having ſpoken theſe words, he departed out of the cabinet in all haſte, and *Jehu* returned forthwith to his place among the commanders.

The officers wanted to know what that youth's buſineſs was, for he looked (they ſaid) as if he were not well in his wits. Why, you are not ſo much wide, ſays *Jehu*, for he did ſpeak effectually the words of a mad man. This did but make the officers more inquiſitive, what it was he came about: *Jehu* ingenuouſly told them, that he came to him with a meſſage from God to pronounce him king. At the hearing of theſe words the commanders took every man his cloak, and laid them one upon another for *Jehu* to ſit down upon, in lieu of a throne; and when he had taken his place, they all ſaluted him king, with acclamations, benedictions, and the ſound of horns and trumpets, to gratulate his acceſſion to the throne.

Jehoram was now under the ſurgeons hands at *Jezreel*, for the wound he got at *Ramoth*, and his ſiſter's ſon *Ahaziah* was there at the ſame time, upon a friendly viſit to him: *Jehu* took this opportunity of marching with his army to *Jezreel*, where he might ſurpriſe them both at once; precautioning his ſoldiers to give *Jehoram* no intimation of the matter.

The ſoldiers kept ſo ſtrict a guard, that it was morally impoſſible to get any intelligence into the place without diſcovery. Mean while *Jehu* mounts his chariot, and with a party of choice men advances toward the city. The king had a ſcout abroad, who finding *Jehu* at the head of the troops, poſted away immediately to *Jehoram* with the tidings of a body of horſe upon their march: The king upon this diſpatched away a horſeman, with inſtructions to go and learn who they were. The meſſenger did as he was ordered, and enquiring alſo into ſtate of the army, "Do not trouble your "head," ſays *Jehu*, "with the buſineſs of "the army, but fall back into the rear." The man did ſo, and the ſcout preſently gave the king notice that his meſſenger had joined the troops. *Jehoram*, upon this, ſent again with the ſame ſucceſs: Receiving no ſatisfaction, he took his chariot himſelf, and *Ahaziah* the king of *Judah* along with him, (his kinſman) and went out together to meet *Jehu*, who coming into the field of *Naboth*, *Jehoram* aſked *Jehu* how matters went in his army, the other anſwering with a bitter reflection upon the whoredom and witchcraft of his mother. This gave *Jehoram* to underſtand, that that was no place for him to ſtay in; and he told *Ahaziah* that he was betrayed: But as he was driving away, *Jehu* ſhot him through the heart with an arrow, ſo that he dropped from his chariot; and ſoon after commanded *Bidkar* the captain of a tertia of the army, to take the carcaſe and caſt it out into the field of *Naboth*, which put him in mind of what the prophet *Elijah* had formerly ſaid to his father *Ahab* that he and his family were to periſh in that place.

Upon the death of *Jehoram*, *Ahaziah* began to have an apprehenſion of himſelf too, and ſo turned off into a by-way, where he thought *Jehu* would not find him; but following him however to a certain bank, he wounded him with an arrow, which made him preſently leave his chariot, and take horſe to ſave himſelf by flight. He got off to the city of *Megiddo*, where he lay a while for his cure, and not long after died of his wound: From thence he was carried to *Jeruſalem*, and there buried, after he had reigned one year; and a wickeder man by much than his father.

CHAP. VII.

Jehu *executes Vengeance upon* Ahab's *Family.*

AS *Jehu* came into *Jezreel*, *Jezebel* planted herſelf in a turret window, ſet out glorioully with dreſs and ornament, to ſee his entry. As he was paſſing by, ſhe let fall this ironical conceit upon him: "A "hopeful ſervant," ſays ſhe, "that kills "his maſter." *Jehu* commanded the eunuchs about her to caſt her down headlong, which they did, and the walls were bloody with the daſhing of the body in the fall: And as ſhe lay dead upon the ground, the horſemen rode over the carcaſs, and trampled it to dirt: *Jehu* and his friends marching forward to the place to refreſh themſelves. When they had been there a while, *Jehu* ordered *Jezebel*'s ſervants, out of reſpect to her quality, to ſee their miſtreſs buried; for, ſays he, ſhe was a king's daughter: But when they came to look for the body, there was nothing to be found but a piece of the ſkull, the palms of her hands, and the ſoles of her feet, the dogs having eaten up all the reſt. This providence gave *Jehu* more and more veneration ſtill for the divine ſpirit of *Elijah*, who had foretold, "that dogs "ſhould eat the fleſh of *Jezebel* in the field "of *Jezreel*."

Ahab had ſeventy ſons, and all at this time in *Samaria*, where they were brought up. *Jehu* wrote thither two letters, one to their governors, and the other to the magiſtrates of the place, wherein he gave them to underſtand, that being well provided of horſes, men, arms, chariots, and other neceſſaries for war, beſide fortified towns, and ſtrong holds, they ſhould do well to make choice of one of the braveſt young men they could pick out of the whole brood of *Ahab*, for their king, under whoſe conduct they might revenge the death of their lord and maſter. He caſt out theſe words among them, in order to try how they ſtood affected to his intereſt. The perſons to whom theſe letters were addreſſed read them over with great care and conſideration; and agreeing upon the main, that it would not be ſafe to oppoſe a power that had already been too hard for two great kings, they reſolved to let him know, that they neither did nor would own any other lord and maſter than himſelf. *Jehu* wrote them word back again, that if they meant good faith, they ſhould forthwith ſend him the heads of all *Ahab*'s ſons, as a teſtimony of their readineſs to ſerve him. The magiſtrates and the young mens tutors agreed among themſelves to cut off all their heads, and ſend them in baſkets to *Jezreel*. The king and his friends were together at ſupper, when the news was brought him that the heads were come. He immediately ordered them to be laid in two heaps before the gate, on each ſide one, and the next morning going out to view them, turning his ſpeech to the people, "I had a hand," ſays he, "in the death of "my maſter; but whoſe doing is all this?" His buſineſs was to ſatisfy the people that all his rigour upon the houſe of *Ahab* was anſwerable to what God himſelf had foretold by the mouth of the prophet.

He deſtroyed as many, in ſhort, of the family of *Ahab* as he could find; and returned afterward to *Samaria*. Falling into company upon the way, with ſeveral of the kindred of *Ahaziah*, king of *Jeruſalem*, he aſked them whither they were going? They anſwered, they were going to pay their duty to *Jehoram* and king *Ahaziah*, (having heard nothing as yet of their death by the hand of *Jehu*). There were two and forty of them in number, and *Jehu* cauſed them all to be ſlain. He happened afterward to meet with *Jehonadab*, a particular friend of his, and a very juſt man, who after the firſt ſalutation, highly commended him for his zeal in rooting out the race and family of wicked *Ahab*, according to the command and appointment of God. *Jehu* then invited him into his chariot to go along with him to *Samaria*; telling him that he ſhould now ſee he would put all the falſe prieſts and prophets to the ſword, that had ſeduced the people from the religion of their forefathers. *Jehonadab* waited upon him in his chariot to the city.

Jehu, as ſoon as they came thither, cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made for *Ahab*'s relations, and put them all to death as faſt as he found them. Being reſolved that none of *Ahab*'s falſe prophets, or prophane prieſts, ſhould eſcape him, he appointed the people to meet in an aſſembly, telling them, that if *Ahab* ſerved *Baal* a little, *Jehu* ſhould ſerve him twice as much, and therefore he would have all the prieſts and prophets of *Baal* to be preſent, to a ſingle man; for that he had a great ſacrifice to offer to *Baal*, and it ſhould be death for any prieſt to abſent himſelf. He ſent his meſſengers all over *Iſrael*, to ſummon the prieſts up to *Samaria* at the appointed day. Upon their arrival they had veſtments given them, which they put on. *Jehu* took *Jehonadab* with him into the houſe of *Baal*, where a ſtrict ſearch was made, that there might not be any creature there preſent, more than the ſervants of *Baal*, for *Jehu* would not ſuffer, he ſaid, any prophane intruder to intermix in that holy worſhip. When *Jehu* found that they were all *Baalites*, he had fourſcore men ready at the door to break in upon the apoſtates. Their orders were to put all the falſe prophets to the ſword, under this condition, that whoever ſhould ſpare the life of but any one of them, his life ſhould anſwer for the other's. They killed them all to a man, ſet fire to the palace, and ſo purged the city of all its ſacrilegeous abominations. This *Baal* was the *Syrians* idol that *Ahab* dedicated an altar to in *Samaria*, for the ſake of *Ithobal* his father-in-law, the king of *Tyre* and *Sidon*; and aſſigned them prieſts and prophets, and other neceſſaries appertaining to their religion.

Jehu did not ſtop here, he aboliſhed the rites and ceremonies of this worſhip; but permitted the *Iſraelites* to go on ſtill in the adoration of their golden calves. This ſeverity of his againſt that impious generation, did however ſo far attone for the reſt, that God ſignified to him by his prophet, that his poſterity ſhould ſit upon the throne of *Iſrael* to the fourth generation.

CHAP. VIII.

Athaliah *meditates a Revenge upon the Houſe of* David, *for that of* Ahab. Jehoida *ſaves* Joaſh, *and cauſes* Athaliah *to be put to Death.*

WHEN *Athaliah* the daughter of *Ahab*, king of *Iſrael*, and the widow of *Jehoram*, king of *Judah*, came to underſtand what havock *Jehu* had made in her father's wicked family, ſhe reſolved to do the ſame with the houſe of *David*; and of all the ſons of *Ahaziah*, there was only one that eſcaped, the manner of whoſe deliverance was as follows: *Jehoſhabeth*, the ſiſter of *Ahaziah*, and the wife of *Jehoida* the high-prieſt, coming into the palace, ſhe found a male child of about a year old, whoſe name was *Joaſh*, among the dead bodies of the ſons of *Ahaziah*, which the nurſe, it ſeems, had hid there. She conveyed it away by ſtealth to her own lodgings, and thence into the temple, where ſhe concealed and took care of it, through the whole ſix years of *Athaliah*'s reign over *Jeruſalem* and the two tribes, and no mortal of her council all this while privy to the ſecret, but her own huſband.

In the ſeventh year, *Jehoida* entered into an aſſociation with five captains, to force the government out of *Athaliah*'s hand, and transfer it to the right heir, ſhewing them the child that was then preſent; ſaying, that their buſineſs was now only to exchange an oath of faith and ſecrecy, and to apply themſelves to the execution of the deſign. The captains that *Jehoida* had engaged in this enterprize, travelled all over the country, with ſummonſes to the prieſts and *Levites*, and principal men in their tribes, in the high prieſt's name, to go to *Jeruſalem*, where *Jehoida* told them, that they were now called up for advice, about the common good of the public, and that the caſe required not only ſecrecy, but help. Upon this he gave them their oath of ſecrecy, and then told them the whole ſtory, ſhewing them the child likewiſe whom he had preſerved. "This child," ſays he, "is your king, and "a branch of that family, which God hath "both promiſed and foretold, ſhall never be "wanting to ſupply the throne of *David*. "Now it is my advice, that you divide "yourſelves into three bodies, one third to "be upon the guard of the king in the temple, a ſecond third to ſecure the paſſes "and avenues leading to it, and the remainder to guard the open gate that leads to "the palace. As for thoſe that have no "arms, let them be in the temple, if they "think fit; but no armed man to be admitted there, if he be not a prieſt." *Jehoida* gave order alſo for a ſelect number of prieſts and *Levites* to ſtand with their ſwords drawn, as a guard about the king's perſon, and to kill any man whatſoever that ſhould preſs into the temple with a weapon about him. *Jehoida*, upon this, opened a magazine of military proviſions that *David* had long before ſtored up in the temple, delivering out launces, arrows, and what other arms were there depoſited, to the centurions, prieſts, and *Levites*, who planted themſelves as a guard upon the temple quite around it. The child was now produced, with a royal crown upon his head, and being anointed with holy oil according to form, the high prieſt pronounced him king: Which ſolemnity was accompanied with a thouſand acclamations.

The clamour of this outcry and proclamation was a terrible ſurprize to *Athaliah*, who preſently hurried away with her guards from the palace to the temple, where ſhe herſelf was admitted by the prieſt, but the ſoldiers that followed her were kept out by the guards. As ſoon as *Athaliah* ſaw the child upon the throne, and with a royal crown upon his head, ſhe tore her garments, and called out with a loud voice to kill that traiterous uſurper. *Jehoida*, on the other ſide, commands the officers to ſeize that woman, and carry her away to the brook of *Kidron*, and there to put her to death; but the temple was not to be polluted with the blood of a ſorcereſs; and that if any man ſhould attempt a reſcue, they ſhould put him to death. They carried her out of the gate by the paſſage of the king's mules, and there diſpatched her.

When this plot againſt *Athaliah* had taken effect, *Jehoida* called all the people and ſoldiers together into the temple, and adminiſtered to them an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the king, for the ſafety and defence of his perſon, and the honour and preſervation of his government. After this, the king himſelf took an oath of a religious reverence to God, and for the obſervance of the laws of *Moſes*. In the next place the

people

people ran to the houſe of *Baal*, a temple that *Athaliah*, together with her huſband *Jehoram*, had erected, in contempt of the true God, and to keep in favour with *Ahab*. This temple the multitude deſtroyed from the very foundation, and killed *Mattan* one of *Baal's* prieſts, that was then in waiting. The care of the holy temple was committed to the charge of the prieſts and *Levites*, according to the inſtitution of *David*, *Jehoida* appointing two ſolemn ſacrifices to be offered up every day, with incenſe, according to the direction of the law, appointing porters alſo out of the number of the *Levites*, for the keeping of the temple, that there might not any pollution get into it by ſtealth. When all things were thus diſpoſed of, *Joaſh* was conducted out of the temple into the palace by the captains, the governors, and all the people; where being placed upon the throne, and received with repeated acclamations, the people gave themſelves up for ſome days to mirth and feaſting, and not a man of them that was not ſatisfied with the death of that wicked woman. *Joaſh* was ſeven years of age when he began to reign. He was a ſteady man to the laws and his religion, ſo long as *Jehoida* lived. When he came afterwards to years of maturity, he married two wives, with the approbation of the high-prieſt, and had children by them of both ſexes.

CHAP. IX.

The Death of Jehu. Joaſh *ſucceeds him. The Death of* Jehoida. *The Apoſtacy of* Joaſh. Zachary *ſtoned to Death.* Hazael *beſieges* Jeruſalem. Joaſh *delivers up all his Treaſure, and is ſlain.*

HAZAEL, the king of *Syria*, made a bloody war upon the *Iſraelites* and their king, laying waſte a great tract of land to the eaſtward beyond *Jordan*, particularly in the tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſes*, and ſo in *Gilead*, and *Batanæa*, putting man, woman, and child to the ſword. This was done with little or no oppoſition from *Jehu*, being a man that ſpent his whole time in a ſtupid contempt of God's religion and holy laws. He died in the ſeven and twentieth year of his government over *Iſrael*, and was buried at *Samaria*, *Joaſh* his ſon ſucceeding him.

In the days of *Jehoram* and *Athalia*, and of their ſons, the temple was gone quite to ruin. *Joaſh*, the king of *Jeruſalem*, ſent for *Jehoida* the high prieſt, to give him orders about repairing it; which was, that he ſhould ſend prieſts and *Levites* into all quarters, to charge every man at half a ſilver ſhekel a head, towards making good the decays of the temple. But there was nothing done towards it as yet. *Joaſh* however afterwards, in the three and twentieth year of his reign, charged the high-prieſt and the *Levites* with the care of it once again, and not without blaming them in ſome degree for the paſt neglect of their duty. This put *Jehoida* upon bethinking himſelf how the buſineſs might be brought about without any grievance to the people; and in the end he pitched upon this expedient. There was a wooden cheſt provided, cloſe wrought, and locked, with a ſlit through the cover of it, to receive what pieces of money ſoever ſhould be put into it. This was to be placed near the altar, and the people invited to ſhew their good-will upon this occaſion toward the work in hand, in proportion to the zeal they had to the true religion and God's ſervice. The whole multitude was ſo well pleaſed with this method and contrivance, that they brought in gold and ſilver, as it were in ſtriſe who ſhould do moſt. The cheſt was every day opened, the money counted, and regiſtered by the clerk of the treaſury, and then locked up again by the prieſt, who had the keeping of the key: And all this was done in the preſence of the king.

When they had received treaſure enough to begin their orders, the king and the high-prieſt hired carpenters, maſons, and other artificers; provided the largeſt and the choiceſt timbers that were to be had, and proceeded with the reparations; employing the overplus (which was very conſiderable) after the finiſhing of that work, upon cups, flaggons, goblets, and other veſſels for holy uſes, over and above the oblation of daily ſacrifices. This order was ſtrictly obſerved while *Jehoida* lived; but in the hundred and thirtieth year of his age he died: A man of ſignal probity and juſtice, and ſo highly eſteemed, as a friend to the houſe of *David*, that his body was depoſited in the ſepulchre of the kings. After his deceaſe, *Joaſh* fell off from his former zeal and care for religion, and the princes of the people quickly followed his example. Upon this abominable apoſtacy, God ſent prophets to them to expoſtulate with them, and to convince them of their wickedneſs; but they were ſo hardened in their iniquity, that neither the example of their foreſathers and their families, nor the threatenings of the prophet wrought the deſired effect upon them: The king even cauſed *Zacharia*, the ſon of the high-prieſt *Jehoida*, to be ſtoned to death in the very temple, without any regard to the merits and good counſels of his father. *Zachariah*, with his laſt breath, appealed to God, both as his judge, and as his witneſs, "that "the crime he died for was only the giving "of good advice, and being the ſon of a "father that had deſerved ſo well from *Joaſh*; and that the death he then ſuffered "was but the reward of thoſe ſervices."

It was not long after this, that divine vengeance overtook the king himſelf; for *Hazael*, the king of *Syria*, made an inroad into his country, rifled and deſtroyed *Gath*, in the firſt place, and from thence marched towards *Jeruſalem*, where the king himſelf had taken ſanctuary. *Joaſh* was ſo affrighted at the approach of the *Syrians* army, that he compounded for himſelf and the city, and delivered up all the treaſure of the temple, as well what was dedicated to God, as the donatives of particular kings, as a bribe to *Hazael* for the ſaving of his carcaſs, which he accepted of, being a prodigious ſum of money, and raiſed the ſiege upon it.

Joaſh, after this, fell into a deſperate fit of ſickneſs, and the friends of *Zachariah* took their revenge upon him by ſurpriſe, for the murder of the ſon of the high-prieſt. He was buried at *Jeruſalem*, at the age of forty ſeven years; but a man of ſo exemplary a wickedneſs, that they would not allow him the honour of a ſepulchre among the kings his predeceſſors.

CHAP. X.

Amaziah *ſucceeds* Joaſh. Eliſha *foretels the Ruin of the* Aſſyrians.

AMAZIAH ſucceeded *Joaſh* his father in the government of *Judah*, and in the one and twentieth year of *Joaſh*, *Jehoahaz* the ſon of *Jehu* entered upon the government of *Iſrael* in *Samaria*, and reigned ſeventeen years: Not ſo much after the example of his father, as after that of the worſt of his former predeceſſors. The king of *Syria*, in the mean time, had brought down his mighty power to the miſerable pittance of ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to truſt to; over-running ſeveral of his cities, and killing a world of his people. This calamity of the *Iſraelites* was foretold by *Eliſha*, in his prediction to *Hazael*, when he told him that he ſhould kill his lord, and poſſeſs himſelf of the government of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*. In this unhappy juncture, *Jehoahaz* had recourſe to God by prayers and ſupplications, for deliverance from the power and oppreſſion of *Hazael*: Upon which humiliation of his, God was prevailed upon to reſtore his dominions to their former ſtate of happineſs and plenty.

After the death of *Jehoahaz*, *Joaſh* his ſon came to the government of *Iſrael* and *Samaria*, in the ſeven and thirtieth year of the reign of *Joaſh*, king of *Judah*, this king and the king of *Jeruſalem* being both of a name. He held the government ſixteen years: An excellent man; and nothing in him of his father's way of life and converſation.

The prophet *Eliſha* was now far gone in years; and being at this time upon his laſt bed of ſickneſs, *Joaſh* made him a viſit in his extremity, and out of a tenderneſs, to ſee the good man labouring in his agonies, burſt into tears and lamentations, treating him in the ſtile of the father, the defender, and the protector of his country; for ſo long as he lived, the people were ſecure, he ſaid, againſt all their enemies, even without any need of arms, thro' the benefit and bleſſing of his prayers and predictions; but that whenever he was taken away, they ſhould be left naked and defenceleſs, at the mercy of their enemies: And therefore, for his own part, he had infinitely rather leave the world with him, than ſtay in it without him.

This compaſſionate ſoftneſs wrought ſo far upon the prophet, that to comfort the king, he called for a bow and arrows, laid his hand upon it, and bad him bend it and ſhoot. He diſcharged it thrice, and then gave over: *Eliſha* told him, that if he had let fly more ſhafts, he ſhould have over-run the whole kingdom of the *Syrians*; but ſince he had left it off at the third ſhot, he muſt content himſelf with three ſeveral victories over them: Wherein he ſhould recover the land they had taken from his father. The king went his way upon theſe words; and the prophet departed this life ſoon after. It happened after this, that a traveller was killed upon the way by thieves, and the body thrown into the prophet's monument; which upon the bare touch of *Eliſha*, was immediately revived: ſo that both dead and living, this prophet wrought miracles.

Hazael was now dead, and the kingdom of *Syria* fallen by an hereditary right to his ſon *Adad*, who was overthrown by *Joaſh* in three battles; and all that country recover'd to the *Iſraelites* again, which his father had wreſted from them, according to the prediction of *Eliſha*. Upon the death of *Joaſh*, *Jeroboam* his ſon entered upon the government.

In the ſecond year of *Joaſh* king of *Iſrael*, *Amaziah* came to the government of the tribe of *Judah*, in the city of *Jeruſalem*. His mother's name was *Jehoidan*, a native of the place. He had a ſtrict reverence for juſtice, even in the tenderneſs of his youth, and began his adminiſtration in revenging the death of his father upon their heads who treacherouſly murdered him, under a cloak of friendſhip. He brought the aſſaſſins all to public juſtice; but ſpared their children, according to the precept of *Moſes*, who thought it unreaſonable to puniſh the children for the iniquity of the fathers. After this, he made a levy in the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, of the choiceſt young men of about twenty years of age, which he liſted, and ſet centurions over them. He treated with the king of the *Iſraelites* for twenty thouſand auxiliaries, at the rate of one hundred talents of ſilver for the hire of them, and the money paid down; being reſolved upon a war with the *Amalekites*, the *Edomites*, and the *Gabilites*. He was juſt upon the point of marching againſt them, when a man of God adviſed him by all means to diſmiſs the *Iſraelites*, for they were a wicked generation, and would certainly be deſtroyed, together with thoſe that joined with them; beſide that he had a ſufficient force of his own, with God's aſſiſtance, to confound the enemy. The king having already parted with his money, was not a little troubled at the thought of loſing both his pay and his men; but yet upon the prophet's inſtance to reſign himſelf wholly to the will of God, under whoſe protection he ſhould be ſure to want nothing, he diſcharged his auxiliaries, with this preface to the farewell, "that he frankly beſtowed that treaſure upon them as a bounty, which they had received only as a hire." Immediately upon parting with his mercenaries, he advanced with his own proper troops againſt the people abovementioned, whom he overcame, and cut off ten thouſand of them in one battle, and carried away ten thouſand more to the top of a great rock that overlooks *Arabia*, where they were all thrown down the precipice and deſtroyed; and ſo *Amaziah* returned home again with a great booty.

But in this while, the twenty thouſand mercenaries took it ſo heinouſly to be turned off ſo ſcandalouſly, and without any colour of reaſon for it, that to revenge the affront of that contempt, they made an inroad into the king's country, laying all waſte as far as *Bethſemere*, putting three thouſand people to the ſword, and carrying away a great number of their cattle.

Amaziah was ſo puffed up with this victory, that he had no longer any thought of him that was the author of it; but went over from the worſhip of the true God to the idols of the *Amalekites*. The prophet, upon this, went to the king and told him, that he could not but wonder at his dependence upon thoſe powers, that were ſo far from being able to protect their ſervants, that they could not defend themſelves, but were taken priſoners by the *Hebrews*, and carried away like ſlaves to *Jeruſalem*, with the reſt of the ſpoil. The king cut him off ſhort in his diſcourſe, at this rate of reproach, and bad him at his peril not to meddle any further in a buſineſs that did not concern him. The prophet's anſwer was, that for the future he would be quiet; but aſſuring him withal, that the ſuperſtition of this apoſtacy would not eſcape a divine vengeance.

Amaziah was ſo tranſported with vanity and inſolence upon his late ſucceſs, that without any regard to the hand of divine providence, he wrote an imperious letter ſome time after to *Joaſh*, the king of the *Iſraelites*, commanding him and his people to pay the ſame allegiance to him, which they had formerly rendered to his anceſtors, *David* and *Solomon*; or in caſe of their refuſal, to expect a deciſion of the cauſe by the ſword: To which ſummons, *Joaſh* returned this anſwer.

King *Joaſh* to king *Amaziah*, Greeting.

“ It happened on a time, betwixt a cypreſs-tree and a thiſtle, upon *Mount Libanus*, that the thiſtle ſent to the cypreſs, ſaying, ‘ Give thy daughter to my ſon to wiſe.’ Whereupon, a wild beaſt went and trod down the thiſtle. Make uſe of this example for your own inſtruction, without aſpiring to things out of your reach. Have a care that this confidence, and pride of yours for the overthrow of the *Amalekites*, do not betray you ſome time or other, to the loſs of your life and kingdom.”

This anſwer to *Amaziah*, made him ten times more furious and implacable than before. In this heat he took the field, and both armies were drawn up in form of battle. But no ſooner were they advanced within ſight of the enemy, but his men were ſtruck with ſo judicial a conſternation and terror, that they turned their backs without ſtriking a blow, and flying ſeveral ways, left *Amaziah* priſoner in the hands of his enemies, who refuſed to give him quarter upon any other terms, than that the citizens of *Jeruſalem* ſhould ſet open the gates, and receive him and his victorious army into the town, which they were prevailed upon to do: So that *Joaſh* entered the town in his triumphal chariot, through a breach of three hundred cubits of wall that he had cauſed to be broken down, with his priſoner *Amaziah* marching before him. He made a ſeizure of all the holy plate and treaſure, and of all the gold and ſilver likewiſe that he could find in the palace, carrying the whole ſpoil away with him, and then diſmiſſing the king, he returned to *Samaria*. This calamity befel *Jeruſalem* in the fourteenth year of *Amaziah*'s reign.

The people of *Jeruſalem*, after this, entered into a conſpiracy againſt him: So that he was forced to fly for ſafety to *Lachiſh*; but the ruffians followed him thither, and there they murdered him. His body was carried back to *Jeruſalem*, where it was buried with royal ſtate. This was the miſerable end he came to, for the neglect of God's worſhip, and hankering after innovations in religion. He died in the fiftieth, or one and fiftieth year of his life, and the twenty ninth of his reign, leaving his ſon *Uzziah* the ſucceſſor to his government.

CHAP. XI.

The Story of Jonah. *The Death of* Jeroboam. *His Son* Zachariah *ſucceeds him.* Uzziah*'s excellent Qualities, Conqueſts, and his great care for* Jeruſalem.

IN the fifteenth year of the reign of *Amaziah*, *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joaſh*, was made king over *Iſrael*, and kept his court in *Samaria*, in the palace of his forefathers, for the whole forty years of his reign. He was a prince impious to the higheſt degree, wholly abandoned to idolatry; and the judgments that his profligate courſe of life brought upon the *Iſraelites* were almoſt innumerable. It was foretold by *Jonah* the prophet that he ſhould overcome the *Syrians*, and enlarge his territories as far as the city *Hamath* on the north, and the lake *Aſphaltites* on the ſouth, which were formerly the bounds of the land of *Chanaan*, according to the allotment of *Joſhua* the general. *Jeroboam* was ſo elevated upon this prediction, that he took away from the *Syrians* all that tract of ground before ſpoken of, and annexed it to his own dominions, and therein made good the prediction of the prophet.

The word of the Lord came unto *Jonah*, ſaying, "Ariſe and go to *Nineve*, and there "cry aloud to them, that, that great king-"dom is to be ſuddenly deſtroyed." But *Jonah*, to avoid the danger of being the meſſenger of ſuch tidings to them, went aboard a veſſel at *Joppa*, that was bound for *Tarſhiſh* in *Cilicia*. While they were upon the way, there aroſe a violent tempeſt, that put them all to their wits end. But it was obſerved, that while the crew were at their prayers, and labouring to keep the ſhip above water, *Jonah* lay flat upon his face in the hold. The ſtorm encreaſing, the company took up a conceit that this calamity had befallen them for the wickedneſs of ſome or other of the people that they had aboard. And ſo they agreed among themſelves to put it to the lot, who might be the man.* They did ſo, and the lot fell upon the prophet. This put the crew upon enquiring what he was, and what might be his buſineſs. He told them that he was an *Hebrew*, and a prophet to the great God: But I am the man, ſays he, that have raiſed the ſtorm, and you have no way left you to ſave yourſelves and the veſſel, but by caſting me overboard. They looked upon it at firſt to be ſo inhuman to deliver up one that had put his life into their hands to ſo certain a deſtruction, that for a while they durſt not reſolve upon it; but in the end, partly by the extreme neceſſity of the caſe, (for the ſhip was upon the very point of ſinking) partly by the authority of the prophet, and partly by their own fear, they were prevailed upon, and threw him into the ſea; in which inſtant the ſtorm ceaſed. The hiſtory ſays that he was taken up by a whale, and after three days, caſt up again, ſound and living, upon the *Euxine Sea*, and nothing amiſs about him: From whence, after pardon obtained from Almighty God for his diſobedience, he went directly to *Ninive*, according to his order and commiſſion. He gets up to a place there, where he might beſt be heard; and thence foretels them, that the empire of *Aſia* was near an end; and upon publiſhing this prophetical declaration, he went his way. This is what we find reported of him in the records of holy ſcripture.

But to return now to *Jeroboam*. After a proſperous reign of forty years, he was buried at *Samaria*, *Zachariah* his ſon ſucceeding him: as *Uzziah* ſucceeded *Amaziah* in the fourteenth year of *Jeroboam*, to the government of the two tribes at *Jeruſalem*. He was a man naturally of great courteſy and juſtice, brave, provident and induſtrious. He made war upon the *Philiſtines*, and took *Gath* and *Jamnia* from them by aſſault; demoliſhing their walls. And he made another expedition alſo againſt the *Arabians*, upon the borders of *Egypt*, and built a town near the *Red-Sea*, which he committed to the guard of a ſtrong garriſon. After this, he ſubdued the *Ammonites*, and put them under contribution, reducing the whole country as the frontiers of *Egypt*, under his power, betaking himſelf in the end, to the care of the city. Where the walls were decayed, he rebuilt them anew, and repaired that breach alſo which the king of the *Iſraelites* had made, when *Amaziah* was his priſoner at his triumphant entrance into the city. He erected alſo ſeveral towers, of one hundred and fifty cubits in height, and built caſtles and ſeveral ſtrong forts for the ſecurity of the open country, beſide a great many aqueducts, ciſterns and baſons for the relief of his herds and cattle, whereof the number was incredible, the country being naturally diſpoſed for paſture. He was himſelf a great lover of tillage, planting, gardening, nurſeries, and all ſorts of huſbandry.

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* This antient piece of religion, of ſuppoſing there was great ſin, where there was great miſery; and of caſting lots to diſcover great ſinners, not only among the *Iſraelites*, but among theſe heathen mariners, ſeems a remarkable remains of the ancient tradition, which prevailed of old over all mankind, that providence uſed to interpoſe viſibly in all human affairs; and never to bring, or at leaſt not long to continue notorious judgments, but for notorious ſins; which the moſt ancient book of *Job* ſhews to have been the ſtate of mankind for about the former three thouſand years of the world, 'till the days of *Job* and *Moſes*.

As to the military part, he had an army of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand ſelect men, under the command of two thouſand brave and experienced officers, all well armed, and trained up to the exerciſe of arms, and the drawing up of armies. He had ſeveral machines and engines alſo for battering, and caſting up of ſtones and darts, beſide hooks, and other inſtruments for attack. In the end, however, he faltered in his integrity, after the example of his father, out of an impotency of mind, that was not able to bear up againſt the tide of a conſtant courſe of proſperity and ſucceſs.

The king, upon a ſolemn feſtival day, once dreſſed up himſelf in a ſacerdotal habit, and went up into the holy temple to offer up incenſe to the Lord upon the golden altar; but *Azariah* the high-prieſt, with a train of fourſcore prieſts more along with him, ruſhed into the temple to the king, exclaiming againſt the wickedneſs of that uſurpation, in breaking in upon an office belonging peculiarly to the prieſts of the race of *Aaron*, excluſive of all others: So that *Azariah* bad him begone, and not provoke the wrath of God with thoſe indignities any longer. The king in a paſſion bad them be quiet, upon the peril of their lives: Which menace was followed with a terrible earthquake, and the roof of the temple opening with the ſhock of it, there paſſed a beam of the ſun through the cleft that ſtruck directly upon the face of this ſacrilegeous prince, who in that very moment became a leper. And this prodigy was accompanied with another. There was a place at ſome ſmall diſtance weſtward from the town, that they called *Eroge*, where, by the ſame earthquake, one half of a great mountain was torn from the other; and after it had rolled over and over, about the ſpace of four furlongs, it ſtopped upon the eaſt ſide of a mountain over againſt it, having choked up the high-way, and covered the king's gardens all over with rubbiſh.

When the prieſts found the king was leprous, and that the Lord had ſmitten him, they admoniſhed him to depart the city, as an unclean perſon, and not fit for common ſociety. The ſhame of lying under ſuch a calamity, had by this time ſo far brought down his impious pride and ſtomach, that he ſubmitted and obeyed; and when he had lived for ſome time a private life out of the city, *Jotham* his ſon taking upon him the adminiſtration of the government, his grief brought him at length to the grave, in the ſixty eighth year of his age, and in the fifty ſecond of his reign; and his body was laid in his garden, in a monument by itſelf.

CHAP. XII.

Zachariah, *King of the* Iſraelites, *Murdered: With ſome other Occurrences.*

ZACHARIAH, the king of the *Iſraelites*, and the ſon of *Jeroboam*, in the ſeventh year of his reign, was murdered by the treachery of one of his own domeſtics, *Shallum* by name, the ſon of *Jabeſh*; who upon the ſlaughter of *Zachariah* took poſſeſſion of his government. It was ill obtained, and he loſt it on the thirtieth day after the ſeizing of it. *Menahem*, who at that time had the command of an army that was at *Tirzah*, upon the news of what had befallen *Zachariah*, marched preſently with his troops to *Samaria*, where he fought and overthrew *Shallum*, put him to the ſword, and afterward by his own authority took all the enſigns of royalty to himſelf, and exerciſed ſovereign power. With this victorious army he marched to *Tirzah*; but the citizens refuſed to admit him, which put him into ſuch a rage, that he laid waſte their whole country, and in the end took the town by aſſault, and put them all to the ſword, without ſparing ſo much as a child.

He was threatened after this with an invaſion by *Pul*, the king of *Aſſyria*; but he came to a timely agreement with him, for the compoſition of a thouſand ſilver talents, which he raiſed upon the people at fifty ſhekels a head. He died ſoon after, and was buried at *Samaria*, leaving *Pekahiah*, the next heir to ſucceed him; who inherited the inhumanity and ill nature of his father, as well as the government. But after two years reign, he was cut to pieces, with ſeveral of his friends about him at a public feaſt, by the treachery of *Pekah* the ſon of *Remaliah*, one of his tribunes; who thereupon ſeized upon the government, and reigned twenty years; leaving it a queſtion at laſt, Whether he was more remarkable for his impiety to God, or for his injuſtice towards Men?

In the days of *Pekah*, *Tiglath-Pileſer*, king of the *Aſſyrians*, invaded the *Iſraelites*, and after the ſubduing of the land of *Gilead*, and the country beyond *Jordan*, and that part of *Galilee* that lies next it, as alſo *Cydida* and *Aſora*, he took the inhabitants priſoners, and carried them away into his own country.

Jotham the ſon of *Uzziah* reigned in *Jeruſalem* over the tribe of *Judah*, his mother a native of that city, and her name *Jeruſhah*; a prince celebrated for all excellent qualities, exemplary for his reverence to God, for his juſtice to men, and for the care he took of the common-wealth. He repaired the decays of the porches and galleries in the temple, made good the city walls where they were falling to ruin, and erected large and ſtrong towers: He brought the *Ammonites* under the contribution of a hundred talents a year, thirty thouſand meaſures of wheat, and as many of barley, advancing the kingdom to ſuch a ſtate, that the people were both happy at home, and formidable abroad.

In the reign of this prince there appeared a prophet, whoſe name was *Nahum*; and he foretold the deſtruction of *Nineve*, and the ſubverſion of the *Aſſyrian* empire, in manner as follows. "The condition of "*Nineve*," ſays he, "ſhall be like that of a fiſh-pool, in a violent agitation of the waters before a great wind. The people ſhall fly away before the ſtorm, in terror, trouble and confuſion, calling out one to another, hold, ſtay a little, and take your gold and your ſilver along with you; but no body ſhall mind it, for their lives ſhall be much dearer to them than their treaſure. They ſhall have deſperate factions and diviſions among themſelves; weeping and wailing, with the knocking of their knees, and death in their faces. What will become of the habitation of the lion, and the dams of the lion's whelps? *Nineve*, ſays the Lord, I will ſtrike thee out from off the face of the earth, and put an end to the outrages of the wild beaſts, that thou haſt ſent into the world." This prophecy was made good a hundred and fifteen years after.

CHAP. XIII.

The Death of Jotham. Ahaz *ſucceeds him.*

JOTHAM departed this life in the one and fortieth year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign; and *Ahaz* ſucceeded him. He was the moſt impious prince of all that ever ſat upon that throne, both for his apoſtacy from the laws of his country, and for his idolatries. He built altars in *Jeruſalem*, ſacrificing to idols upon them, and his own ſon among the reſt for a burnt-offering, after the manner of the *Chananites*.

While *Ahaz* was in the courſe of theſe wicked extravagances, *Rezin* the king of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah* the king of the *Iſraelites*, being joined in a league of alliance, marched together up to *Jeruſalem*, beſieging it very cloſe, and lay a conſiderable time before it: But the place was ſo well fortified and defended, that he was forced to raiſe the ſiege. In the mean while the king of *Syria* poſſeſſed himſelf of the city of *Elath*, by the *Red Sea*, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and introduced a colony of *Syrians* into their places. He poſſeſſed himſelf, after this, of ſeveral caſtles and ſtrong holds, did terrible execution upon the *Jews*, and with a prodigious booty marched his army back again to *Damaſcus*.

When the king of *Jeruſalem* underſtood that the *Syrians* were gone, he looked upon himſelf to be a match for the king of *Iſrael*, and ſo drew out an army againſt him: But his wickedneſs was ſo great, that God in a juſt indignation gave the victory to his enemy, with the loſs of a hundred and twenty thouſand of his men. In the ſame battle, *Zachariah* the general of the *Iſraelites* killed *Amiah* the ſon of *Ahaz* in a perſonal encounter; and ſlew alſo *Azica* the captain of the guards; taking *Elkanah*, the general of the *Jews*, priſoner; beſide a world of captives of both ſexes of the *Benjamites*, whom they carried away, and returned with the ſpoil to *Samaria*.

There was at that time a prophet in *Samaria*, whoſe name was *Obel*, who went out of the town to meet the army in their return before the walls, crying out to them with a loud voice, that they were not to look upon this victory as an advantage gained by their own virtue and valour, but as a judgment from heaven upon King *Ahaz*; that they were to blame not to reſt ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of their undertaking, without making ſlaves of their kindred and relations of the two tribes, adviſing them to ſet them at liberty, and ſend them home again, upon the peril of falling under God's diſpleaſure, if they refuſed it. The *Iſraelites*, upon this admonition, called a council. The queſtion being put, there ſtood up one *Berechiah*, a man of great authority, who, with three more, declared themſelves utterly againſt the bringing any of the priſoners into the town, for fear God's vengeance ſhould fall upon all the reſt. They had enough to anſwer for in tranſgreſſions already paſt, that the prophet had denounced againſt, without any need of adding to the provocation. The ſoldiers were ſo far wrought upon by this conſideration, that they gave their priſoners leave to go whither they would, and to take what they pleaſed along with them.

This laſt blow from the *Iſraelites* forced *Ahaz* to bethink himſelf of calling in aſſiſtance toward the carrying on of the war. He accordingly ſent an embaſſy to *Tiglath Pileſer*, the king of the *Aſſyrians*, with promiſes of great ſums of money, and magnificent preſents, craving ſuccours from him againſt the *Iſraelites*, and thoſe of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*. This prince no ſooner heard of the deſire and propoſal of *Ahaz*, but he marched immediately to his aid, laying the country of *Syria* waſte, taking *Damaſcus* by aſſault, and putting *Rezin* the king to the ſword. The people of *Damaſcus* he tranſported to the *Upper Media*, and ſupplied their places at *Damaſcus* with colonies of his own people. And then he depopulated a great part of the land of the *Iſraelites*, carrying away vaſt numbers of them priſoners. After the haraſſing of the *Syrians* at this rate, *Ahaz* took all the gold and ſilver out of the king's treaſury, and that likewiſe out of the temple, with all the rich donatives and preſents, and carried the whole maſs along with him to *Damaſcus*, where, according to his agreement, he delivered all up to the king of *Aſſyria*, with acknowledgments for the favour of his relief, and then returned back again to *Jeruſalem*. This king unhappily had ſo little ſenſe either of honour or of reaſon, that the mortal enmity betwixt him and the *Syrians* did not hinder him yet from worſhipping their gods, and joining in their ceremonies, vainly perſuading himſelf that they would be propitious to his arms, in favour of his impious zeal in a falſe worſhip. And then, when he was overcome, on the other hand, his buſineſs was to make friends of the gods of the *Aſſyrians*. This apoſtacy drew down the wrath and vengeance of God upon him. Nay, after he had robbed and rifled the temple of all that was precious in it, he commanded the very doors to be kept ſhut too. But at laſt, after a conſtant courſe of theſe outrageous impieties, he departed this life at thirty-ſix years of age, and in the ſixteenth of his reign, leaving his ſon *Hezekiah* his ſucceſſor to the government. About this time, *Pekah*, king of *Iſrael*, loſt both his government and his life by the treachery of a court confident, whoſe name was *Hoſea*, who enjoyed the fruit of an impious violence and uſurpation, for the ſpace of nine years. He was one of the worſt of men; and, in his life and converſation, he ſhewed not the leaſt thought or belief of a God. *Salmanezer*, the king of the *Aſſyrians*, led an army againſt him, and being caſt off by God, he was eaſily overcome, and forced to ſubmit to the terms of a tributary.

In the fourth year of *Hoſea*'s reign, *Hezekiah* came to be king of *Jeruſalem*. He was the ſon of *Ahaz*, by *Abiac*, a native of that city, a perſon of an excellent underſtanding, and naturally a lover and practiſer of piety and juſtice. The firſt thing he did upon his coming to the throne, was to provide for the comfort of his people, in ſettling the great affair of religion and God's worſhip; to which end, he immediately ſummoned a meeting of the prieſts and *Levites*, and treated them with a diſcourſe to this effect. “I “ſhall not need to remind you of the many “and great calamities that have befallen

" you for the iniquities of my father, in not " rendering to God the honour due to him, " and for the madneſs of your being prevailed upon to pay a divine adoration to his " idols; wherefore being now taught by woful experience, how dangerous a thing it " is to prevaricate with the Almighty, it is " my advice, that all paſt miſcarriages may " be forgotten; and that you purify and " purge yourſelves, together with the prieſts " and *Levites*, from all your former pollutions, and after that preparation, that you " ſet open the doors of that holy place; and " when you ſhall have reſtored it to the " ſtate of its original purity and reverence, " by conſecrations, expiatory luſtrations, " and ſacrifices in form, you may then promiſe yourſelves that God will pardon your " impieties, and proſper all your undertakings." The prieſts were ſo encouraged by this advice, that they preſently opened the temple, cleared it of all the profane impurities and defilements, made ready their holy veſſels, and laid their ſacrifices upon the altar, according to the *Jewiſh* manner. The king, in the mean time, ſent meſſengers through all his dominions, to ſummon the people up to *Jeruſalem*, to the feaſt of unleavened bread, which had been then a long time intermitted, through the impious neglect of former kings; exhorting and inviting the *Iſraelites* alſo to give over the practice of their idolatrous ſuperſtitions, and return to the exerciſe of the true religion, and to the worſhip of the true God, promiſing them that they ſhould have free liberty to celebrate this feſtival in common with his own people; that it was not for his own ſake, but for theirs, that he gave them this invitation, and that they themſelves ſhould find the comfort of it, if they followed his counſel. But the *Iſraelites* had the meſſengers in deriſion, and treated the prophets with contempt, for their good offices, in adviſing them to return to their duty, and foretelling them the miſeries that ſhould befal them, without a timely humiliation and repentance. They even took ſeveral of the prophets, and put them to death. At this rate they went on, till God in his wrath avenged himſelf upon them for their impiety, by delivering them up into the hands of their enemies. But there were great numbers yet of the tribes of *Manaſſes*, *Zabulon*, and *Iſſachar*, that had their hearts touched with this premonition of the prophets, and that went in throngs up to *Hezekiah* at *Jeruſalem*, to worſhip.

When the multitude was there gathered together, the king went up to the temple, together with the princes and the people, where he ſacrificed for himſelf ſeven bulls, ſeven rams, and as many goats; and when he had firſt laid his hands upon the head of the victims, both the king and the princes left the execution to the prieſts, who cut the throats of the ſacrifices, and burnt them whole, the *Levites* ſtanding in a ring about them, ſinging divine hymns, and accompanying their voices with muſical inſtruments, in ſuch manner as *David* had preſcribed to them of old, the reſt of the prieſts joining in the conſort. When this was over, the king and the people caſt themſelves proſtrate with their faces upon the ground, and worſhipped the Lord. He ſacrificed after this, ſeventy bullocks, a hundred rams, and two hundred lambs; beſtowing alſo ſix hundred bullocks, and three thouſand other cattle, as an earneſt of the purity of his worſhip, and affection for the people who feaſted thereon. When the prieſts had done their parts, according to the cuſtomary method and order, the king himſelf made good cheer, and communicated with the people, joining together in praiſes and thankſgivings.

The feaſt of unleavened bread was now coming on, and in the time of their preparations for the feaſt of the paſſover, they offered up a courſe of other ſacrifices, for ſeven days ſucceſſively, and the king beſtowed upon the people, out of his own bounty, two thouſand bulls, and ſeven thouſand other cattle, over and above their own number; the princes likewiſe, after *Hezekiah*'s example, adding, out of their own liberality, a thouſand bulls, and a thouſand four hundred other beaſts; inſomuch, that from the days of *Solomon* to this particular time, there was never ſuch a ſolemnity heard of.

When this feſtival was over, they made it their next work to purge the whole country, having firſt purified *Jeruſalem* itſelf from the abomination of their idols. The king then appointed daily ſacrifices according to the law, to be ſupplied out of his own ſtores, and commanded the people to preſent to the prieſts and *Levites* their tenths and firſt fruits, that they might not be taken off from their attendance upon the altar. By this means they were abundantly furniſhed with all ſorts of fruits and proviſions. The king alſo ordered the building of granaries and ſtorehouſes, for the common uſe and ſervice of themſelves, their wives, and children, to be diſtributed in proportion to their ſhare; ſo that, by degrees, the ancient diſcipline came in ſome ſort to be reſtored.

Matters being thus ſettled, the king made war upon the *Philiſtines*, and over-ran their country, and all their cities, from *Gath* to *Gaza*, which he added to his own territories. But the king of *Aſſyria*, in the mean time, ſends a meſſage to him, to demand the tribute from him, which was formerly paid him by his father, with a menace, in caſe of refuſal, to take his country from him; but *Hezekiah* did ſo abſolutely depend upon the goodneſs of God, the conſcience of his own innocency, and the veracity of the prophet *Iſaiah*, from whom he was ſure to be forewarned of the events of things, that he gave no heed at all to the menaces of the *Aſſyrians*.

CHAP. XIV.

Salmanezer *takes* Samaria, *deſtroys the Kingdom of* Iſrael, *carries away* Hoſea *and all his People Priſoners, and plants the Kingdom of* Iſrael *with a Colony of* Chuthites.

UPON intelligence given to *Salmanezer*, king of *Aſſyria*, that the king of *Iſrael* was entered into a ſecret treaty with *So*, the king of *Egypt*, to join in alliance againſt him, the *Aſſyrian*, in a furious indignation, preſently marches with his army againſt *Samaria*, (this was the ſeventh year of the reign of *Hoſea*) and the city ſtanding out againſt him, in the third year of the ſiege, and the ninth of the preſent king, he took it by aſſault, in the ſeventh year of the reign of *Hezekiah* king of *Jeruſalem*. The loſs of this place was the final ruin of the children of *Iſrael*. The people were all carried into *Media* and *Perſia*, and *Hoſea* taken with them; while the king of *Aſſyria* brought others from thence in exchange, as far as *Chuthah*, a river of *Perſia*, to re people the *Iſraelites*, and to plant in *Samaria*, and up and down that country.

The tranſportation of the ten tribes from the place of their abode, fell out to be about 947 years from the coming of their forefathers out of the land of *Egypt*, to their taking poſſeſſion of that land before; 800 years from the days of *Joſhua*, and 240 years ſeven months and ſeven days after the revolt from *Rehoboam*, the grand child of *David*, to *Jeroboam*. This was the miſerable end of that ſtubborn people, who would neither be ſubject to laws, nor hearken to their prophets. The riſe of all theſe calamities took its date from that ſeditious revolt from *Rehoboam*, in advancing a ſervant over the head of his maſter; who drew the indignation of heaven upon the people, by corrupting them into the practice of the ſame abominations after his example.

The king of *Aſſyria*, in fine, ravaged with his army, and commanded with great ſeverity every where in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; mention being alſo made of his name in the hiſtory of the *Tyrians*; for, in the reign of *Elulæus*, as *Menander* has it in his annals, (that were turned out of the *Tyrian* language into *Greek*) he made war upon *Tyre*. His words are to this purpoſe: "This ſame *Elulæus* reigned thirty-ſix years; and upon a revolt of the *Gittæans*, he ſent a fleet thither that reduced them to their obedience; and the king of *Aſſyria* ſent out an army alſo againſt him, and invaded the whole country of *Phœnicia*, till upon the concluſion of a peace, he marched with his troops back again. Some ſhort time after this exploit, the cities of *Dydon*, *Acre*, *Palæ-Tyrus*, and ſeveral other towns, went over from the *Tyrians* to the *Aſſyrian* king; who taking it ſo heinouſly to ſee the *Tyrians* the only people that diſputed his authority and power, he diſpatched a navy againſt them of ſixty ſail, and 800 rowers, under the conduct of the *Phœnicians*, which the *Tyrians* encountered with only twelve veſſels, broke the whole body, and took 500 of the rowers priſoners. The ſucceſs of this encounter gave them a wonderful reputation for their ſkill and ability in naval affairs." The king of *Aſſyria*, upon this affront, returns, and ſets guards along the river, and upon all ſprings and aquæducts, to keep the *Tyrians* from water. The *Tyrians* were in this ſtreight for near five years, when they were forced to relieve themſelves from pits of their own digging.

This is what we find written of *Salmanezer*, in the chronicles of the *Tyrians*. The new comers in *Samaria* are called *Chuthites*, from a country of *Perſia* of that name, and from the river *Chuthah*, from whence they had their original. There were five nations of them, and they brought as many of their own country gods along with them, highly provoking the true and great God to indignation againſt them, for the worſhip they paid to theſe idols. They were viſited with ſo dreadful a plague, that the place was well nigh unpeopled with it; and finding no relief from any human means, they were adviſed by the oracle to have recourſe to the worſhip of the great God, for their caſe was deſperate and hopeleſs, without ſuch an application. The people, immediately upon this, ſent for commiſſioners to attend the king of *Aſſyria* with a petition to him, requeſting he would ſend them ſome of the prieſts that were carried away captives with the *Iſraelites*. This being granted, and the prieſts brought, as they deſired, they had the law of *Moſes* read, with an explication upon the practice and reaſon of their religion and diſcipline, which had ſo happy an effect upon them, that they gave themſelves up wholly to the ſtudy and exerciſe of it, ſoon after which the peſtilence ceaſed. The people of that country retain to this day the name of the *Chuthites*, among the *Hebrews*; but the *Greeks* call them *Samaritans*. They are a people unfixed, and changeable in their opinions and inclinations, accommodating themſelves to the preſent time and occaſion. So long as the *Jews* are proſperous, "We are all of a blood," they cry, "and of the lineage of *Joſeph*;" but if they happen to fall under any affliction or adverſity, "Alas!" they ſay, "we have nothing to do with them, they are ſtrangers to us; we came a great way off," they ſay, "into that country," and the like.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK X.

From the Year of the World 3224, to 3425.

CHAP. I.

Sennacherib *enters* Judah *with a mighty Army. The Prophet* Iſaiah *promiſes* Hezekiah *Aſſiſtance from Heaven.*

IN the fourteenth year of *Hezekiah*, king of the two tribes, *Sennacherib*, the king of *Aſſyria*, marched againſt him, with a powerful and well diſciplined army; and having taken all the cities of *Judah* and *Benjamin* by aſſault, he was advancing towards *Jeruſalem*, when an embaſſy came to him with an offer of ſubmiſſion to his power, and of paying him tribute. *Sennacherib* gave the ambaſſadors audience, and reſolved immediately to deſiſt from the war, and to treat upon the king's terms, promiſing, with the ſolemnity of an oath, that upon the receipt of three hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty of gold, he would retire with his army, without attempting any further act of hoſtility againſt him. *Hezekiah*, upon this aſſurance, emptied all the treaſures, and ſent him the money, in confidence of the enemy's removal according to his oath. The *Aſſyrian* took the money, but broke his word; for he marched himſelf with his troops againſt the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, and left *Rabſhaketh*, lieutenant-general, with *Tharata* and *Anacharis*, as fellow-commiſſioners with him, to carry on the war againſt *Jeruſalem*. Upon the drawing up of their army, they pitched their camp within ſight of the walls of the town, and, by a meſſenger, ſummoned *Hezekiah* out to a parley.

Hezekiah ſent out three of his particular friends, *Eliakim*, his deputy governor, and *Shebnah* and *Joah*, keepers of the records. Upon their coming out of the town, and preſenting themſelves before the officers of the *Aſſyrian* army, *Rabſhaketh*, ſtaring them in the face, bid them carry their maſter this meſſage: “That the great King *Sennacherib* “ would fain know what confidence it is “ that he values himſelf upon, that he “ ſhould dare to make any great difficulty of “ owning that great king for his maſter, “ and to refuſe entrance to his army into “ the city. What,” ſays *Rabſhaketh*, “does “ he flatter himſelf with hope of relief from “ *Egypt*, as if the *Egyptians* were in condition to cope with the army of my maſter? “ Why certainly he muſt be worſe than “ mad to imagine it, and to truſt to a broken reed, that will both deceive him, if “ he truſts to it, and run into his hand, and “ wound him, if he lays any ſtreſs upon it. “ But,” ſays *Rabſhaketh*, “you are to inform your maſter, that this expedition is “ not attempted without God's holy will “ and direction, who will as certainly give “ the king of *Aſſyria* victory over *Hezekiah* “ and his ſubjects, as he hath already made “ him victorious over the *Iſraelites*.” *Rabſhaketh* delivered himſelf in *Hebrew*, being a language that he was well ſkilled in; but *Eliakim* fearing the effect ſuch a diſcourſe in a known tongue might have upon the multitude, deſired him rather, if he pleaſed, to ſpeak *Syriack*. *Rabſhaketh* very well underſtanding what the other was afraid of, raiſed his voice, and continued his diſcourſe ſtill in *Hebrew*, to this purpoſe. “Pray,” ſays *Rabſhaketh*, “let your people hear, and underſtand the commands of my maſter; “ for it concerns them ſo to do, and to “ render themſelves in ſeaſon. It is the “ buſineſs, I know, both of yourſelves, and “ of your king, to ſeduce your people with “ vain hopes of defending themſelves by “ force; but if you have any ſort of pretence “ to beat off this army from your walls, I “ am ready to furniſh you with two thouſand horſe, if you will only find riders to “ them. But, alas! you have not wherewithal to try the experiment. Why are “ you then ſo long a deliberating upon a “ thing you will be compelled to do in the “ concluſion? eſpecially in a caſe where “ you are ſafe, if you do it willingly, and “ run all hazards, if you ſtay to be driven to “ it upon conſtraint.”

This was all ſpoken in the hearing as well of the people as of the deputies, and no ſooner brought to the king's ear, but he immediately ſtripped himſelf of his royal robes, and put on ſackcloth, in token of his humiliation, caſt himſelf proſtrate upon the ground, and implored the aid and favour of almighty God, being utterly hopeleſs of any comfort elſewhere. He ſent likewiſe to the prophet *Iſaiah*, to deſire him that he would intercede with the Lord for the abatement of the pride and power of the enemy, in compaſſion to his people. The prophet complied with the king's requeſt ſo far, that he was authorized by the oracle to bid the king and his friends be of good courage, for the enemy ſhould be overcome without a battle, and abandon his deſign with loſs and diſgrace, and that the hand of God ſhould be upon him to his ruin; that *Sennacherib* himſelf ſhould miſcarry in his *Egyptian* expedition, and then return again, where he ſhould fall by the ſword.

It happened at this time that *Hezekiah* received letters from the king of *Aſſyria*, expoſtulating with him how vain it was to imagine any poſſibility under his circumſtances of maintaining his liberty againſt the power of a prince that had already ſubjected ſo many warlike nations to his obedience; concluding with a menace of putting both man, woman, and child to the ſword, if they did not, without delay, ſet open their city gates, and give a free paſſage to his army. *Hezekiah* did ſo abſolutely depend upon the truth and power of God, that he laid no ſtreſs at all upon this huffing letter, but folded it up again, and laid it in the temple, betaking himſelf ſtill to repeated prayers and ſupplications for the ſafety of the city, 'till *Iſaiah* returned with this anſwer:

“ That his petition was heard, that the “ danger was over, and that there were happier times at hand, wherein they ſhould “ live in peace and ſecurity upon their lands “ and poſſeſſions, without fear of an enemy.”

In proceſs of time the king of *Aſſyria*, finding all his attempts to be fruſtrated, he withdrew his army, and went back again upon this occaſion. He had ſpent a great deal of time before *Peluſium*, and at laſt when he was upon the very point of making the aſſault, news was brought him, that *Tirhakah*, the king of *Ethiopia*, was upon his march with a great reinforcement to aſſiſt the *Egyptians*, and that he took his way through the deſert, with a deſign to fall upon the *Aſſyrians* by ſurpriſe. *Sennacherib* was ſo ſtartled at this report, that he immediately drew off his army. *Herodotus* calls this war of *Sennacherib*'s againſt the king of *Egypt*, a war againſt the prieſt of *Vulian*, as being both a king and a prieſt of that falſe god. This was the reaſon, ſays he, of *Sennacherib's* raiſing the ſiege of *Peluſium*. The king of *Egypt*, upon this occaſion, called to his God for help; which being granted him, was fatal to the *Arabian*, by a miſtake, writing *Arabian* for *Aſſyrian*. And, ſays he, in one night there came ſuch troops of rats into the camp of the *Aſſyrians*, that they gnawed all their bow-ſtrings to pieces, and made uſeleſs ſeveral other pieces of their arms, even to the diſarming of the *Aſſyrians*, who, upon this diſappointment, drew off from the town.

Beroſus, a *Chaldee* hiſtorian, ſpeaks of this king *Sennacherib*, and how he reigned over the *Aſſyrians*, and made war upon all *Aſia* and *Egypt*. His words are to the following effect.

Sennacherib, at his return from the *Egyptian* war, found his army that he had left under the command of *Rabſhaketh*, almoſt quite deſtroyed by a judicial peſtilence, which ſwept away to the number of one hundred and eighty five thouſand men, the firſt night they ſat down before the city. This dreadful mortality put *Sennacherib* in ſuch a fright, that he made all poſſible haſte back again, by great marches, to his palace at *Nineve*, where, after a while, he was cut off by his two eldeſt ſons *Adramelech* and *Sharezer*, in the temple of *Araſcus*, which was his darling idol. They fled upon it, into *Armenia*; *Eſarhaddon* the third ſon, ſucceeding to the government: And thus ended this expedition.

CHAP. II.

Hezekiah *falls Sick, and has fifteen Years added to his Life. A League between him and* Balad *the King of* Babylon. Iſaiah's *Prophecy.*

HEZEKIAH being now delivered from any farther apprehenſion of trouble or danger; and being likewiſe thoroughly convinced that it was the immediate hand of God that wrought his preſervation, he betook himſelf to vows and thankſgivings for the mercies he had received: And while his thoughts were wholly taken up with the honour and worſhip of God, he was ſeized with ſo grievous a diſtemper that his phyſicians

cians deſpaired of his life. In this diſtreſs, nothing went ſo near the king's heart, as to conſider, that upon his dying without iſſue, the ſucceſſion of the family would be then at an end, and the kingdom left without a legitimate heir.

This conſideration lay ſo heavy upon him, that he addreſſed himſelf to God with ſupplications and tears, only for the prolonging of his life 'till he might have a ſucceſſor out of his own loins. Upon this, the prophet *Iſaiah* was ſent to him with the comfortable aſſurance that in three days his diſeaſe ſhould leave him, and that he ſhould yet live fifteen years longer, and the kingdom deſcend at laſt to his own ſon and heir. When the prophet had delivered this meſſage to the king, the diſeaſe was ſo deſperate, and the news ſo ſurpriſing, that *Hezekiah* could not bring himſelf to depend upon it without ſome token from *Iſaiah*, in confirmation that he was ſent from God upon this errand. The prophet aſked what ſign or token would give him ſatisfaction. So he propounded that the ſhadow upon his dial might go ten degrees backward from the place where it then ſtood. * The king, finding this miracle wrought upon the prayers of the prophet, was reſtored preſently to his health; and went immediately up to the temple, and paid his devotion.

It was about this time that the *Aſſyrian* empire happened to be diſſolved by the *Medes*, of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere. But *Balad* the king of *Babylon*, having ſent ambaſſadors with preſents to *Hezekiah*, invited him into a league of amity and alliance. *Hezekiah* received the commiſſioners with great courteſy, gave them a royal entertainment, ſhewed them his treaſure and his armoury, and whatever elſe he had that was magnificent and valuable, and in the end ſent them back again well rewarded. Upon this *Iſaiah* came to him, and aſked him what thoſe men were, and from whence they came: He told the prophet that they were ſent from the king of *Babylon*, and that he had ſhewed them all the riches and curioſities of his palace, that they might gather from thence how great a prince he was. "Know then," ſays the prophet, "that it will not be long before "this treaſure of yours ſhall be carried to "*Babylon*; ſeveral of your poſterity ſhall be "unmann'd, and ſerve the court of *Babylon*, in the quality of eunuchs. This you "will find to be a truth; for God himſelf "hath foretold it.

This prediction went to the very ſoul of *Hezekiah*. "Well," ſays he, "though I "cannot but be much troubled at the "thought of the miſery that attends my family, yet ſince it is God's pleaſure that it "ſhould be ſo, I have no more to beg from "Heaven, than that I may enjoy the ſmall "remainder of my miſerable life in peace." *Beroſus* takes notice alſo of this *Balad*, king of *Babylon*. But the prophet *Iſaiah*, who was ſo infallibly inſpired, committed all his prophecies to writing, and left them to poſterity for all men to judge of what he foretold, by the event: And there were twelve more that did the ſame; and in all caſes of event whatſoever, good or evil, the accompliſhment and the prophecy agree exactly together. Finally, when *Hezekiah* had ſurvived in peace, he died in the five and fiftieth year of his life, and the nine and twentieth of his reign.

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* As to this regreſs of the ſhadow, either upon a ſun-dial, or the ſteps of the royal palace built by *Ahaz*, whether it were phyſically done, by the real miraculous revolution of the earth, in its diurnal motion, backward, from eaſt to weſt for a while; and its return again to its own natural revolution from weſt to eaſt; or whether it were not apparent only, and performed by an ærial *phoſphorus*: (of which ſort, though under other ſhapes, we have had a great many of late years, (which imitated the ſun's motion backward, while a cloud hid the real ſun,) cannot now be determined, philoſophers and aſtronomers will naturally incline to the latter hypotheſis. However, it muſt be noted, that *Joſephus* ſeems to have underſtood it otherwiſe than we generally do: That the ſhadow was accelerated as much at firſt forward, as it was made to go backward afterward, and ſo the day was neither longer nor ſhorter than uſual: Which it muſt be confeſſed, agrees beſt of all to aſtronomy, whoſe eclipſes elder than that time were obſerved at the ſame times of the day as if this miracle had never happened. After all, this wonderful ſignal was not, it ſeems, peculiar to *Judea*; but either ſeen, or at leaſt heard of at *Babylon* alſo; as appears 2 *Chr* xxxii 31.

CHAP. III.

Manaſſeh, *a wicked Prince. The King of* Babylon *takes him Priſoſoner: But is ſet at Liberty. His Death.* Amon *his Son ſucceeds him, and his Son* Joſiah *came next to the Throne.*

MANASSEH the ſon of *Hezekiah* by *Hepzibah*, a native of *Jeruſalem*, ſucceded his father in the government; but led a life directly contrary to that of his predeceſſor. No impiety eſcaped him; but he made choice of all ſorts of abominations that had brought ſo many heavy judgments upon the *Iſraelites*, for his imitation and example. He began his reign with the contempt of God, and ſo proceeded to a barbarous and bloody perſecution of holy and good men, dipping his hands in the blood of the very prophets themſelves: Inſomuch that ſcarce a day paſſed without putting ſome or other of them to death, ſo that the very ſtreets of *Jerulaem* ran with blood. The cry of theſe impious inhuman outrages called ſo loud to heaven for vengeance, that God was highly incenſed, and ſent prophet after prophet, both to the king and to the people, with cautions to them to repent in time, and to return to their duty, upon the peril of ſuffering the like calamities for the ſame ſins that their brethren the *Iſraelites* had ſuffered before them: But to theſe diſcourſes they gave no credit, till it was too late; God ſtirred up the king of *Babylon* and *Chaldæa*, to make war upon them, who ſent an army into *Judæa* that over-ran and deſtroyed the whole country, ſurpriſed *Manaſſeh*, and carried him away priſoner. This miſerable prince came now by dear-bought experience to be ſenſible of his fault; and upon that reflection, earneſtly beſought God, only ſo far to ſoften the hearts of his enemies, as might move them to treat him with ſome ſort of tenderneſs and humanity. God was not yet inexorable, but in pity gave ear to his ſupplication.

The king of *Babylon*, after ſome time, gave *Manaſſeh* his liberty, and reſtored him to his former government. Upon his arrival at *Jeruſalem*, by the leave and clemency of the conqueror, he did all the good that was poſſible, to atone for his former miſcarriages, even to the burying of them in oblivion, being now quite another man in his inclination and manners, and wholly intent upon the advancement of religion. He purged the city, and conſecrated the temple afreſh. And when he had reſtored religion, and the diſcipline of it, to its original ſtate and purity, he made it his buſineſs to fortify *Jeruſalem*, repaired the old walls, and encompaſſed them with new ones. He built ſeveral high and ſtrong towers, and furniſhed ed all the out-works with proviſions of all ſorts. He was, in fine, ſo much altered for the better, that from the inſtant of his return to God, to the day of his death, he was looked upon to be one of the happieſt of princes. He died at ſixty-ſeven years of age, in the five and fiftieth of his reign, and was buried in his own gardens. His ſon *Amon*, whom he had by *Emalſema*, of the city of *Jabat*, ſucceeded him in the government. This prince following the looſe example of his father's youth, ſome of his familiar friends and domeſtics cut him off in the four and twentieth year of his life, and the ſecond of his reign. The people did him juſtice upon his murderers, and laid his body in the monument of his father, delivering up the government to his ſon *Joſiah*, who was at that time a youth of about eight years of age.

CHAP. IV.

Joſiah's *Zeal for the Extirpation of Idolatry.*

THE mother of *Joſiah* was born in *Boſcath*, her name *Jedida*, and himſelf of an excellent diſpoſition, propoſing the example of *David* for the rule of his whole life. In the twelfth year of his age he gave an eminent inſtance of an innate piety and juſtice, in the reformation of the people from their erroneous perſuaſions concerning falſe gods. He repealed ſeveral ordinances of his forefathers, corrected what he found amiſs, and applied proper remedies where the caſe required. Where he found matters well, he kept them ſo, and lived in conformity to what he approved; and all this he did partly out of an inbred faculty of choice and judgment, and partly upon the advice of his counſel. Wherefore he cauſed all the groves to be cut down that were dedicated to falſe gods, their altars to be demoliſhed, and all the donatives that had been conſecrated by their anceſtors to the honour of a falſe worſhip, to be taken away, both in the city, and all over his dominions; by which means the people were drawn from the vanity of their ſuperſtitions, to a reverence for the true religion. He appointed alſo certain magiſtrates and commiſſioners for the regulation of manners, and the ordering of matters in private caſes. He likewiſe diſpatched meſſengers through all his dominions, with orders to receive contributions of gold and ſilver toward the reparation of the temple. The money being collected and brought in, the care thereof and expence was committed to *Amaſiah*, the governor of the city, *Shaphan* the ſcribe, *Joath* the recorder, and *Helkiah* the high prieſt, with orders immediately to enter upon the work, and to provide artficers, ahd all materials neceſſary for the reparation. This was the riſe to the rebuilding of the temple, and erecting a laſting monument to poſterity of the king's piety and bounty.

Joſiah, in the eighteenth year of his reign, ordered *Helkiah* the prieſt to have the ſurpluſage of the gold and ſilver that remained above the charge of the fabric, to be caſt into cups, chalices, goblets, and other veſſels, for the uſe and ſervice of the temple, giving order likewiſe, that all the gold and ſilver yet remaining in the treaſury, ſhould be brought out, and applied to the ſame purpoſes. But the high prieſt, upon removing the gold, happened to diſcover the ſacred books of *Moſes*, as they were depoſited in the temple, which he took out, and gave to *Shaphan* the ſcribe to peruſe; who, upon reading them over, went to the king, and told him, they had executed all his commands; but withal, that they had found the books of *Moſes*, which he read over to *Joſiah*. Upon the reading of theſe books, the king rent his garment, and calling ſome of his particular friends about him, with the ſcribe himſelf, and *Helkiah* the high prieſt, he ſent them to the propheteſs *Huldah*, the wife of *Shallum*, a man of great eminence, to deſire her interceſſion to God on their behalf; for it was much to be feared that ſome heavy judgment would befal that people for their anceſtors neglect and contempt of the laws of *Moſes*; and leſt they ſhould be forced away from their native ſoil, to live like vagabonds, diſperſed over the face of the earth, and end their days in miſery, without obtaining a reconciliation to God. The propheteſs, upon the hearing of the king's orders and inſtructions, bade them return him this anſwer: That the ſentence was already pronounced, and not to be recalled, upon any ſupplication or interceſſion whatſoever: That the people were to be baniſhed their own country, and puniſhed for their diſobedience with the loſs of all the comforts of human life; and that this judgment was irrevocable, for their obſtinacy in their ſuperſtitious impieties, notwithſtanding the many earneſt exhortations to a timely repentance, and the prophet's menacing predictions of all theſe judgments to come upon them, if they went on in their wickedneſs. "But however, tell the king," ſays the propheteſs, "that in regard to his "tenderneſs and goodneſs, God would be "yet ſo gracious, as not to bring this judgment upon the people in his days; but "that the days of his death ſhall be the eve "to their final deſtruction."

Joſiah, upon this, ſent meſſengers up and down to all the cities, commanding all the prieſts and *Levites*, and men of all ages and conditions, to come up to *Jeruſalem*. The firſt thing he did upon the meeting was to read the holy books of *Moſes* to them; after which, advancing himſelf upon a place higher than the reſt, he gave them an oath of obedience to the laws and precepts of *Moſes*, and the obſervance of God's holy worſhip; which was taken by the whole multitude with great alacrity. This ſacred oath was followed with ſacrifices and prayers to God for the grace of his favour and bleſſing. In the next place, he laid a ſtrict charge upon the high prieſt to take a particular account of the plate and veſſels in the temple, and to caſt out ſo many of them as he ſhould find to have been dedicated, by any of his anceſtors, to the worſhip of idols. There were a great many pieces of that kind, that were all broken to duſt, and the powder thrown into the air: All the prieſts being likewiſe put to death, that were not of the ſtock of *Aaron*.

Upon the perfecting of this reformation in *Jeruſalem*, the king took a progreſs thro' his whole dominions, where he deſtroyed all the relicts of *Jeroboam*'s idolatry, and burnt the bones of the falſe prophets upon the very altar that *Jeroboam* had ſet up.

Joſiah's zeal however did not reſt here, for he not only ſent, but went himſelf to ſeveral other *Iſraelites* that had eſcaped from the bondage of the *Aſſyrians*, to perſuade them to deſiſt from their ſuperſtitious wandering after foreign religions, and betake themſelves to the worſhip of the great God of their fathers, according to the rites and cuſtoms of their country, and him only to ſerve. He cauſed a ſtrict charge to be delivered in all towns and villages, for the diſcovery of any remains of idolatrous practices that might lie concealed, and even the very figures of the horſes over the porch of the temple, that their forefathers had dedicated to the ſun, and what other monuments ſoever, to which the ignorance of the common people had ever aſcribed divine honour, *Joſiah* cauſed them all to be taken away and deſtroyed.

After the purging of the whole nation in this manner, he called all the people together up to *Jeruſalem*, to celebrate the feaſt of unleavened bread, otherwiſe called the paſſover, and gave the multitude, out of his own ſtore, thirty goats, a thouſand lambs, and three thouſand oxen. The heads of the prieſts contributed likewiſe to the prieſts upon the ſame occaſion, two thouſand ſix hundred lambs; and the chief of the *Levites* gave to their tribe five thouſand lambs, and five hundred bullocks. This prodigious number of victims were offered up in ſacrifice, according to the laws of *Moſes*. The prieſts had the conduct of the ſolemnity, and the precedency in their example to the people. From the time of *Samuel* the prophet, to that day, there had never been ſo ſolemn a feſtival; and the reaſon of it was this, that every thing was done according to the direction of the law, and the preſcriptions of ancient cuſtom. *Joſiah*, after this, enjoyed his government in peace, honour, and plenty. And we ſhall now proceed to give an account how he came to his end.

Pharaoh Nechoh, the king of *Egypt*, marched with a powerful army toward *Euphrates*, againſt the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, that had overturned the *Aſſyrian* empire, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of *Aſia*. When he had advanced as far as *Megiddo*, a town under the juriſdiction of *Joſiah*, *Joſiah* abſolutely refuſed him any paſſage through his country againſt the *Medes*. *Pharaoh*, upon this, ſent a herald, to give *Joſiah* to underſtand, that he had no thought of any hoſtility toward him, nor any deſign but to make a running march of it toward *Euphrates*, deſiring him withal not to put him upon any neceſſity of making his way by force, which was a thing very diſtant from his intention. But *Joſiah* perſiſted in the denial of his paſſage, which looked as if he had been driven upon this inexorable obſtinacy by the impulſe of a fatality that improved this denial to his ruin. For as he was at the head of his army, an *Egyptian*, with an arrow, quickly put an end to the eagerneſs he had for that war: For finding himſelf to be ſhot, and impatient of the pain, he commanded his army to retire, returning himſelf to *Jeruſalem*, where he died of the wound. He was buried with a mighty pomp, in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, at nine and thirty years of age, and in the one and thirtieth of his reign; the people mourning for him ſeveral days, with great ſorrow and lamentation. The prophet *Jeremiah* wrote a paſſionate elegy upon this occaſion, which is yet extant, plainly foretelling the approach of the *Babyloniſh* captivity; committing his predictions to writing for the information of poſterity. *Ezekiel* alſo left behind him in writing two books of prophetical preſages upon this ſubject. Theſe two prophets were both of the ſacerdotal race; *Jeremiah* living at *Jeruſalem* from the thirteenth year of *Joſiah*, to the time of the deſtruction of the temple and city.

After the death of *Joſiah*, his ſon *Jehoahaz* took the government upon him in the three and twentieth year of his age, and kept his court at *Jeruſalem*. He was a man of an immoral converſation, and his mother's name was *Hamutal*.

The king of *Egypt*, upon his return from the war, ſent for *Jehoahaz* to come to him to *Hamath*, a city of *Syria*, where he put him in fetters, and delivered up the government to *Eliakim*, his elder brother, by the ſame father: But changing his name for *Jehoiakim*, and impoſing a tax upon the country, of a hundred talents of ſilver and one of gold; by which means *Jehoiakim* became his tributary.

As for *Jehoahaz*, he carried him along with him into *Egypt*, where he departed this life, after he had reigned three months and ten days. *Jehoiakim*'s mother's name was *Zabida* of *Ruman*. This prince had the character alſo of a ſpiteful, ill-natured man, without either reverence for God, or tenderneſs for man.

CHAP

CHAP. V.

Nebuchadnezzar *defeats* Pharaoh, *and makes* Jehoiakim *his Tributary.*

IN the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*'s reign, *Nebuchadnezzar* the king of *Babylon* advanced with a mighty army to *Chartabeſa*, a place bordering upon *Euphrates*, with a reſolution to make war upon *Pharaoh Nechob*, who at that time had all *Syria* under his command. The *Egyptian* took the field with a numerous army, and marched to the *Euphrates*, where the two armies engaging, the *Egyptian* was forced to give way with the loſs of many thouſand men. The *Babylonians* thereupon getting over the *Euphrates*, ſubdued the whole country of *Syria* as far as *Peluſium*, *Judea* only excepted.

In the fourth year afterward, of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the eighth of *Jehoiakim*, the *Babylonians* brake in furiouſly upon *Judea*, threatening them with all extremities unleſs they would become tributaries, as the reſt of the inhabitants of *Syria* were. Upon this menace *Jehoiakim* ſubmitted to purchaſe his peace with a ſum of money, and for the ſpace of three years he made due payment of his contribution: But the year following, upon an idle rumour, that the *Egyptian* was advancing an expedition againſt the king of *Babylon*, *Jehoiakim* refuſed to pay him tribute any longer; but the *Egyptians* durſt not look the *Babylonians* in the face: which was no more than the prophet *Jeremiah* had many times foretold, and warned him of; and that he would find the *Egyptians* a broken reed to truſt to.

He preſaged likewiſe the fate of *Jeruſalem*, and that it was ſuddenly to be deſtroyed by the *Babylonians*, and *Jehoiakim* himſelf to be made a priſoner. But theſe were forebodings that no-body laid any ſtreſs upon, and ſo no-body was the better for them: Nay, the generality of the people looked upon them with contempt. Some again exhibited formal accuſations againſt him to the king, and would have him puniſhed as a fomenter of ſedition. The cauſe, in fine, was brought before the council, and the majority were for putting him to death; but ſome were rather for diſcharging him the court, and diverting the blow; for *Jeremiah*, they ſaid, was not the only man that had foretold theſe calamities to the city, but *Micah* had ſaid as much before him, and ſo had ſeveral others, without being called to account for it: Nay, they were rather held in honour for their predictiens, as the prophets of the Lord.

By this ſoft way of reaſoning, the council was wrought upon to make void the ſentence. The prophet put all his predictions in writing; and upon a day of faſting, when the people were met together in the temple, in the ninth month of the fifth year of *Jeohoiakim*, he read the book to the congregation; wherein was contained the whole hiſtory of what was to befal the temple, the city and the people. The princes, upon the hearing of this Book, took it away from the prophet commanding both himſelf and his ſcribe *Baruch*, to be gone immediately, without letting any body know where to find them. They carried the book then to the king, who ordered his ſecretary to read it to him, with his friends about him. The king was ſo tranſported upon the bearing of it, that he tore the book, and threw it in the fire, and ordered *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* to be immediately brought to him, and puniſhed for it: But they were already ſlipt out of the way.

CHAP. VI.

Jehoiakim *receives* Nebuchadnezzar *into* Jeruſalem. *His Perfidy and Cruelty.*

NOT long after this *Jehoiakim* being affrighted with ſo many diſmal predictions, received the king of *Babylon* with his army into the city, for as to his own part, he reckoned himſelf ſecure, and therefore never troubled his head, either for keeping him out, or preparing for a war: But the *Babylonian*, upon his admittance into the city, broke through his conditions, and put the flower of the youth at *Jeruſalem*, together with the king himſelf, to the ſword; commanding his body to be caſt into the fields, and conſtituting his ſon *Jehoiakin* king in father's ſtead. He carried away three thouſand men of note and quality captives to *Babylon*, in which number was the prophet *Ezekiel*, being at that time a youth. This was the end of king *Jehoiakim*, who lived ſix and thirty years, and reigned eleven; and his ſon *Jehoiakin* ſucceeded him. His mother's name was *Nehuſhta* of *Jeruſalem*; and the time of his reign was three months and ten days.

It was not long before the king of *Babylon* came to repent the ſetting of *Jehoiakin* upon the throne: And he ſent an army to beſiege *Jeruſalem*. *Jehoiakin*, being a juſt and an eaſy prince, had not the heart to ſee the city run the riſk of being utterly deſtroyed for his ſake: and thereſore upon a treaty with the king's deputies for the delivering up of the city, upon condition that neither the town itſelf, nor the inhabitants ſhould ſuffer any ſort of damage, the agreement was ratified, and his mother and kindred delivered up as hoſtages to the king's commiſſioners, for the performance of articles: But before a year was out, the king of *Babylon* breaking his faith with them, commanded his officers to ſecure all the youth of the city, and all ſorts of artificers, and to bring them bound and fettered to him, which they did, to the number of ten thouſand eight hundred and thirty two perſons, wherein was *Jehoiakin* himſelf, his mother and kindred; who by the king's command were all kept in cuſtody.

Jehoiakin being now a priſoner, the king of *Babylon* advanced *Zedekiah*, his father's brother to the government in his place, tying him up by an oath, neither to attempt any innovations in that country, nor to join with, or aſſiſt the *Egyptians*. He was one and twenty years of age when he entered upon the command; and he and his brother *Jehoiakin* were ſons of the ſame mother. He had little or no regard either for honour or virtue, and his companions were altogether as wicked and extravagant as himſelf: Beſide that this looſeneſs of manners in his days, was become popular, and the corruption epidemical: Inſomuch that the prophet *Jeremiah* was often at him with earneſt entreaties to change his courſe of life, and to betake himſelf to the love and exerciſe of piety and juſtice, without laying ſo much ſtreſs upon what his courtiers, or his falſe prophets told him; that the *Babylonians* ſhould never trouble *Jeruſalem* again; and that whenever they encountered, the *Egyptians* ſhould have the better of them; for this was all falſe, as would appear by the event. *Zedekiah* could not for the preſent but acknowledge this diſcourſe of the prophet to be reaſonable and true, and that it was for his intereſt ſo to believe it, but by ill company and counſels, all that the prophet ſaid before, went for nothing.

At this time *Ezekiel* was at *Babylon*, foretold the deſtruction of the temple, and ſent the prediction of it to *Jeruſalem*. The two prophets agreed exactly in the taking of the town by force, and in carrying away *Zedekiah* captive; but the only thing that ſtuck with *Zedekiah* in the belief of the prophecy was this; *Ezekiel* foretold that *Zedekiah* ſhould not ſee *Babylon*; and *Jeremiah* affirmed that the king himſelf ſhould cary him priſoner thither. This ſeeming inconſiſtency gave *Zedekiah* ſome ſort of colour to doubt the truth of all the other circumſtances wherein they agreed, though the following events made good every thing that had been foretold.

After an alliance of eight years ſtanding betwixt the two kings, *Zedekiah* ſhamefully brake his contract, and went over to the intereſt of the *Egyptians*, making no doubt but thoſe two powers in conjunction, might be able to cruſh the king of *Babylon*: But the *Babylonian*, upon the firſt information of this treachery, marched his army directly toward *Zedekiah*; laid his country deſolate; forced his caſtles and ſtrong holds; and advanced ſtrait forward to the attack, even of *Jeruſalem* itſelf. The *Ægyptian* being given to underſtand how hard his ally *Zedekiah* was put to it, advanced preſently to his relief, with a reſolution to attempt the raiſing of the ſiege. The *Babylonian*, upon intelligence of his march did not think fit to wait his coming; but choſe rather to draw off himſelf, and to give him battle; which he did, and ſo terrible a rout that he beat him quite out of *Syria* at that battle. The ſiege being raiſed or rather reſpited, the falſe prophets held *Zedekiah* in ſuſpence with twenty deluſions; that it was a fooliſh thing for him, or his ſubjects to apprehend any danger from the *Babylonians*, or to fancy any ſuch thing as the *Babylonians* carrying them away captive to *Babylon*: Whereas it was rather to be expected, that their priſoners that were all ready exported ſhould be called back again; and all the plate and treaſure that the king had carried away, reſtored to the temple. But *Jeremiah* told the king quite another ſtory, poſitively affirming that there was no good to be expected from the *Egyptians*, but that they ſhould firſt be overcome, and the *Babylonian* army be then brought back again to beſiege *Jeruſalem*, and that as many of them as ſhould ſurvive the ſword and famine, ſhould be carried away captives, their houſes pillaged, their goods taken away, the temple and city plundered, and laid at the mercy of fire and ſword, without any diſtinction of ſacred or prophane. "We are condemned," ſays the prophet, "to ſerve theſe people and their poſterity for ſeventy years; and the *Medes* and *Perſians*, at the ſeventy years end, ſhall deliver us from that bondage by the utter extinction of the *Babylonian* empire: After which time we ſhall return hither again, rebuild the temple, and reſtore the city to its former ſtate." Theſe words of the prophet wrought much upon the greater part of the people; but the leading men, and the licentious atheiſtical part of the multitude, looked upon the prophet as a mad man, and treated him accordingly.

As *Jeremiah* was going toward *Anathoth*, the place of his birth, and twenty furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, he was met upon the way by a certain magiſtrate that laid hold of him, and took him into cuſtody upon a pretext

text that he was a deſerter, and going over to the king of *Babylon*. The prophet ſaid he had no ſuch intention, and that he was only going to the place where he was born; but the other carried him to the miniſters of ſtate and juſtice, where, after examination and torture, he was ſet aſide as a malefactor condemned to die: And in this condition of miſery, he continued for ſome time.

In the ninth year of *Zedekiah*'s reign, the tenth month, and the tenth day of that month, the king of *Babylon* came once again with his army to *Jeruſalem*, and laying ſiege to it, tried for eighteen months to maſter it, both by art and force; but it ſtill held out againſt not only a powerful enemy before it, but againſt a raging peſtilence and famine alſo in the bowels of it: *Jeremiah* being in priſon all this while, and crying out to the multitude to ſet open the gate, and receive the *Babylonians* into the city, for they had no other way in nature to ſave themſelves, their families, and the town from inevitable ruin; telling them withal, that thoſe that ſtaid in the city muſt expect to periſh, either by the ſword or by famine, whereas thoſe that fled out to the enemy would ſave their lives: But the princes, in the depth of their extremity, were yet ſo far from giving ear to the prophet's preſage and advice, that they repreſented him to the king as a mutineer, a diſcourager of the people, with his idle ſtories of miſery and deſolation, ſuggeſting that the garriſon was hearty and reſolute enough to defend the place to the laſt extremity, till he came with his forebodings of ſlavery and deſtruction, and took off the edge of their zeal and courage.

The king in his own nature was not apt to be fierce or bitter; but ſtanding upon that pinch of neceſſity, in ſome awe of the great people about him, he did not think it ſafe to diſoblige ſo many men of power and intereſt: And ſo left them at liberty to do with the prophet what they thought fit. As ſoon as they had gained that point, they went in all haſte to the priſon, took out the prophet, and let him down by a rope into a naſty pit, where he was up to the neck in mud, with an intent to choke him: But as he was in this conditon, a favourite ſervant of the king's, an *Ethiopian* born, went and told *Zedekiah* how they had treated the prophet; adding, that his great men had not done well in expoſing him to a death, ſo much more grievous than that which he was reaſonably to expect in his chains. Upon this, the king heartily repented his leaving the prophet to the diſcretion of his enemies, and ordered the *Ethiopian* to take thirty men out of his family, and to join with them in the getting him out of the pit with all ſpeed poſſible. The ſervant ſet the prophet at liberty, who was ſoon after this brought privately to the king, and had this queſtion put to him, "Whether "or no he could procure him from Hea"ven any preſent relief under his miſerable "circumſtances?" The prophet anſwered him that he could; but that people would neither believe him, nor follow his counſel: "For all your pretended friends," ſays he, "are my mortal enemies. They look up"on me as a falſe wretch, and are at this "inſtant in a conſpiracy to deſtroy me: "And where are thoſe impoſtors now, that "fooled the people into a belief that they "were out of danger of the *Babylonians*? "So that to tell you the very truth of things "may be as much as my life is worth." The king, upon this, promiſed the prophet with an oath, that he would neither take away his life himſelf, nor ſuffer any of his people to do it. *Jeremiah* then adviſed him by all means to deliver up the city into the hands of the king of *Babylon*, for this was the only way to be ſafe in his own perſon, to avoid the imminent danger he was in; to prevent the burning of the temple, and the laying of the city level with the ground: And if he went any other way to work, he was to tell him, in the name and by the direction of God himſelf, that all the calamities that ſhould enſue upon his miſcarriages, with the utter ruin of himſelf, his family, and his people, ſhould be laid at his door.

The king told him him that he had a great inclination to take his council for the common good; but he was afraid, leſt ſome of his friends that were already gone over to the *Babylonians*, ſhould accuſe him to the king, and put him in danger of his life. The prophet bad him ſet his heart at reſt on that account; for if he delivered up the city, neither his perſon, nor his wives, his children, or the temple itſelf, ſhould ſuffer any thing. After theſe words the king diſmiſſed the prophet, with a charge not to repeat any words, no, not ſo much as to the princes themſelves, of what had paſſed in this conference: But if any body ſhould come to have a hint that there had been ſuch a meeting, and enquire into the buſineſs, it might be pretended that the prophet came to move the king for his liberty. The prophet did as he was ordered, and gave that anſwer to all people that aſked him his buſineſs with *Zedekiah*.

CHAP. VII.

Jeruſalem *taken.* Seraiah *put to Death.* Zedekiah's *Eyes put out, and he is carried Priſoner to* Babylon.

IN the mean time the king of *Babylon* went on vigorouſly with the ſiege; his works were finiſhed, and his towers carried up ſo high as to command the town, and to beat the defendants from the walls, and at this rate they were provided quite around the city for a general aſſault, and the defence of the place was carried on with as much bravery as the attack, having plague and famine to contend withal within the town, as well as enemies, and other difficulties without. They ſtood firm, in ſhort, againſt all ſtratagems and machines, oppoſing one invention to another, as if the diſpute had been of ſkill and art, as well as force. This conteſt laſted eighteen months, but in the end, for want of meat within the town, and of numbers to maintain it, they were brought to the laſt inevitable neceſſity of delivering it up.

It was taken in the eleventh year, and the ninth day of the fourth month of the reign of *Zedekiah*, by the commanders to whom the care of the ſiege was committed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who at that time was at *Reblatha*. The names of the officers were, *Nergeleah*, *Aremantus*, *Emegar*, *Nabaſaris* and *Echarampſaris*. The city was taken about midnight. The captains, with the reſt of the ſoldiers, went into the temple; which king *Zedekiah* perceiving, he took his wives, children, commanders and friends, and they ſlipt all away together by a narrow paſſage toward the deſart: But the *Babylonians* getting intelligence of this eſcape, they made after them early the next morning, and overtook and ſurrounded them at a place not far from *Jericho*. *Zedekiah's* friends and companions, in his flight, ſeeing the enemy advancing towards them, quitted their maſter, and did the beſt they could for themſelves: The king being in a manner quite abandoned, with his wives and children, and a ſmall remainder of his company, fell into the hands of the enemy, who preſently carried them to the king.

Nebuchadnezzar no ſooner had him in his preſence, than he called him all the faithleſs perfidious names that he could think of. "Did not you promiſe me," ſays he, "to manage the power and authority that I put you in poſſeſſion of, for my advantage and behalf? And am not I well requited for making you a king in your brother *Jehoiakim*'s place, by your employing the credit and intereſt that I gave you to the ruin of your patron and benefactor? But that God is great and juſt, who, for the puniſhment of your treachery and ingratitude, hath now made you my priſoner." When the king had laid upon him this load of reproaches, he immediately cauſed his children and his friends to be put to death before his face, and in the ſight of the reſt of the captives, commanding *Zedekiah*'s eyes to be put out, as ſoon as this execution was over, and to be carried away in chains to *Babylon*. This way of proceeding has verified the two prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*, which *Zedekiah* made ſo little account of, by reaſon of ſome ſemblance of a contradiction betwixt them; the former foretelling, that he ſhould be taken captive, and carried to *Babylon*, ſpeak with the king himſelf, and ſee him face to face; but *Ezekiel*'s prediction was, that he ſhould be carried away to *Babylon*, and ſhould not ſee him, which he could not do there, when he was brought blind thither.

This was the end of the race of *David*, after one and twenty kings in ſucceſſion, in the ſpace of five hundred and fifteen years, ſix months, and ten days, including the twenty years reign of *Saul*, who was of another tribe.

Nebuchadnezzar, after this great victory obtained, ſent *Nebuzar-Adan*, his commander in chief, to *Jeruſalem*, with his orders to pillage the temple, and burn it, to do the like to the palace, and after the laying of the city all level with the ground, to carry away the people captive to *Babylon*. In the eleventh year of the reign of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuzar-Adan* put his inſtructions in execution, taking away out of the temple all the veſſels of gold and ſilver, *Solomon*'s great laver, with the brazen pillars, and their chapiters, with the golden table and candleſticks. After this general rifle, he firſt ſet the temple on fire, and after that laid the palace and city in aſhes. This paſſed on the firſt day of the fifth month, the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, and the eighteenth year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*. The temple was burnt four hundred and ſeventy years, ſix months, and ten days, from the building of it; one thouſand and ſixty two years, ſix months, and ten days, from the *Iſraelites* coming out of the land of *Egypt*; one thouſand nine hundred and fifty years, ſix months, and ten days, from the deluge, and three thouſand five hundred and thirty years, ſix months, and ten days, from the creation of the world.

Upon the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the tranſportation of the people, *Nebuzar-Adan* took theſe priſoners with him. There was the high prieſt *Seraiah*, and *Sepheniah*, who was the next prieſt in dignity, three head keepers of the temple, the firſt eunuch of the bed-chamber, with ſeven of the king's friends, beſides the king's ſecretary, and other men of note, to the number of ſixty; which were brought altogether to the king, who was then at *Reblathis*, a city of *Syria*. The king cauſed the heads of the high prieſt and the great men to be ſtruck off in that city; but the multitude of the priſoners, together with *Zedekiah* himſelf, they carried to *Babylon*, and *Jehozadack* the high prieſt to be taken and bound along with them, which *Jehozadach* was the ſon of *Seraiah* that was put to death, as is ſaid already.

Having now gone through the royal line, and the ſucceſſion of them from father to ſon in order, it will be neceſſary to obſerve the ſame method with the high prieſt, who from time to time, in a continued ſucceſſion under thoſe kings, exerciſed the ſacerdotal office. The firſt pontiff after the building of *Solomon*'s temple was *Zadock*; after him came his ſon *Ahimaaz*; and after *Ahimaaz*, *Azariah*, and ſo forward, *Joram*, *Iſus*,

Iſus, Axioramus, Phideas, Sudeas, Julus, Jotham, Urias, Nerias, Odeas, Saldumus, Elcias, Saraus, and *Jehozadack,* who was carried away to *Babylon.* All theſe handed down the pontificate in a continued ſucceſſion in their families from generation to generation.

Upon the king's coming back to *Babylon, Zedekiah* was committed to priſon, where he died, and had afterwards the honour of a royal ſepulchre. The holy veſſels he took out of the temple, he dedicated to his idols, allotted habitations to the people in *Babylon,* and ſet *Jehozadack* at liberty. Now *Nebuzar-Adan,* the general that brought away the people priſoners, left the multitude and the deſerters, under the command of *Gedaliah,* the ſon of *Akikam,* an eminent perſon both for generoſity and juſtice, who allotted his priſoners ſuch a proportion of ground to improve, and live upon, paying a certain tribute to the king. The prophet *Jeremiah* was alſo diſcharged of his impriſonment; and the king having given order to the governor to take particular care of him, *Gedaliah* moved it to the prophet to go along with him to *Babylon;* for it was but juſt that the king ſhould be at the charge of his journey; or if he did not like that place, let him pitch upon any other, and he would write to the king about it. The prophet's anſwer was, that he had no mind to remove at all, but rather ſtay where he was, and take his part in the miſerable ruins of his native country. *Nebuzar-Adan* being informed how the prophet ſtood affected gave *Gedaliah* a ſtrict charge to ſee him well provided for, made him ſeveral conſiderable preſents himſelf, and ſo left him, and returned to *Babylon. Jeremiah,* upon this, made choice of *Mizpah* for the place of his abode, having firſt obtained of *Nebuzar-Adan Baruch*'s liberty, as well as his own, whom he took for his companion. This *Baruch* was the ſon of *Neriah,* a perſon nobly born, and perfectly well ſkilled in the language of his country.

The burning and ſacking of *Jeruſalem,* and the return of the *Babylonians* into their own country, was by this time made known to all the deſerters that had left the city in the time of the ſiege; whereupon they gathered together from all places in throngs to *Gedaliah* at *Mizpah.* The principal men among them were *Johanan,* the ſon of *Careah, Jaazaniah,* and *Saraiah,* with ſome others. Beſides theſe, there was *Iſhmael,* a perſon of royal blood; but otherwiſe falſe and malicious to the higheſt degree. This man, in the time of the ſiege, fled to *Bathal,* the king of the *Ammonites* for ſanctuary, where he continued from that period. Upon the application of theſe people to *Gedaliah,* he gave them an invitation to continue there, and to plant, for they might live quietly and at eaſe, without any danger from the *Babylonians;* binding himſelf by an oath to ſtand by them and aſſiſt them, if any man ſhould offer to give them any moleſtation or trouble. "Now," ſays he, "do but you reſolve among yourſelves what town or place you would ſettle in, and you ſhall have ſome of my people along with you, to aſſiſt you in preparing and fitting up habitations for you; only you muſt take care not to ſlip the ſeaſon of providing for the next vintage and harveſt, that you may not want corn, wine, or oil next winter for your ſubſiſtence." When he had given them this encouragement and aſſurance, he left every man at liberty to diſpoſe of himſelf where he himſelf pleaſed.

The report of *Gedaliah*'s generous humanity and tenderneſs toward the fugitives that applied themſelves to him for refuge, gained him ſo great a reputation with the neighbouring nations, that they came in crowds to him from all parts, and quickly made up a conſiderable plantation; for they had land aſſigned them in propriety, upon condition only of paying a certain acknowledgment to the king of *Babylon. Johanan* and the reſt of the great men had a very high eſteem for the goodneſs and courteſy of *Gedaliah* to the planters, and therefore advertiſed him that there was a conſpiracy carried on againſt him, betwixt the king of the *Am-*

monites, and *Iſhmael*, and that *Iſhmael* was to do the execution with ſecrecy and treachery, and being a member of the royal family, to make himſelf head of the *Iſraelites* by that means. The ready way to ſecure *Gedaliah* would be for them privately to diſpatch *Iſhmael*, which, with his leave, they would undertake to do; for they were afraid, if this miſchief were not timely prevented, it would prove the ruin of all the *Iſraelites*. *Gedaliah* told them, that he could not believe it poſſible for any man to be ſo barbarous and ungrateful, nor that a man who was never known to do any ſuch thing under the provocation of his neceſſities, ſhould now be in a plot to deſtroy that perſon himſelf, whom, by all the ties of honour and hoſpitality, he was obliged to defend and preſerve. But however, ſuppoſing the information to be true, he had much rather loſe his own life, than take away the life of any man that had committed himſelf to his truſt. *Johanan* and his companions finding that all they had ſaid was to no purpoſe, went their way.

About thirty days after this diſcourſe, *Iſhmael*, with ten of his friends, paid a viſit to *Gedaliah*, at *Mizpah*, where they were received and treated with all freedom and reſpect. The cups went round till *Gedaliah*, and his companions, were dull, and heavy-headed, which the other party obſerving, killed the maſter of the houſe, and all the reſt of his gueſts. It was now in the dead of the night, and all the people, as well ſoldiers as others, careleſly ſecure and aſleep; ſo that they made the ſame havock in the ſtreets, and elſewhere, as they had done at *Gedaliah*'s juſt before, deſtroying and murdering *Jews* or *Babylonians*, without any diſtinction. The next day there came up to the city a troop of about fourſcore men out of the country, with preſents for *Gedaliah*, knowing nothing as yet of the maſſacre of the laſt night. As ſoon as *Iſhmael* ſaw them, he called them in to *Gedaliah*, ſhut the doors upon them, and cut their throats in the palace, cauſing the bodies afterwards to be thrown into a pit, where they might lie concealed. There was not a man eſcaped, ſave only ſome few that promiſed to make diſcovery of goods, clothes, and corn, that were hid under ground. Some of them, I ſay, were ſpared upon the hope of this diſcovery; but for the common people of *Mizpah*, the women and children were all carried away, and among the reſt, the daughters of *Zedekiah*, which *Nebuzar-Adan* had had left under the care of *Gedaliah*.

Iſhmael went away preſently with the news of this exploit to the king of the *Ammonites*; but *Johanan*, with the reſt of the leading men, hearing of this bloody execution at *Mizpah*, and the death of *Gedaliah*, joined in the purſuit of *Iſhmael*, whom they overtook at the fountain of *Hebron*. The ſight of the purſuers afforded great joy to the priſoners that *Iſhmael* was carrying away with him, who went over immediately to the party of *Johanan*, whilſt *Iſhmael*, with only eight of his companions, fled to the king of the *Ammonites*.

Johanan, in the mean time, with the people he had taken from *Iſhmael*, eunuchs, women, and children, marched to a place that is called *Mandra*, and there they ſtaid one day, bethinking themſelves of going into *Egypt*, leſt the *Babylonians* ſhould fall upon them; however, for their better ſecurity, they took up a reſolution to conſult *Jeremiah* what courſe to ſteer. They put the queſtion to him, with an oath to do whatever he ſhould adviſe them to. The prophet promiſed them to do what he could for their ſatisfaction; and, upon the tenth day after this, God appeared to him, and bade him go and tell *Johanan*, and the reſt of the commanders, that if they continued where they were, he would aſſiſt and ſecure them againſt any harm from the *Babylonians*, whom they were ſo much afraid of; but if, after this premonition, they ſhould rather go into *Egypt*, let them expect the ſame fate that had befallen their brethren before them.

This was the meſſage the prophet delivered them by God's expreſs direction, though they took it rather for an invention of the prophet's in favour of *Baruch*, his diſciple, and to expoſe them to the wrath of the *Babylonians*: So that *Johanan* and the reſt of the people, in contempt of God's word by his prophet, went away into *Egypt*, and carried *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* along with them. When they were come thither, it was revealed from Heaven to the prophet, that the king of *Babylon* ſhould bring an army into *Egypt*, and he commanded *Jeremiah* to tell the people as much; and that *Egypt* ſhould be taken, where part of them ſhould be killed, and part carried away captives to *Babylon*, which came to paſs accordingly. For in the fifth year after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, he made an inroad into the *Cœle Syria*, and upon ſubduing it carried the war forward to the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*; and when he had ſubjected them too, he made a furious incurſion into *Egypt*, killed the preſent king, ſet up another in his place: And the *Jews* that he ſound there were carried away a ſecond time priſoners to *Babylon*.

This was the miſerable ſtate of the *Hebrews*, who were twice carried away beyond the *Euphrates*; for the ten tribes were firſt tranſported by the *Aſſyrians* out of *Samaria*, in the reign of *Hoſea*; and then the other two by *Nebuchadnezzar* the king of the *Chaldeans* and the *Babylonians*, upon the taking of *Jeruſalem*. Now *Salmaneſer* tranſplanted the *Chuthites* into the country of the *Iſraelites*, out of the heart of *Media* and *Perſia*; and they were called *Samaritans* from the name of the place into which they were tranſplanted: But the king of *Babylon* carried away the other two tribes, without introducing any other in their ſtead. And this was the reaſon that *Judea*, with *Jeruſalem*, and the temple, lay wholly abandoned for the ſpace of ſeventy years. The time betwixt the captivity of the ten tribes, and the tranſmigration of the other two, was one hundred and thirty years, ſix months, and ten days.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hiſtory of Daniel, Shadrach, Meſhach, *and* Abednego. Nebuchadnezzar *is reduced to the ſtate of a Beaſt, and reſtored again to his Reaſon, and his Government. His Death.*

NEBUCHADNEZZAR appointed a ſelect choice to be made out of the youths of the *Jews*, both for birth, vigour and beauty, and ſeveral of them the relations of king *Zedekiah*; appointed alſo the beſt tutors for their inſtitution: Divers of them to be caſtrated according to the practice of that country, being the handſomeſt boys of conquered nations. He ſent them their meat from his own table, and took great care to have them inſtructed in the *Chaldæan* diſcipline and learning, wherein they advanced very much in a ſhort time. There were four of *Zedekiah's* relations in the number, whoſe names were *Daniel*, *Ananias*, *Miſhael*, and *Azariah*: But the *Babylonians*

nians changed their names, giving to *Daniel* the name of *Belteſhazzar*; to *Ananias*, of *Shadrach*; to *Miſhael*, of *Meſhach*; and to *Azariah*, of *Abednego*. The king had a wonderful tenderneſs for them all, both in regard of the ſweetneſs of their diſpoſition, and the extraordinary pregnancy of their underſtanding.

Daniel looked upon that voluptuous way of feeding to be too delicate for people in their condition, and therefore they went to *Aſchanes* the eunuch that had them in charge, and deſired him rather to make uſe of thoſe delicacies that the king ſent them from his own table, for the ſervice of himſelf and his family; and if they had but pulſe, or dates, or any ordinary food that had no life in it, would ſerve their turn as well. The eunuch told them that he would gratify them with all his heart; but if they ſhould grow lean and thin, upon ſuch a heartleſs way of feeding, or look perhaps leſs amiable upon it, and in a leſs agreeable habit of health and of colour, he was afraid the king might ſuſpect the matter, and take offence at it; which might be as much as his life was worth; eſpecially when the reſt of their companions that fed better than they did, ſhould be obſerved to look better too. They preſſed him to make the experiment only for ten days; and after that time, if he found that they ſhould not keep their health, their colour, and the ſame habit of body that they had before, he might bring them back again to the king's way of entertainment. The eunuch was prevailed upon, and when he found them ſo far from being the worſe for the alteration, that they mended upon it, in the diſpoſition both of their bodies and of their minds, he made no longer a ſcruple of complying with their deſires.

By this temperate frugal way of menage and diſcipline, their ſpirits were kept clear and active, as appeared by their wonderful improvement in the *Hebrew*, as well as the *Chaldean* learning; but of *Daniel* eſpecially, who had gotten ſuch an inſight into their arts, that he took upon him the expounding of dreams, and had many times viſions o his own to work upon.

Two years after the deſtruction of *Egypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had a wonderful viſion, and a revelation from God in his ſleep, of the meaning of it. But when he came to riſe from his bed, he had quite forgotten it. So he preſently ſent for his learned men, as *Chaldæan* magi and prophets, and told them that he had had a ſtrange dream, but it was now utterly out of his head, and therefore required them to tell him what was the ſignification of it. They made him anſwer, that as to the firſt part of his propoſition, it was a thing not to be done; but if he would be pleaſed to tell them the dream, they would be anſwerable to give him the interpretation of it. The king in a rage commanded them without any more ado to tell him his dream, or they ſhould die for it. When *Daniel* came to underſtand that the wiſe men were all to be put to death, he went to *Arioch* the captain of the king's guards, to learn what the crime was they were condemned for: So the captain told him, that the king had a dream, which he himſelf had forgotten, and that they were to die, becauſe they could not tell him what it was. *Daniel* made anſwer, that if he could but get them a reprieve only for one night, he would not deſpair of giving him the ſatisfaction he required; for he had ſome hope that God would that very night be prevailed upon to enable him to do it. The captain gave the king an account of this diſcourſe; and thereupon the execution was reſpited, only to try what good was to be done upon that experiment.

Daniel now, with his companions, went into his bed-chamber, and ſpent that whole night in prayers to God for the means of reſolving the queſtion, and for the delivering thoſe people from death, that were now fallen under the king's diſpleaſure. God was pleaſed upon this interceſſion of *Daniel* to make known not only the dream itſelf, but the ſignification of it alſo, to the end that he might communicate the whole matter to the king. *Daniel* was ſo tranſported with this revelation, that he got up early in the morning, and gave much comfort to his brethren, who were now brought to the laſt point of deſpair. When they had given God thanks, *Daniel* went to *Arioch* by peep of day, to carry him to the king, with aſſurance that he ſhould now have all the particulars laid before him, of his late dream.

Upon *Daniel*'s admittance to the king, he firſt told him, that it was not any over-weening of his own wiſdom, as if he knew more than the *Chaldæans* and the magi, that made him engage in this matter: "For I am "not," ſaid he, "a perſon to pretend to "more ſkill and underſtanding than my "neighbours: But it is purely the work of "God in pity to the miſerable, and in "mercy to my prayers for the lives and "ſafety of myſelf and my friends, that hath "now laid open this dream to me, and explained the meaning of it. I have not "been ſo ſolicitous for the ſafety of myſelf, "and my companions under your diſpleaſure, as for your honour and glory; in "caſe of putting ſo many good and worthy "men to death, contrary to right and juſtice, and only for not being able to do a "thing, which it is utterly impoſſible for "fleſh and blood to do; or for any but a "ſupernatural power to accompliſh.

"You were bethinking yourſelf what "would become of the empire of the world "when you were gone, and who ſhould "ſucceed to it. Now the dream you had "was a kind of a reſolution upon that enquiry; for God ſhewed you in your ſleep "thoſe that were to rule after you. You "dreamt you ſaw a large image, or ſtatue, "ſtanding upright, the head was gold, the "ſhoulders and arms ſilver, the belly and "the thighs braſs, the legs and the feet "iron. You ſaw then a ſtone broken off "from a mountain, that fell upon the "image, overthrew it, and brake it ſo "ſmall that the duſt of the gold, ſilver, "braſs and iron, was as light as chaff, and "carried away by a blaſt of wind to the furthermoſt parts of the earth; the ſtone "growing ſo great all this while, that it lay "like a mountain upon the face of the "earth.

"This was your dream, and I come "now to the interpretation of it. By the "golden head is ſignified yourſelf, and other "kings of *Babylon* before you: The two "hands and ſhoulders portend that two "kings ſhall deſtroy your empire; and afterwards their empire will be ſubverted by "another king coming from the weſt, in "armour of braſs; and he is to be ſubdued "afterwards by another in iron, which in "the nature of it is ſtronger than gold, ſilver or braſs, and not to be reſiſted."

Daniel gave an interpretation alſo of the ſtone, which I ſhall paſs over in this place; for it is my buſineſs to write of things paſt, and not of things to come. But for the ſatisfaction of the inquiſitive into the dark events of things, I ſhall only recommend unto them the book of *Daniel*, as we have it in ſacred writ.

Nebuchadnezzar, in great admiration, acknowledges this to be his dream, and falling upon his face, adored *Daniel* like a God, and appointed divine honours to be done him: And this would not ſerve neither, without giving him the name of his God, (*Balteſhazzar*) and ſo he made him ruler of the whole province, joining ſeveral of his kindred with him in the ſame commiſſion. This promotion was followed with ſuch an envy upon *Daniel* and his relations, that it had like to have coſt them all their lives, by a diſguſt the king took upon the following occaſion.

Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, ſixty cubits in height, and ſix in breadth, and placed it in the great plain of *Babylon*. He called together, upon the dedication of it, the princes, the great men and officers, out of all his dominions, making proclamation, that immediately upon hearing the ſound of a trumpet they ſhould all fall down and worſhip this image; and that whoever refuſed it ſhould be caſt into the fiery furnace. Upon the ſounding of this trumpet accordingly, all the people fell down and worſhipped, ſave only *Daniel* and his relations, who refuſing to do it, out of reverence to the laws of their country, were informed againſt, and caſt into the fire, but by a merciful providence, and beyond all human imagination, their lives were preſerved. But the thing that moſt recommended them to the king's tenderneſs and eſteem was the miraculous proof of God's love and goodneſs to them in their juſtification, and upon this account the king had a great honour for them ever after.

It was not long before *Nebuchadnezzar* had another dream, as ſurpriſing as the former, which was, "That being driven away from "his kingdom he lived ſeven years among "the beaſts of the foreſts, and was after- "wards reſtored to his former dignity and "ſtate." The king put the queſtion once again to the magi upon this viſion alſo; but *Daniel* was the only perſon, again, to expound the meaning of it: And according to his prediction it ſucceeded in the event; for after ſeven years of his life ſpent in the inſociable manner repreſented to him in his dream, living in the fields, and eating graſs as oxen, his body being wet with the dew of Heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles feathers, and his nails like birds claws, and no creature all this time daring to make any attempt upon his government, God was prevailed upon to reinſtate him in the uſe of his reaſon, and the exerciſe of his kingly power.

Nebuchadnezzar, in fine, was a prince very induſtrious, and much more fortunate than any of his anceſtors. He departed this life in the three and fortieth year of his age.

Beroſus, in the third book of his *Chaldean* hiſtory, makes mention of it in theſe words. *Nabuchodonoſor* the father, ſays he, underſtanding that a certain great officer of his, to whom he had committed the government of *Egypt*, *Cœle-Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, was fallen off from his allegiance, and not being in a condition of body himſelf to bear the fatigues of the war in his own perſon, he ſent his ſon *Nabuchodonoſor*, with part of his army, to reduce him to his obedience. He found him out, fought, and overcame him, and brought back the revolted provinces to their duty. The father in the mean time was taken away by ſickneſs, at *Babylon*, in the one and twentieth year of his reign. The young man was no ſooner informed of the death of his father, but he took immediate care for the ſettling of his affairs in *Egypt*, and the reſt of the provinces, recommending to ſome particular friends the charge of conveying his priſoners, *Jews*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* to *Babylon*, with the army and baggage; while he himſelf, with a ſmall retinue, took his way thither over the deſart. The government was reſerved for him in the mean while, by the *Chaldæans*, and by the great men among them, in his abſence, ſecured till his return. Accordingly, when he came to enter upon the adminiſtration, he was eſtabliſhed in the full poſſeſſion of his paternal empire. The firſt thing he did was to make a commodious diſtribution of his captives into colonies, and after that, to adorn and illuſtrate the temple of *Belus*, and other religious places, with ſpoils of war. He repaired and enlarged the ancient edifices of the city; and raiſed works upon the banks of the river to prevent all approaches that way. He erected three walls or retrenchments, within the bounds of the city, and as many without, all brick: And when he had thus fortified the town, he beautified the gates with a frontiſpiece like the finiſhing of the temple-work: And advanced another palace contiguous to that of his father's, with all poſſible art and magnificence; this ſpacious and ſtately fabric was finiſhed in fifteen days. In this building there were vaſt ſtones ſupported upon arches, that looked like mountains hanging in the air, and they were planted on the top with ſeveral ſorts of trees, in compliment to the queen, who, being a *Median*, had a paſſionate deſire to ſee ſome artificial reſemblance of the gardens and rarities of their own country.

Megaſthenes, in the fourth volume of his hiſtory of *India*, ſpeaks of theſe garden works, and ſets forth this king, both for his enterpriſes and for his performances, to have been much ſuperior to *Hercules* himſelf, having ſubdued the greateſt part of *Libya*, and likewiſe *Ibenia*. *Diocles* makes mention of this king in the ſecond book of his *Perſian* hiſtory; and ſo does *Philoſtratus*, in the account he gives of the *Phœnicians* and the *Indians*, telling how this prince, in the days of *Ithobal* king of *Tyre*, maintained a ſiege of thirteen years againſt the town.

CHAP. IX.

Evil-Merodach *ſucceeds* Nebuchadnezzar, *and diſcharges* Jehoiakin. Babylon *taken.* Daniel'*s wonderful Deliverances, Viſions, and Predictions.*

AFTER the death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Evil-Merodach*, his ſon, ſucceeds him, who ſet *Jeconiah*, (or *Jehoiakin*) the king of *Jeruſalem*, at liberty, honoured him with many preſents, and made him the chief governor of his palace at *Babylon*.

Evil-Merodach died in the eighteenth year of his reign. His ſon *Nigliſar* ſucceeded him; and when he had reigned forty years, the kingdom fell by ſucceſſion to his ſon *Laboſardachus*, who kept it only nine months; and, after his death, it went to *Belſhazzar*, by the *Babylonians* called *Naboandel*.

Cyrus, the king of the *Perſians*, and *Darius*, the king of the *Medes*, made war upon this prince; and while they lay before *Babylon* there appeared to *Belſhazzar* a wonderful viſion. As he was at ſupper in a large eating room, with his courtiers and his concubines about him, and a magnificent oſtentation of ſilver veſſels and plate for the ſervice of his table, he called, in a frolick, for the ſacred veſſels alſo out of his own temple, which *Nebuchadnezzar* depoſited there, upon rifling the temple at *Jeruſalem*, though he never had the confidence to put them to any profane or private uſe. *Belſhazzar* was now warm in his cups, and entertaining himſelf and his company with profane extravagancies of ſpeech againſt the majeſty of the true God, when, in the height of his jollity, there appeared a hand writing certain ſyllables upon the wall, which put the king into ſuch agony and terror, that he preſently called a council of his cunning men and *Chaldæans*, (a ſort of quack fortune-tellers among thoſe barbarians, that value themſelves upon a faculty of reſolving cramp queſtions, and interpreting dreams) to find out the meaning of the words that were there marked upon the plaiſter. They frankly declared that they underſtood nothing of the matter. Upon this, the king, in great anxiety of thought and ſurprize, cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed all over his dominions, with promiſe of a golden chain, the privilege of a royal purple robe, and the third place of rule in his kingdom, to any man that ſhould give him the interpretation of the writing. Upon this proclamation, the wiſe men gathered together to unfold this myſtery, but all to no purpoſe.

While the king was labouring in a torment of mind and aſtoniſhment, his grand-mother went to him, and told him, there was a certain *Jew* among the priſoners that *Nebuchadnezzar* brought away with him upon the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, who was looked upon to be a man of great wiſdom and foreſight, and ſo wonderfully ſkilled in the ſolving of nice difficulties and queſtions, as if he ſpoke by the direction of a divine ſpirit. She told him alſo, that *Nebuchadnezzar* made uſe of him for his interpreter in the like caſes, when no body elſe was able to reſolve him; wherefore ſhe deſired the king by any means to ſend for *Daniel*, and to examine him about the writing, and give him encouragement to ſpeak the truth, let it be never ſo much againſt him. Upon this advice, *Belſhazzar* cauſed *Daniel* to be ſent for, and upon his being brought, the king put him the queſtion, with an aſſurance that all the promiſes in his proclamation ſhould be made good to him, upon his ſolution of it.

Daniel excuſed himſelf from the receiving of any gifts or honours; for wiſdom, ſays he, is a divine faculty, and not to be corrupted or profaned with bribes, but to be ever ready to ſerve thoſe that ſtand in need of it. "This writing," ſays he, "is a foretelling "to you that your death is at hand; for you "ſhould have taken warning by the judg- "ments that befel your great anceſtor for "his contempt of God, and have applied "yourſelf to a courſe of life within the "compaſs of religion, modeſty, and mode- "ration. You know that *Nebuchadnezzar* "was baniſhed the ſociety of mankind, and "condemned to the life and condition of a "beaſt; but that afterward it pleaſed God, "upon his earneſt prayers and repentance, "to reſtore him to the converſation of men, "and to the exerciſe of his former govern- "ment, which infinite mercy and provi- "dence of God he adored and celebrated "afterward all the days of his life: But for "your part, you are ſo far from being "wrought upon by this example in your fa- "mily, that you blaſpheme God to his "face, and take a pride to prophane the "veſſels of his holy altar, in your debauches "with your harlots. By this lewd courſe "of impiety, you have drawn the wrath of "God upon your head; and the intent of "this writing is only to ſhew what end you "are to come to. MENE, which is as much "as *Number*, ſignifies that the days both of "your life and of your reign are numbered; "and that you have but a very ſhort time to "live. TEKEL, or *Weight*, gives to under- "ſtand that your reign is weighed in the "balance, and drawing to a concluſion. "PERES, or a *Fragment*, portends that "your kingdom ſhall be divided, and given "to the *Medes* and *Perſians*." The king could not but be mortally caſt down with this interpretation, and yet was ſo juſt and generous as to make good to *Daniel* all that he had promiſed him, though the foreteller of his ruin.

It was not long after this, when both himſelf and the city fell into the power and poſſeſſion of *Cyrus*, for *Babylon* was taken in the ſeventeenth year of the reign of *Belſhazzar*, who is ſaid to have been the laſt king of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s family. *Darius* was now ſixty two years of age at the ſubverſion of the empire of *Babylon*, with the aſſiſtance of *Cyrus* his kinſman, which *Cyrus* was the ſon of *Aſtyages*, though known and called among the *Greeks* by another name. He took the prophet *Daniel* along with him into *Media*, and made him one of the three chief governors that had three hundred and ſixty more under them, according to the original conſtitution of *Darius*. *Darius* had ſo great a tenderneſs and reverence for *Daniel*, that he ſeldom reſolved upon any matter of moment without his advice; but the confident that is moſt in credit never fails of drawing upon himſelf the envy of all the reſt. *Daniel* however was ſo well aware of theſe court tricks, and kept ſo ſtrict a guard upon himſelf, that there was no laying hold of him. As to money and bribes, he made a conſcience of receiving even a lawful acknowledgement for a good office; But this did not hinder his enemies yet from joining in a practice againſt his life; and the manner of it was this.

It being obſerved that *Daniel* prayed to God conſtantly thrice a day, his adverſaries bethought themſelves how they might improve that practice to his ruin. So they applied themſelves to *Darius*, in the name of his council and ſtate officers, and upon their advice and requeſt, that he would be pleaſed to paſs an edict, only for thirty days, that whomſoever ſhould preſume to aſk any thing of God or man within that compaſs of time, ſhould be caſt into the lions den. The king did not ſee that this propoſal ſtruck at the life of *Daniel*; ſo that *Darius* aſſented to the motion, promiſed a confirmation of it, and ordered the publication of the decree, which put all people into a general damp and ſilence: Saving only *Daniel*, who went on ſtill in his daily courſe of worſhipping God, in the public view of the world, as it was his cuſtom to do, without ever heeding the decree. This proceeding furniſhed his enemies with a pretence that they had long waited for: For giving the king to underſtand that *Daniel* was the only man that, in contempt of his royal proclamation, worſhipped contrary to the direction of the decree: And that he did not do this, out of piety, but out of a ſpirit of contradiction and defiance to the authority of the edict. The envy of *Daniel*'s enemies was the more outrageous, upon the apprehenſion they had, that the king's perſonal indulgence for him, might incline him to paſs over the affront: They preſſed him with clamours and outcries for juſtice upon the malefactor, and nothing would ſerve them, but *Daniel* muſt be immediately thrown into the lions den. *Darius* was forced to yield to the violence of theſe importunities, but told *Daniel* for his comfort, that rather than ſo good a man ſhould periſh, God would yet work ſome miracle for his relief. *Daniel* was hereupon caſt into the lions den, which the king having ſealed with his own ſignet, returned to his palace. He paſſed that night faſting and waking, for the trouble of his mind for *Daniel* would not ſuffer him either to eat or ſleep: But early in the morning he got up, and went to the den, where he found every thing as he left it, and the ſeal untouched. He called upon *Daniel* then by his name, at a grate that looked down into the den, to know if he were living or not; to which *Daniel* made anſwer that he was ſafe and well: In which inſtant the king ordered him to be taken out again; but *Daniel's* enemies would needs face the king down, that the lions bellies were full, and ſo they let him alone for want of appetite. The king was ſo incenſed at the ſpite and malignity of theſe people, that he ordered as much meat to be given the lions as they could get down, and when they would eat no longer, to turn *Daniel's* accuſers in among them. In ſhort, the lions tore them every one to pieces, as if they had been ſtarving with hunger: Or, rather, as if the brutes themſelves were become the miniſters of God's juſtice upon the workers of iniquity.

After this execution done upon the treacherous enemies of *Daniel*, *Darius* publiſhed a decree thorough his whole empire, commanding his people to acknowledge the God of *Daniel* to be the only true and Almighty God, and at the ſame time multiplied honours upon the prophet himſelf, in preference to all the reſt of his friends and favourites. *Daniel* having now gained the univerſal eſteem of a perſon highly in favour both with God and man, he erected a ſtately fabric at *Eckbatan*, the capital of *Media*; a work every way wonderful, as well for the ſtructure and ſtrength of it,[*] as for the beauty. The building is ſtill to be ſeen, and looks as freſh and as firm at this inſtant as if it had been finiſhed but the day you firſt ſaw it, without any decays of time or age to be ſeen upon it. This tower is famous for being the royal monument of the kings of the *Medes*, *Perſians*, and *Parthians*, to to which uſe it is ſtill applied, and the place likewiſe committed to the cuſtody of a *Jewiſh* prieſt to this very day.

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[*] What *Joſephus* here ſays, that the ſtones of the ſepulchres of the kings of *Perſia* at this *Baris*, or thoſe perhaps of the ſame ſort that are now commonly called the ruins of *Perſepolis*, continued ſo entire and unaltered in his days, as if they were lately put there, is confirmed by *Reland*. He aſcribes this to the hardneſs of the ſtones, which ſcarcely yields to iron tools, and proves frequently too hard for cutting by the chiſſel; but oftentimes breaks the chiſſel to pieces.

There are ſome other paſſages in the hiſtory of *Daniel*, which are yet more admirable and particular. He had this ſingular bleſſing attending them, that he lived in a high degree of reputation, both with king and people, and at his death left an immortal memory behind him to his everlaſting honour. For we find by his writings yet extant, that God admitted him into expreſs colloquies, and revealed to him not only the ſum and ſubſtance of things to come (as was uſual to other prophets) but the very time when ſuch or ſuch an event ſhould come to paſs. Other prophets it is true were more exerciſed in the foreboding of calamities, and conſequently drew upon themſelves envy and ill will, both from princes and people; *Daniel*, on the contrary, made friends of both, by the good things he told them, which they took delight to hear. And then for the certainty of the event, all agree he ſpake from the dictate of an infallible ſpirit, as may be abundantly gathered alſo from the writings which this great prophet hath left behind him.

"It fell out," ſays he, "as I was taking the air one day at *Suſa*, the metropolis of *Perſia*, that we were ſurpriſed all on a ſudden with an earthquake. My friends ran away in a fright, and left me alone, grovelling upon the ground, in a conſternation upon that accident. While I was in that poſture, ſomebody, methought, came and jogged me, and bad me riſe and take good notice of things, for I ſhould ſee wonderful revolutions that would befal my countrymen, ſeveral ages to come. Upon my ariſing, I ſaw a large ram, with ſeveral horns, and the laſt taller than the reſt: Turning my face then toward the weſt, I ſaw a goat that paſſed through the air, and encountered the ram, ſtruck him down twice, and trampled him under his feet. After this, there aroſe a large horn out of the forehead of the goat, and when that came to be broken, there ſprang up four more inſtead of it, pointing toward the four quarters of the Heavens: From one of them came forth a little horn, which, upon growing up, ſhould wage war with the nation of the *Jews*, and deſtroy *Jeruſalem* itſelf, ſuppreſs the ceremonies of the temple, and all ſacrifices, for the ſpace of one thouſand two hundred and ninety ſix days."

This was the viſion that, as *Daniel* writes, he ſaw at *Suſa*, which was firſt ſhewed by a revelation from God, and then interpreted after the following manner. By the ram, was deſigned the kingdoms of the *Medes* and *Perſians*: By the horns, the ſucceeding kings there; and the laſt of their kings by the laſt horn, as tranſcending all the reſt for wealth and power. By the goat was ſignified ſome king of *Greece*, that ſhould give two overthrows to the *Perſians*, and ſubdue that empire. By the great horn upon the forehead of the goat, was meant the firſt of their kings; and by the budding out of four horns more, pointing to the four winds, was to be underſtood the ſucceſſors to thoſe kings, and the partition of their dominions, after the death of the firſt, though ſtrangers to the blood, but that however they ſhould reign for ſeveral years: And in proceſs of time, out of theſe ſhould come a king that would make war upon the *Jewiſh* nation, and their laws, and utterly extinguiſh the form of the commonwealth, pillage the temple, and prohibit any ſacrifices or worſhip in it for three years.

This calamity came to paſs under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, as the prophet had foretold ſo many years before. He wrote ſeveral wonderful things alſo about the *Roman* empire, and what a deſolation they ſhould make of our people; all which he received by divine revelation, and tranſmitted in writing to poſterity, to ſtand as a teſtimony upon record, of the agreement betwixt the preſage and the event. This may ſerve to confound the impious doctrine of the *Epicureans*, that will not allow of any ordering or over-ruling providence to interpoſe in the government or preſervation of the univerſe, but will have the whole courſe of ſublunary affairs to be only a huddle of contingencies, without either care or counſel.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK XI.

From the Year of the World 3425, to 3635.

CHAP. I.

Cyrus *gives the* Jews *Leave to return, and to rebuild* Jeruſalem *and the Temple.*

IN the firſt year of *Cyrus*, and the ſeventieth of our *Babylonian* captivity, God took pity of a miſerable people, according to what he had foretold them by the prophet *Jeremiah*, before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; that is to ſay, that after ſeventy years bondage under *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his ſucceſſors, they ſhould be reſtored to their own country, and ſee the temple rebuilt, and return to the ſtate of their former glory. This was all made good to them accordingly; for God put it into the heart of *Cyrus*, to ſend his circular letters over all *Aſia* to this effect, ſigning them *Cyrus* the king. "I do fully perſuade myſelf that the great God, of whoſe gift and bounty I hold my empire, is the very God that the children of *Iſrael* adore; for I find honourable mention made of my name by his prophets of ancient date, as a perſon that in time to come ſhould rebuild *Jeruſalem*, and reinſtate the people." *Cyrus*, it ſeems, had ſeen and read the prophecies of *Iſaiah*, which bore date two hundred and ten years before he was born; wherein he gives an account of a revelation he had from God, that he would raiſe up one *Cyrus* to be a king of many and of powerful nations, who ſhould re-eſtabliſh the *Hebrews* in their native country. This was foretold by the prophet a hundred and forty years before the temple was deſtroyed.

The king was ſo tranſported upon the reading of theſe divine inſpirations and predictions concerning himſelf, that he fell preſently to work upon making good his part of the prophecy. The firſt thing he did was to call together all the leading men of the *Jews* to *Babylon*, where he told them, that ſo many of them as had a mind to go back into their country, ſhould have free paſſports, and permiſſion to rebuild the temple and the city of *Jeruſalem*, if they thought fit; making no doubt, he ſaid, but that God would bleſs them in the undertaking; promiſing over and above, that he would ſend his orders to all his officers and governors bordering upon *Judæa*, to furniſh them with gold and ſilver for the fabrick, and beaſts for ſacrifices. The moſt eminent of the two tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, together with the prieſts and *Levites*, immediately haſtened away towards *Jeruſalem*: But a great many however choſe rather to ſtay in *Babylon*, than to quit their poſſeſſions. Upon their arriving at *Jeruſalem*, all the king's friends and officers contributed largely and unanimouſly toward the great works, ſome in gold, others in ſilver, and ſome again in cattle and horſes; others attended the diſcharge of their vows, and the ſolemnity of oblations, as if they were already entered upon the buſineſs of re-erecting the city, and in the exerciſe of their ancient diſcipline. *Cyrus* then ſent them from *Babylon*, the holy veſſels and utenſils that *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken away from the temple at *Jeruſalem*, which were delivered to *Mithridates*, the king's treaſurer, and by him to be depoſited with *Abaſſar*, till the temple ſhould be finiſhed; and then immediately to be put into the hands of the prieſts and magiſtrates of the people, for the uſe and ſervice of the temple. *Cyrus*, after this, wrote another letter to the governors of *Syria*, in manner following.

Cyrus the king, to *Syſina* and *Sarabaſan*,
ſendeth greeting.

"Be it known unto you, that I have given leave to all the *Jews* that are in my dominions, to return to their own country, and there to rebuild their capital city, with the holy temple at *Jeruſalem*, in the ſame place where it ſtood before. I have likewiſe ſent my treaſurer *Mithridates*, and *Zerubbabel*, the governor of *Judæa*, to ſuperintend the building, and to ſee it raiſed ſixty cubits upward from the ground, and as many over; the walls to be three rows of poliſhed ſtone, and one of the wood of the country, together with an altar for the ſacrifices; and all this to be done at my own charge. I have alſo appointed my treaſurer *Mithridates*, and *Zerubbabel* the prince of *Judah*, to cauſe all utenſils and veſſels that *Nebuchadnezzar* carried away from the temple at *Jeruſalem*, to be ſent back and reſtored; that is to ſay, fifty golden ewers, and four hundred ſilver ones, fifty golden veſſels, all their clean cups, and four hundred ſilver ones, fifty golden water-bailes, and five hundred ſilver ones, thirty golden chalices, and three hundred ſilver ones, thirty golden phials, two thouſand four hundred ſilver ones, beſide a thouſand promiſcuouſly of other large veſſels. It is my further pleaſure alſo, that they receive entire to themſelves all the profits and revenues that were formerly enjoyed by their predeceſſors, and that they have an allowance paid them of two hundred and five thouſand five hundred drachmas, in conſideration of beaſts for ſacrifices, wine, and oil, and two thouſand five hundred meaſures of wheat, in lieu of the fine flour; and all this to be raiſed upon the tribute of *Samaria*. The prieſts alone to offer up the ſacrifices according to the laws and ceremonies of *Moſes*, and to pray daily for the king and the royal family, and for the welfare and happineſs of the

" *Perſian* empire. And let no man pre-
" ſume to do any thing contrary to the te-
" nor of this my royal will and procla-
" mation, upon pain of forfeiting life and
" eſtate."

This was the ſubſtance of the king's letter; and the number of thoſe that returned out of captivity to *Jeruſalem*, upon this encouragement and invitation, was forty two thouſand four hundred and ſixty two perſons.

CHAP. II.

The Jews *begin to rebuild the City and Temple; but* Cyrus *dying, his Son* Cambyſes *countermands the Deſign.*

THE *Jews* were no ſooner at work upon the foundations of the temple, but the bordering nations, and eſpecially the *Chuthites*, which *Salmanaſſar*, the king of *Aſſyria*, had formerly tranſplanted from *Perſia* and *Media* into *Samaria*, after he had removed the *Iſraelites* into other habitations; applied themſelves to the princes and governors, to whom the care of this enterprize was committed, preſſing them, with earneſt importunities, not to ſuffer the *Jews*, upon any terms, to proceed upon the project of rebuilding the city and the temple. Theſe commiſſioners were prevailed upon, by the force of bribes and fair words, to ſlacken their diligence in the proſecution of their orders; mean while *Cyrus* was ſo taken up in a war with the *Maſſagetes*, (where he loſt his life) that he knew nothing of the matter.

Upon the death of *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes* ſucceeded to the empire, and had an addreſs preſented him out of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and from the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, and *Samaritans*, ſigned *Rathymus* hiſtory-ſecretary, *Semelius* ſcribe, and the magiſtrates of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. The tenor of it to the purpoſe following. "This is to give you, " great Sir, to underſtand, that the *Jews* " that were carried away to *Babylon*, are " now returned to their former ſeats, and " into our country, where they are buſy " upon the rebuilding of a city that was " moſt deſervedly deſtroyed for ſeditious " practices. They are ſetting up markets, " and places of commerce, repairing the " walls, and renewing the temple; and if " they go on at this rate, you may aſſure " yourſelf, that they will neither pay taxes " nor due allegiance much longer, for " they are profeſſed enemies to kings, and " will never ſubmit to ſerve, if they once " get it into their power to command. " We account it our duty, Sir, in this " heat and zeal for the rebuilding of the " temple, to poſſeſs you before it is too late, " with a true ſtate of the matter. Be pleaſ- " ed only to look back into the hiſtory of " your predeceſſors, and you ſhall there " find the *Jews*, from generation to gene- " ration, to be the enemies of all crowned " heads; and that this very city was juſtly " laid waſte, for the crime of rebellion: " And we are further to preſent this to your " conſideration, that if they ever go through " with the re-edifying of this city, and the " finiſhing the walls, you will find your " communication cut off with *Phœnicia* and " *Cœle Syria*."

The king was ill-natured enough of himſelf; but this remonſtrance put him out of all patience, as will appear by his following anſwer.

King *Cambyſes* to *Rathymus* his hiſtoriographer, *Belſemus*, and *Semelius* the ſcribe, and the reſt of the inhabitants of *Samaria* and *Phœnicia*, greeting.

"Upon the reading of your letter of addreſs, I have cauſed a diligent ſearch to be made into the hiſtory of former times, according to your requeſt, and I find your remarks upon the city of *Jeruſalem* to be true, and that they have ever been a rebellious, and, as you ſay, an anti-monarchical ſort of people, turbulent, and reſtleſs, and naturally addicted to innovations. I find likewiſe, that their kings have been ever fierce and violent, and vexatious in their taxes and impoſitions, to the higheſt degree of oppreſſion, as *Phœnicia* and *Cœle-Syria* may bear witneſs againſt them: Wherefore I do command you to oppoſe them with all your might, in the rebuilding of the city; for, as they grow in power, they will certainly increaſe in malice, and behave themſelves as ſeditiouſly to the preſent governors, as they have done in time paſt to former kings."

Rathymus and *Semelius* had no ſooner read this mandate, but away they went with their companions, and took horſe immediately for *Jeruſalem*, and a vaſt multitude of people along with them, where they put an abſolute ſtop to the *Jews* in the work of the city and the temple. So that it was reſpited for a matter of nine years; that is to ſay, to the ſecond year of *Darius*, the king of *Perſia*. *Cambyſes*, after he had reigned ſix years, and ſubdued *Egypt*, died at *Damaſcus*, in his return from that expedition. The government reſted in the hands of the magi for a full year after his death; and it was afterwards tranſlated by the ſeven *Satrapæ*, or eminent families of the *Perſians*, and by common conſent, to *Darius*, the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*.

CHAP. III.

Darius *propounds ſome Queſtions to his three favourite Officers, on the Strength of Wine, Kings, Women, and Truth.*

DARIUS, while yet a private man, made a vow to God, that if ever he came to the throne, he would ſend all the holy veſſels that were at *Babylon* back again to the temple at *Jeruſalem*; and it happened about that time, that *Zerubbabel*, who was declared the prince or captain of the *Jewiſh* captives, came from *Jeruſalem* to *Darius*. He was an ancient friend and confident of the king's, and taken into a particular truſt, with two other great officers.

Darius, in the firſt year of his reign, gave a moſt magnificent treat, not only to his own domeſtics, but to the princes and nobility of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, the general officers of all *India* and *Ethiopia*, and the commanders, in fine, of a hundred and twenty ſeven provinces. Upon the breaking up of the company they retired every man to his quarter. *Darius*, in the mean while, finding after a ſhort ſlumber, that he could not lay himſelf to reſt again, fell into diſcourſes from one thing to another, with his three favourite officers, telling them in the end, that " he had ſome queſtions to " aſk them, and for their encouragement he " that ſhould give him the moſt reaſonable " and ſatisfactory anſwer, ſhould have the " privileges to be cloathed in purple, drink " in a golden cup, ſleep upon gold, ride in " a chariot with harneſs of gold, wear a " ſilken tiara, and a gold chain, have the " next place to *Darius* himſelf in the coun" cil, and be accounted as one of the roy" al blood." After this he put his queſtions to them in order: To the firſt, " If " there was any thing ſtronger than wine?" To the ſecond, the ſame queſtion again, " of the ſtrength of kings;" and to the third, " what he thought of the ſtrength of " women; or finally, of truth, perhaps a" bove all the reſt?" Upon the putting of theſe queries, he ceaſed ſpeaking, and left his guards to conſider of the matter. In the morning early he called together all the princes of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, with the chief officers and governors, placed himſelf upon the ſeat of juſtice, and cauſed the three guards of his body to be ſent for immediately to give their opinions ſeverally and publickly upon what he had propoſed.

The firſt began upon the ſubject of the ſtrength of wine, and proceeded thus:

The ſtrength of wine, ſays he, I may take upon me to pronounce ſuperior to all other powers whatſoever: For it overthrows the minds and the underſtandings of all that will be trying maſteries with it. It puts the greateſt prince into the condition of a child in his wardſhip, that has not wit enough to look to himſelf. It ſets the ſlave at liberty, even to the forgetting of his chains, and makes the beggar as rich and as high as an emperor. It changes and elevates the ſpirits, wherever it takes poſſeſſion. It enlivens the heavy hearts of the miſerable; pays all debts, and relieves men in all manner of neceſſities. It makes the ſcoundrel ſtrut and brag like a lord, look and talk big, without any fancy or fear of either kings or captains. It makes men forget their moſt intimate familiars and friends, and draw upon their neareſt relations, as if they were the moſt hateful of ſtrangers: And then when a man has ſlept out his debauch, he no more remembers what he did in the heat of his wine, than if no ſuch thing had ever been. For theſe reaſons, I cannot but look upon the force and operation of wine to be the ſtrongeſt and the moſt violent of all others.

When the firſt had done deſcanting upon the topic of wine, the ſecond ſtood up for the power of kings, in preference to all other whatſoever: Which he endeavoured to prove after this manner:

It is beyond diſpute, ſays he, that God has made man the maſter of all things under the ſun, ſo far as to command them, to make uſe of them, and apply them to the ſervice of mankind as he pleaſes: But whereas men have only a dominion over all other ſublunary creatures, kings have an authority even over men themſelves, and a right of ruling them by will and pleaſure. Now he that is maſter of thoſe that are maſters of all things elſe, hath a juſt title to an advantage over all the reſt, and to be accounted inſuperable, having no earthly thing above him. When princes find it for their convenience to expoſe the perſons of their ſubjects to wars and dangers, they obey them, you ſee, without any reluctancy or diſpute, let the hazard be what it will, either bodies to bodies, or in the attack of walls or works, forcing of paſſes, or, as it many times falls out, in contending with nature itſelf: We ſee how frankly they offer themſelves either to kill, or to be killed, in the execution of their prince's orders. And then in caſe of victory at laſt, the honour and profit of the whole goes to the king. This for the military part; and the ſame reaſon holds in the common buſineſs of huſbandry and tillage; where the countryman ploughs, ſows, digs, and ſweats, in the firſt place, to ſupply the king's ſtores out of his toil and labour, and whatſoever he commands muſt be obeyed without any expoſtulation or delay. The king all this time, while the people are working for him, takes his fill of all delicacies and pleaſures, ſleeps in ſecurity and eaſe, with his guards about him, under the ſlavery of an indiſpenſible attendance, and not a man of them dares cloſe his eyes while his maſter is at reſt; for the king's buſineſs is theirs without any ſort of liberty to attend any other. So that nothing certainly can be ſtronger than the force of that power that the whole multitude obeys to all intents.

After this declamation upon the power of kings, *Zerubbabel* took his turn, upon the argument of women, and of truth: And his diſcourſe was to the following effect:

The force of wine, ſays he, is not to be denied; neither is that of kings, that ties up ſo many millions of men in one common bond of allegiance: But the ſuper-eminency of women is yet above all this. For the mother of the king was before the king himſelf; and kings are but the gifts of the women that brought them into the world: And women were likewiſe the mothers and and nurſes of thoſe that cultivate our vineyards, and dreſs our vines. There is not any thing we can pretend to, but either directly or indirectly we have it from them. They have a hand in the government of all our domeſtic affairs; nay, in the dreſs and ornament of our bodies: And, in fine, God hath made them ſo neceſſary to us, that there's no living, and in truth no being without them. Let a man have never ſo much gold and ſilver, or what is more precious, before him; the ſight of a beautiful woman puts all theſe vanities out of his head and thought, any farther than parting with them to purchaſe the poſſeſſion of a beloved beauty. Women have the power to make us abandon our very country and relations, and many times to forget the beſt friends we have in the world, and forſaking all other comforts, to live and die with them. And it may be yet added, that when we have compaſſed ſea and land for all things that are rich and curious in nature, what does it all come to at laſt, but a more valuable preſent to a miſtreſs? How have I ſeen the king himſelf, in the bluſter of all his glory and titles, ſubmit to the taking of a box on the ear at the hand of his concubine *Apame*, the daughter of *Rabepſaces Themaſinus!* And this was not all, ſhe even took the crown from off the king's head, and ſet it upon her own: And he, good man, ſo complaiſant all the while, as to put himſelf into all ſhapes and humours to pleaſe her, and to be pleaſant or ſad with her for company, for fear of giving her any occaſion of offence.

Upon this, the princes and the nobility looked upon one another, not without admiration at the freedom of the diſcourſe. But *Zerubbabel* proceeded to the laſt point, upon the argument of truth:

But, ſays he, neither wine, women, nor kings, are comparable to the almighty force of truth: For allowing the vaſt magnitude of the earth, the height of the Heavens, and the unſpeakable ſwiftneſs of the motion of the ſun, and that all this is ordered by a divine providence, it muſt be granted withal, that God is juſt and true, and conſequently that truth is, of all things imaginable, the moſt powerful, ſince neither error nor juſtice can prevail againſt it. As for all other things that paſs for great in the world, they are mortal and ſhort lived; buth truth alone is unchangeable and everlaſting.

They all agreed with him, that truth was incorruptible, and the only bleſſing under the ſun that was not liable to alteration and decay: So that the king bid him take his choice out of what he had promiſed him:

" For," ſays he, " you ſhall have a preference in my eſteem above your companions: And from this time you ſhall have " the firſt place of honour next my perſon, " and ſtand adopted into my affinity and " blood."

CHAP. IV.

Darius *gives* Zerubbabel *Leave to rebuild the City of* Jeruſalem *and the Temple.*

ZERUBBABEL could not but lay hold of this occaſion for the putting of the king in mind of his vow; which was, that if ever he came to the crown, he would immediately fall to the rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, and the holy temple there, and reſtore all the ſacred veſſels and utenſils that *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken away from thence, and carried to *Babylon*. " Now," ſays he, " my humble requeſt is this, that you will " now diſcharge your vow." The king embraced his adviſer, and ſent away mandates ſoon after to his governors and great officers, to conduct *Zerubbabel* and thoſe that were to go along with him, to their journey's end, and to aſſiſt him in the re-edifying of the temple. He wrote letters alſo to the magiſtrates of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, to provide carriages for the tranſporting of the cedar to *Jeruſalem* that was cut down in *Libanus*, and to help them in their main undertaking. The king likewiſe charged them to exempt all the *Jews* that ſhould now return out of this captivity, from any public tax or duty, and to leave them at liberty, without either reſtraint or tribute: Commanding alſo the *Edomites*, *Samaritans*, and the people of *Cœlé Syria*, to reſtore all thoſe lands to the *Jews* again, that had been formerly in their poſſeſſion, and to contribute fifty talents over and above, toward the erecting of the temple, after their own way, and aſſigned out of his own proper bounty whatever ſhould be found neceſſary, either in ſacerdotal habits, or otherwiſe, for the right adminiſtration of every thing in form. He aſſigned them organs alſo to accompany the voices of the *Levites*, and ordered a certain proportion of land for the entertainment of the officers and keepers, both of the city and the temple, in the way of an annual penſion: Confirming every thing that *Cyrus* had formerly reſolved about the reſtoring of the *Jews*, and their holy veſſels.

When *Zerubbabel* had obtained this grace, the firſt thing he did was to give God thanks for the honour he had received from the king, concluding with a prayer for the ſucceſs of his undertaking; and then went to his countrymen at *Babylon*, with the joyful news of their deliverance. Upon the report of theſe tidings, they joined immediately in an univerſal thankſgiving for the promiſe of this reſtoration to their native country, and after the ſolemnity of that duty was over, they fell to feaſting, drinking, and making merry, for ſeven days together. The heads of the tribes made a choice of thoſe that were to go upon this expedition, providing beaſts of burden, and carriages, for their wives and children, and taking thoſe troops along with them, which *Darius* had appointed for a convoy.

In this manner and company they paſſed their time merrily upon the way, with pipes and cymbals playing before them, and the whole multitude dancing and rejoicing after the muſic. There was a ſelect number culled out from every tribe. There were of the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, from twelve years old and upward, four millions ſix hundred and twenty-eight thouſand perſons. After theſe came four thouſand and ſeventy *Levites*, and a promiſcuous multitude of women and children, to the number of forty thouſand ſeven hundred and forty two. Of the ſtock of the *Levites*, there were a hundred and twenty-eight ſingers, a hundred and ten porters, and of others that ſerved and aſſiſted in the ſanctuary, three hundred and twenty-two. There were alſo ſix hundred and fifty-two that called themſelves *Iſraelites*, but could not prove their extraction. There were others alſo, that had taken wives, whoſe genealogy could not be made out either from the *Levitical* or ſacerdotal records; and theſe were accounted unqualified for the holy function, to the number of five hundred and twenty five. The train of ſervants that attended them was reckoned at ſeven thouſand three hundred and thirty-ſeven. Singing men and women two hundred and forty five, camels four hundred, and other beaſts of carriage five hundred and twenty five. Their leader was *Zerubbabel*, the ſon of *Salathiel*, of the tribe of *Judah*, and the race of *David*; and with him was *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Joſedec*, and *Mardochæus*, and *Serebæus*, which two were choſen to the command by the ſuffrage of the tribes, and contributed at their own charge a hundred pounds of gold, and five thouſand pounds of ſilver, toward the expence of this expedition. This was the order and the manner of the march of the prieſts and *Levites*, and that part of the people that went along with them in their return from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem*, the reſt following afterwards by little and little, till in the end they all went back to their own habitations.

In the ſeventh month after their departure from *Babylon*, *Jeſus* the high-prieſt, and *Zerubbabel*, their prince, ſent meſſengers expreſs all over the land, to ſummon the people to a general meeting at *Jeruſalem*, who aſſembled together accordingly. Upon this meeting there was an altar erected to ſacrifice upon, in the ſame place where it ſtood before. This proceeding gave a mighty offence to the neighbouring nations. This happened juſt upon the feaſt of tabernacles, according to the *Moſaical* inſtitution; and after that came the daily oblations, and the ſacrifice of the ſabbaths, and of the new moons, and of all holy feaſts; and all thoſe that had made any vow came likewiſe to perform it, from the firſt day of the ſeventh month.

They entered then upon the building of the temple, and expended vaſt ſums of money upon it. The *Sidonians* brought down cedar planks in abundance from *Libanus*; and after that, framing thoſe timbers into boats, which they brought into the port of *Joppa*, as they had been ordered, firſt by *Cyrus*, and after him by *Darius*.

It was now the ſecond month of the ſecond year after the return of the *Jews*, when the foundations of the temple being already laid, they began, on the firſt day of *December* with the ſuperſtructure, committing the care of the building to the whole family of the *Levites*, of twenty years of age and upwards, and likewiſe to *Jeſus*, with his ſons and brothers, and to *Zolimiel*, the brother of *Juda*, and the ſon of *Aminadab*, and to his ſons. When they were advanced thus far, the prieſts came and officiated in their habits, with muſical inſtruments; and the *Levites*, and the ſons of *Aſaph*, ſung ſome of the holy hymns of *David* to the honour of God, according to the firſt inſtitution. But the prieſts and *Levites*, and the elders of their families, who had ſeen the glory and magnificence of the former houſe, and computing how little this was in compariſon of the other, broke out into tears and lamentations at the thought of it. The common people however, that had never ſeen the former, contented themſelves with the preſent ſtate of things, tho' the paſſion of the prieſts and elders was ſo great at the ſame time, that their very cries and groans were almoſt as loud as the muſic.

CHAP. V.

The Samaritans *oppoſe the building of the Temple.*

THE report of this noiſe of trumpets, with a confuſed clamour and mixture of joy and ſorrow, being brought to the *Samaritans*, they came to learn the meaning of it; and finding that it was occaſioned by the return of the *Jews* from their captivity, and that they were now re-erecting their temple, they went immediately to *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſus*, with the chief of the tribes, and deſired that they themſelves might likewiſe be admitted into the undertaking, upon terms in common with the reſt; "for," ſay they, "we worſhip the ſame God, and " practiſe the ſame religion, from the very " days of *Salmanaſar*, the king of *Aſſyria*, " who tranſplanted us out of *Chuthia* and " *Media*, into this land." The anſwer was, that they could not take them into a partnerſhip of the building, becauſe formerly *Cyrus*, and after him *Darius*, had aſſigned the building of it to their particular care; but that they ſhould have liberty to worſhip there, and that it ſhould be open to all people indifferently, that had a mind to ſerve God in it.

The *Chuthites* (or *Samaritans*) took this refuſal ſo heinouſly, that they ſtirred up the *Syrians*, that a ſtop might be put to the progreſs of this building.

There went up to *Jeruſalem* at this time, *Siſinnes*, the governor of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and *Sarabazanes*, with ſome others, and aſked the principal men by what authority this temple was to be built? for it looked more like a caſtle than a temple; and to what end the walls of the city were made ſo thick and ſtrong, and the gates ſo fortified? *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſus* made anſwer, that they were the ſervants of the great God, to whoſe honour this temple was built, and to his ſervice dedicated, by the greateſt prince that ever ſat upon that throne, and that it had ſtood firm for many ages, till, for the wickedneſs of their forefathers, the city, by God's permiſſion, was taken, and deſtroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the king of *Babylon*, the temple pillaged and laid in aſhes, and the people carried away captives into *Babylon*: But that when *Cyrus* came to the government of *Perſia* and *Babylon*, he ordered, by his royal proclamation, the rebuilding of the temple, and the reſtoring of all the donatives and veſſels that had been taken away by *Nebuchadnezzar*, which were delivered to *Zerubbabel*, and his treaſurer *Mithridates*, to be tranſported to *Jeruſalem*, and laid up again in the temple there: That, by the command of the king, *Abaſſar* was ſent to that city; that, upon receipt of the king's letters, he came in all haſte, and immediately laid the foundation; and that from that time forward their enemies had been ſtill at work to obſtruct or delay the deſign. Now, if they pleaſed, they might write to *Darius*, to the end that, upon inſpecting papers and records, they might find the whole ſtory to be true as they had told it. *Siſinnes* and his companions did not think it reaſonable to interrupt the proceeding without the privity of *Darius* himſelf, and therefore they agreed to write to him immediately about this matter. The *Jews* were not a little ſolicitous, for fear the king, upon this application, ſhould countermand the orders he had given, 'till *Aggæus* and *Zacharias*, two prophets then among them, bad them fear nothing from the *Perſians*, for they were certainly informed of God's holy will touching that affair. The people did ſo abſolutely depend upon this encouragement, that they wrought harder and harder, without the intermiſſion of ſo much as one ſingle day.

The *Samaritans* had written their accuſation againſt the *Jews* to *Darius*, and ſhewed alſo the epiſtle of *Cambyſes*, by which he had forbidden it before. When the king had received and conſidered of theſe letters, he ordered the royal memorials to be conſulted, and there was found at *Ecbatana*, a caſtle in *Media*, a certain book, wherein was written to this effect.

“It was ordained by king *Cyrus*, in the firſt year of his reign, that the temple of God ſhould be rebuilt at *Jeruſalem*, ſixty cubits in height, and as many in breadth, and the altar in it; that there ſhould be in the walls three rows of poliſhed marble, and one of wood, of the growth of the country, and the charge of it to be defrayed out of the king's treaſury; that the holy veſſels which *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken out of the temple, ſhould be carried back to *Jeruſalem*, and reſtored; that the ſuperintendency of this work ſhould be committed to *Abaſſar*, the governor of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and to his companions, with orders not to appear at *Jeruſalem* themſelves, but to quit the place and leave the building of the temple to the *Jews*, the ſervants of God, and to the chief of their tribes; but yet to ſupply them out of the taxes upon the province, and to furniſh them for their ſacrifices, with bulls, rams, lambs, kids, meal, wine, oil, and whatever elſe the prieſts ſhould deſire, who were to pray to God for the welfare and happineſs of the king and of his people. And whoever ſhould preſume to act contrary to this mandate, to be forthwith taken and hanged up, and his goods confiſcated; with the addition of a curſe over and above, that whoever ſhould dare to oppoſe or forbid the progreſs of this work, God would ſtrike him with a vengeance, as a judgment upon him for his iniquity.”

Upon this *Darius* wrote back to *Siſinnes* and his fellow-colleagues, to this effect.

King *Darius* to *Siſinnes*, the maſter of his horſe, and to *Sarabazanes*, and other magiſtrates with him, greeting.

“I ſend you a copy of *Cyrus*'s letter, tranſcribed out of his records; and it is my will and pleaſure, that all things may be done according to the direction of that appointment. Fare you well.”

Siſinnes and the reſt hereupon agreed to comply in all points with the king's order; and undertaking the care of the fabric, they aſſiſted the *Jews*, and their magiſtrates and leading men, and carried on the work ſo unanimouſly, that the building was erected according to the command of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, and finiſhed within the compaſs of ſeven years, the prophets *Aggæus* and *Zacharias* in the mean time prophecying.

In the ninth year of *Darius*, and the three and twentieth day of the eleventh month, which we call *Adar*, and the *Macedonians Dyſtrus*, the prieſts and *Levites*, with the people of *Iſrael*, offered in ſacrifice a hundred lambs, and twelve goats, as ſin-offerings for the twelve tribes, in acknowledgment of the bleſſing of their deliverance from captivity to his holy worſhip again in a new temple. The prieſts and *Levites* had their porters at every gate, according to the law, the *Jews* having built galleries round about the temple.

The feaſt of unleavened bread was now drawing on, and, in the firſt month, which the *Macedonians* call *Xanthicus*, and we *Niſan*, the people flocked up from all places to the city, where they celebrated that feſtival, together with their wives and children. Upon the fourteenth day of the firſt month, they held the paſſover, and kept rejoicing for ſeven days after, offering up ſacrifices and thankſgiving to God for their reſtoration, and replanted themſelves at *Jeruſalem*, where they erected an ariſtocracy; for the ſovereign power was lodged in the high prieſt, 'till the *Aſmonæan* family, upon a turn of affairs, entered upon the government, and turned it into a monarchy. Before the captivity, and for the ſpace of five hundred and thirty two years, ſix months, and ten days, from the time of *Saul* and *David*, they were governed by kings, as they were likewiſe before, though under the name of judges, and that form of government continued upwards of five hundred years after the adminiſtration of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*. This was the ſtate of the *Jews* in the reſtoration under *Cyrus* and *Darius*.

But the *Samaritans* put them to a great deal of trouble, for they were powerful and wealthy, and claiming kindred with the *Perſians*, they valued themſelves upon the credit of their original. They grumbled at the taxes that were laid upon them for the ſacrifices, and, in ſhort, improved all opportunities of doing us miſchief. This diſorder went ſo far, that the ſenate and the people of *Jeruſalem* drew up a complaint againſt the *Samaritans*, and ſent *Zerubbabel*, with four more of his colleagues, upon the embaſſy with it to *Darius*. When the king came to conſider the crimes that were charged upon the *Samaritans*, he gave them a letter back with them for the officers and lieutenants of that province, and the ſenate of *Samaria*, in words to this purpoſe.

King *Darius* to *Tangar* and *Sambaba*, the maſters of our horſe at *Samaria*, and to *Sadrack-Bobelon*, and the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects there, ſendeth greeting.

" Whereas I am given to underſtand by " *Zerubbabel*, *Ananias*, and *Mardochæus*, on " the part of the *Jews*, that you ſtand ac" cuſed of interrupting and diſcouraging the " rebuilding of the temple, and of refuſing " to bear your part in the charge of the ſa" crifices, which, by my command, you " ought to have done; this is to require " you, upon the ſight of this letter, forth" with to ſupply them out of my treaſury in " *Samaria*, with whatſoever they ſhall want " for the uſe of their ſacrifices and worſhip, " to the end that they may offer up daily " prayers and oblations, both for myſelf and " for my people."

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Xerxes *grants to* Eſdras *whatever he deſires in favour of the* Jews.

AFTER the death of *Darius*, his ſon *Xerxes* ſucceeded to the government; who made good all that his predeceſſors had done in favour of the *Jews* and their religion. *Joachim*, the ſon of *Jehu*, was at this time high-prieſt; but the name of the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, that lived at *Babylon*, was *Eſdras*, a man of a moſt exemplary piety and juſtice. He was ſo well verſed in the *Moſaic* law, that the king had a particular eſteem for him. Upon a reſolution taken to go to *Jeruſalem*, and to carry ſeveral of the *Babylonian Jews* along with him, he deſired a letter from the king, to recommend him to the governors and lieutenants of *Syria*, which he obtained; and the purport of it was this:

Xerxes, the king of kings, to *Eſdras* the prieſt, and reader of the holy law of God, greeting.

" Whereas it is decreed by me and my " ſeven counſellors, that what *Iſraelites* ſoe" ver within my dominions, with their " prieſts and *Levites*, ſhall think fit to bear " you company to *Jeruſalem*, I have grant" ed them free leave to go. And likewiſe " to take along with them all the gold and " ſilver, that your people all over *Babylon* " ſhall contribute for the buying of ſacrifi" ces, to offer upon the altar to your God, " and for making ſuch veſſels of gold and " ſilver, as you and your brethren ſhall judge " meet. Alſo, that what is thus given you, " be dedicated to your God. And if you " ſhall have occaſion for any thing elſe, ſup" ply yourſelf out of the public treaſure: " To which end, I have already written to " the officers that have the menage of it in " *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, expreſſly command" ing them to furniſh whatſoever *Eſdras* " ſhall deſire, without any delay: And to " the end that God may proſper both me " and mine, I will have a hundred meaſures " of wheat dedicated to God, according to " to the proviſion of the law. And for the " magiſtrates, I ſtrictly charge them, that " they exact nothing from prieſts, *Levites*, " holy ſingers, porters, or other officers of " the temple, and that they lay no burdens " upon them. And for yourſelf, *Eſdras*, I " do hereby give you full authority, to con" ſtitute judges, that may ſee juſtice done " to all people thorough *Syria* and *Phœnicia*. " Farewell.

Upon the receipt of this letter, *Eſdras* worſhipped God, and gave thanks. The *Jews* of that country were upon this occaſion ſummoned to a general meeting at *Babylon*, where the letter was read, and the copy of it tranſcribed and ſent away to be communicated to all the *Jews* in *Media*; but *Eſdras* kept the original to himſelf. This account of the king's piety towards God, and of the reſpect he had for *Eſdras*, was a very great ſatisfaction to the people, for great numbers of them packed up their effects, and haſtened away to *Babylon*, with an intent to return to *Jeruſalem*; but there were another ſort of *Iſraelites*, who being ſettled in their habitations, choſe rather to continue where they were. This is the reaſon

ſon that there are only two tribes to be found in *Aſia* and *Europe*, under the *Roman* emperor: As for the other ten tribes, they are all ſettled beyond the *Euphrates*, and ſo prodigiouſly encreaſed in number, that they are hardly to be computed. The publication of this recommendatory teſtimonial, brought over abundance of people to *Eſdras*, and not only prieſts and *Levites*, but temple-porters, ſingers, and other officers and ſervants appertaining thereunto. Thoſe who choſe to go back to their own country, he appointed a rendezvous for at the *Euphrates*, where, after a three days faſt, and the ſolemnity of vows and prayers for a ſafe and proſperous voyage, (*Eſdras* excuſing himſelf from the guard of horſe that was offered him, as being already under the protection of the Almighty) they entered upon their journey on the twelfth day of the firſt month, in the ſeventh year of the reign of *Xerxes*, and got to *Jeruſalem* in the fifth month of the ſame year, where *Eſdras* immediately delivered out the money he brought to the prieſts that had the cuſtody of the holy treaſure; ſix hundred and fifty talents of ſilver, a hundred talents of ſilver veſſels, twenty talents of veſſels of gold, and twelve talents of fine braſs, that was even more precious than gold itſelf. Theſe were the bounties of the king and his friends, and of the *Iſraelites* that continued in *Babylon*. Then *Eſdras* offered unto God burnt-offerings, according to the direction of the law: Twelve bulls for the whole people of *Iſrael*, ſeventy two ſheep and lambs, and twelve goats for a ſin-offering. He communicated alſo the king's letter to the governors of *Phœnicia* and *Cœle-Syria*, who had the *Iſraelites* in great honour, and readily ſupplied them with whatever they wanted. This was all done by the advice of *Eſdras*.

By the time they had been ſettled in their affairs, *Eſdras* heard that ſome of the prieſts and *Levites* had departed from the rule of the law, and their duty, in marrying into foreign families, confounding the ſacerdotal race. Hereupon there was application made to him, that he would ſupport the laws, for fear of God's wrath. *Eſdras*, upon this complaint, rent his cloaths, tearing the hair of his head, and of his beard, and caſting himſelf upon the ground, in deſpair of doing any good in this matter. All people that had any ſenſe of goodneſs or humanity gathered about him, to condole with him. *Eſdras* in the mean time, holding up his hands; "Good God!" ſays he, "I am aſhamed to lift up my eyes to Heaven on the behalf of theſe people, when "I conſider that, after all thy dreadful "judgments upon their anceſtors for their "diſobedience, they will yet go on in the "ſteps of their forefathers; but, Lord, thy "mercy is infinite: Wherefore have pity "upon this miſerable remnant of thy diſtreſſed ſervants; and as thou haſt been "graciouſly pleaſed to bring them home again, perfect the work of thy redemption, in the pardon of their preſent tranſgreſſion. It is confeſſed that they deſerve "to die for their iniquity; but their truſt "is in thy goodneſs."

While the holy man was in the agony of his pious affliction, with a multitude of men, women and children gathered about him, there came to him one *Jechonias*, a man of quality in *Jeruſalem*, with a public confeſſion that, contrary to the law, they had married ſtrange women; adviſing him to impoſe an oath upon all that had ſo done, to turn away all the wives and children they had by them, and whoever ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to that law, to be ſeverely puniſhed for it. *Eſdras* took an oath of the chief of the prieſts and *Levites*, and of all *Iſrael*, to do as was propounded; and immediately went from the temple to the chamber of *Joanan*, the ſon of *Eliaſib*, where he ſpent that whole day, without eating any thing, for the trouble that was upon him. The next thing he did was to command by proclamation all thoſe people who were now returned out of captivity, to meet at *Jeruſalem* in two or three days; and in caſe of failure the penalty to be excommunication, and confiſcation of goods to the holy treaſury.

Within three days the two tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* gathered together, on the twentieth day of the ninth month, which the *Hebrews* call *Thebeth*; and the *Macedonians*, *Apellæus*; and when they had placed themſelves in the upper part of the temple, the elders being preſent, *Eſdras* ſtood up and told them, that "whereas they were "all guilty of a very grievous ſin, that "in contempt of their country's laws had "entered into marriage with ſtrangers, they "they had no way to recover God's favour, "and to ſecure themſelves, but by utterly "caſting off the women they had ſo taken." Whereupon they all cried out, that they were ready to do it; but the number being very great, the ſeaſon extremely cold, and the buſineſs a matter of importance, it was propoſed that a commiſſion of enquiry might be iſſued out to a ſelect number of eminent men and elders, that were innocent themſelves of the fact in queſtion. This motion was approved of; and upon the firſt day of the tenth month they entered upon the inquiſition, which held them work till the firſt day of the month following; and they found great numbers of the relations of *Jeſus* the high-prieſt, as well as of other prieſts and *Levites*, and the reſt of the *Iſraelites*, that being involved in the ſame common tranſgreſſion, joined immediately in the diſowning of their wives and children: After this ſolemnity they offered up rams according to cuſtom, for peace offerings: *Eſdras*, by this means, ſet them right again in the reſtraint of their marriages; and ſettled ſuch a reformation in that particular, as was upon that foundation to ſtand firm for ever after.

In the ſeventh month they ſolemnized the feaſt of tabernacles; and the whole multitude of the *Iſraelites* being now aſſembled together upon that occaſion, into the eaſtern part of the temple, *Eſdras* read the law of God unto them. This lecture continued from morning to mid-day, to the great edification of all the hearers, and drew tears from their eyes, which *Eſdras* taking notice of, adviſed them to be rather as free and merry as they could, and to eat, drink, and rejoice, in honour of the day, exhorting them not to make their repentance a mortification to them, any further than to ſecure them for the future from a relapſe into the ſame miſtakes. The people followed his counſel, and after eight days ſpent in good cheer and in good company, they returned every man to his own habitation, but not without thankful acknowledgements to *Eſdras* for the reformation he had wrought in the government. He lived with honour, and died at *Jeruſalem*, full of years, where he had a moſt magnificent burial.

Joachim the high-prieſt died alſo about the ſame time, and *Eliaſim* his ſon ſucceeded him.

CHAP. VII.

Nehemiah *gets Permiſſion to rebuild the Walls of* Jeruſalem.

THERE was among the *Jewiſh* captives a certain perſon, whoſe name was *Nehemiah*, the butler, or cup-bearer to *Xerxes*. He was walking one day before *Suſa*, the capital of *Perſia*, and happened to hear ſome travellers that had come a long journey together into the city, talking *Hebrew* one to another. Upon this he aſked them from what quarter they came: They told him from *Judæa*. He aſked them further, how it fared with the people there, and what news from *Jeruſalem*; "Why "truly," they made anſwer, "matters "went very ill with them, their walls all "pulled down, and their country laid open "to the outrages and incurſions of their "ſpiteful neighbours, themſelves carried a-"way into captivity, and the highways "ſtrewed every where up and down with "dead bodies." *Nehemiah* could not forbear weeping at this deplorable calamity of his countrymen and kindred, and, "Lord," ſays he, "how long! how long, Lord, wilt "thou ſuffer thy people to be trampled up-"on, and expoſed for a prey to mankind!" While *Nehemiah* was in the middle of his lamentations, one brought him word that the king was ready to go to ſupper; upon which he haſtened away, all in confuſion, to his waiting. The king, after ſupper, being ſomewhat more chearful than before, and taking notice of ſome ſort of heavineſs in the countenance of *Nehemiah*, aſked him affectionately what he ailed. "Alas! Sir," ſays *Nehemiah*, "how is it poſſible for me "to be other than ſad, when the place of "my nativity is laid waſte and deſtroyed; "*Jeruſalem* made an heap of rubbiſh, the "gates burnt, the ſepulchres and monu-"ments of my anceſtors broken up, and "the aſhes of the dead ſacrilegeouſly pro-"phaned! Now after all this, Sir, I only "beg that I may have your royal leave to "take a journey thither to help forward "the rebuilding of the walls, and erecting "and perfecting of what remains toward the "finiſhing of the temple." The king granted his petition, and promiſed him letters recommendatory to the governors where he was to paſs, with orders to treat him with all manner of reſpect, and to ſupply him with whatever he wanted toward the work he was about: Upon this aſſurance *Nehemiah* bleſſed God and the king, upon finding ſo gracious a diſpoſition in his favour. On the day following the king ſent for *Nehemiah*, and gave him letters of credit to *Sadæus*, the governor of *Syria*, *Phænicia*, and *Samaria*, with orders to receive and aſſiſt him, as he had promiſed it.

He went firſt to *Babylon*, and from thence, with as many of his friends and companions as voluntarily offered themſelves to bear him company, he went away to *Jeruſalem*, where he arrived in the twenty fifth year of the reign of *Xerxes*, and having firſt ſhewn his friends his credentials, he delivered them to *Sadæus*, and his colleagues, according to the addreſs. He preſently after this ſummoned a general meeting of the people up to *Jeruſalem*, and harangued them in the temple with a ſpeech to this effect:

"You cannot," ſays he, "but ſee that "we are at this day under the power and "providence of the ſame almighty and mer-"ciful God that did ſo many great things "for our forefathers *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and "*Jacob*, out of a gracious regard to their "piety and juſtice; And it is by the favour "of that God that I have now obtained "leave from the king to enter upon the re-"building of your walls, and the putting an "end to the work of the temple that is yet "unfiniſhed. But taking this for granted, "that you live among ſpiteful neighbours, "that will do all that is to be done in na-"ture, for the croſſing of your deſign, I "ſhall therefore recommend it to you in "the firſt place, reſolutely to caſt your-"ſelves upon God, who will moſt certainly "defeat all the practices of your enemies; "and ſecondly, that you ply your buſineſs "day and night, without any intermiſſion." Upon this exhortation, *Nehemiah* immediately ordered the magiſtrates to ſurvey the ground, and take meaſure of the walls, and according to that computation, to make an equal diſtribution of the work among the people, at ſo much a town, or a village, as it falls out in proportion, promiſing at the ſame time the aſſiſtance of himſelf, and of all that belonged to him, to join in the ſervice. The authority of *Nehemiah* made them immediately apply themſelves to their buſineſs.

neſs. This was the firſt time that the people were ever called *Jews*, or their country *Judæa*; and it was ſo called from the tribe of *Judah*, that were formerly poſſeſſed of that quarter.

The rumour of this enterprize was no ſooner brought to the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Samaritans*, and the *Cœle-Syrians*, but they were mightily enraged, and left nothing unattempted to diſappoint it. They lay in wait for the *Jews* up and down in ambuſhes, and deſtroyed a great many of them by ſurprize. They kept bravoes in pay, to attempt upon the perſon of *Nehemiah* himſelf, inſinuating many falſe alarms, and ſham ſtories of menace and invaſion, that the multitude were in great awe, and nigh quitting the undertaking upon the very fright. But *Nehemiah* ſtood as firm as a rock, and under the ſecurity of a ſlender guard, wrought on, without any ſenſe of wearineſs, or apprehenſion of danger; and gave orders for the future, that all the carpenters, maſons, and other labourers, ſhould work with their ſwords by their ſides, and their bucklers within diſtance of having them ready upon occaſion. He appointed trumpeters alſo to be poſted within five hundred paces one of another, and, upon any diſcovery of an enemy, to give the alarm, that the people might have time enough to ſtand to their arms, without any danger of a ſurprize. He went every night the round of the city, and his body was ſo inured to hard work, hard fare, and watching, that it was proof againſt all thoſe difficulties; for he never eat or ſlept more than juſt to ſupport nature. This was his courſe of life for two years and three months; for juſt ſo long were the walls a finiſhing: and this was in the eight and twentieth year and ninth month of the reign of *Xerxes*. Upon the perfecting of the fortifications, *Nehemiah* and the people offered up their ſacrifice, and continued together for eight days, in feaſting and rejoicing, which was very unwelcome news to the *Syrians*. *Nehemiah* reflecting that the city was under-peopled, he perſuaded all the prieſts and *Levites* thereabouts to take up their habitations in the town, and he would be at the charge of providing them houſes. He ordered likewiſe the people in the country to carry their tenths into the city, for the maintenance of the prieſts and *Levites*, that they might not be diverted by any worldly cares from attending the duty of their office: By this means it came by degrees to be better peopled. After this, and a great many other glorious actions, *Nehemiah*, now in years, departed this life.

CHAP. VIII.

King Artaxerxes *baniſhes* Vaſhti *his Queen, and takes* Eſther *to Wife.*

AFTER the death of *Xerxes*, the government deſcended to his ſon *Cyrus*, whom the *Greeks* call *Artaxerxes*; in whoſe reign over the *Perſians*, the whole nation of the *Jews* were in great danger to be utterly deſtroyed. When *Artaxerxes* had taken the crown upon him, and ſettled the governors of a hundred and twenty ſeven provinces, betwixt *India* and *Ethiopia*, he made a moſt ſumptuous feaſt at *Suſa*, in the third year of his reign, where he treated his friends and officers, and the ſolemnity laſted a hundred and fourſcore days. There were ſeveral other nations alſo, and their ambaſſadors, at the entertainment ſeven whole days ſucceſſively; and it was conducted in the manner following. A tent was erected upon golden and ſilver pillars, covered with fine linen and purple, and of extent and compaſs to receive ſome thouſands of people. The wine was ſerved up in cups of gold and precious ſtones. An order was given to the waiters, after the *Perſian* manner, that no man ſhould be forced to drink more than he had a mind to, and proclamation made all over his dominions, that they ſhould ſet ſome certain number of days apart for the celebration of a feſtival for the proſperity and ſafety of the kingdom. Queen *Vaſhti* had her apartment alſo in the palace, for the entertainment of the women. She was ſo wonderfully handſome, that the king had a mind to oblige his gueſts with the ſight of her, and ſo ſent for her to come to him; but the laws of *Perſia* * will not allow wives to be ſeen by any beſide their domeſtics. She therefore refuſed to go to the king, not only once, but upon ſeveral orders brought her by the eunuchs to the ſame purpoſe. The king took this obſtinacy ſo ill, that after the feſtival was over, he called for the ſeven commiſſioners appointed for the interpretation of the *Perſian* laws, to adviſe with, what was to be done in this caſe of his wife's diſobedience, and to know what the law directed in that caſe. One of them, whoſe name was *Muchæus*, ſaid, that it was not only an affront to himſelf in the matter of fact, but a precedent of dangerous conſequence to all his ſubjects in general, whoſe wives would be apt to deſpiſe their huſbands too, and by that contempt provoke them to lewd courſes, if this exemplary contumacy of the queen againſt ſo mighty a king ſhould paſs unpuniſhed; concluding, that as it was a heinous offence, ſo it ought to be encountered with an anſwerable ſeverity, and that nothing leſs would ſatisfy than the baniſhing of *Vaſhti* from the king's court and preſence for ever; and this to be done alſo by proclamation, and another taken into her place.

The king was well enough pleaſed with the advice, and ſent commiſſioners immediately over all his dominions, to view the moſt celebrated beauties they could find, and bring them up to him. They were very diligent in the execution of their charge; and, among others, they found a maid in *Babylon*, whoſe name was *Eſther*. Her father and mother were both dead, and ſhe brought up in the houſe of her uncle *Mordecai*, who was of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and a principal man among the *Jews*. This virgin was ſo much beyond all the reſt, for the graces of her beauty and perſon, as to be the admiration of every body that beheld her. She was committed to the care of one of the eunuchs, where ſhe was treated with all poſſible delicacy and reſpect, for the ſpace of ſix months, in company with four hundred virgins; after which time, being thus prepared for the king's bed, he had every day one of them brought him, whom he received into his arms, and then ſent back again to the ſame eunuch. But when it came to *Eſther*'s turn, he was ſo tranſported with the love of her company and converſation, that he took her for his lawful wife, and celebrated the nuptials in the ſeventh year of his reign, and the twelfth month, which is called *Adar*, ſending his meſſengers every where to proclaim the ſolemnity of a marriage feſtival. As for the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and the great men of other nations, the king himſelf entertained them at the wedding-feaſt, for the ſpace of one whole month; and upon his wife's entering into the palace, he placed the crown upon her head, and lived with her, without ever enquiring after her country, or her extraction. Her uncle removed from *Babylon* to *Suſa*, where he frequently waited at the king's gate, ever inquiring what news of *Eſther*, who was as dear to him as if ſhe had been his own child.

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* If the *Chaldee* paraphraſt be in the right, that *Artaxerxes* intended to ſhew *Vaſhti* to his gueſts naked, it is no wonder at all that ſhe would not ſubmit to ſuch an indignity. But ſtill, if it were not ſo groſs as that, yet it might, in the king's cups, be done in a way ſo indecent, as the *Perſian* laws would not then bear, no more than the common laws of modeſty. And that the king had ſome ſuch deſign ſeems not improbable; for otherwiſe the principal of theſe royal gueſts could be no ſtrangers to the queen, nor unapprized of her beauty, ſo far as decency admitted. However, ſince providence was now paving the way for the introduction of a *Jeweſs* into the king's affections, in order to bring about one of the moſt wonderful deliverances which the *Jewiſh* or any other nation ever had, we need not be farther ſolicitous about the motives by which the king was induced to divorce *Vaſhti*, and marry *Eſther*.

CHAP. IX.

Haman *advanced.* Mordecai *refuſes to honour him.* *A ſevere Edict againſt the* Jews.

THE king, at this time, paſſed an ordinance, that none of his domeſtics ſhould preſume, while he was ſitting upon his royal throne, to come to him, unleſs they were called or ſent for, upon pain of loſing their heads. The king, in the mean time, had a golden ſceptre in his hand, and whenſoever he had a mind to ſave any of thoſe that came uncalled, he held the ſceptre forth, and upon their touching it, they were exempted from the penalty.

A little after this, a conſpiracy was entered into betwixt *Bigthan* and *Tereſh*, two of the chamberlains or eunuchs, againſt the perſon of the king. *Barnabazus*, a ſervant of one of them, and a *Jew*, diſcovered this treachery to *Mordecai*, the queen's uncle, and he, by the hands of *Eſther*, to the king himſelf, who put the criminals to the queſtion, and upon conviction, they were both delivered up to juſtice. The king gave *Mordecai* no other reward for this diſcovery than by appointing the ſervice and the deliverance to be regiſtered upon the record, and the allowing him admittance into the palace, with the ſame freedom and privilege as one of his domeſtics.

Haman, the ſon of *Ammedatha*, an *Amalekite*, being now advanced by the king, and coming frequently to court, the *Perſians*, as well as ſtrangers, paid him the greateſt reverence imaginable in his paſſage, and it was alſo the king's command that it ſhould be ſo. *Mordecai* was the only perſon that did not bow to him, being a ceremony contrary to the practice of his country, which did not allow of that manner of reſpect. *Haman* taking notice of this ſingularity, aſked him what countryman he was? and finding him to be a *Jew*, broke out into a violent exclamation, that when all the natives and the free-born *Perſians* made no difficulty of doing him that honour, this ſlave of a *Jew* ſhould preſume to affront him. In this rage, he took up a deſperate reſolution to be revenged upon *Mordecai*; and the hatred he had for the *Jews* was ſo mortal, that it was not enough, he thought, to wreck a vengeance upon the perſon of *Mordecai*, without deſtroying the whole race of the *Jews* for company, not forgetting that the *Amalekites*, his countrymen, had been formerly beaten out of their land, and utterly exterminated by the *Jews*. In this heat, away goes *Haman* to the king, with a complaint againſt the *Jews*, as a vile generation of people to all purpoſes, inſociable in their manners, given up to ſuperſtitious laws and ceremonies, lurking up and down in all quarters of his dominions, and men that ſhew themſelves in their practices and converſations, the common enemies of mankind. "Now Sir," ſays *Haman*, "if you will lay the greateſt obligation upon your ſubjects, you muſt order this ſort of men to be rooted out from among your people, without ſparing ſo much as one captive or ſervant. And that you may not ſuffer by it in your revenue, I will be anſwerable for forty thouſand talents of ſilver to your treaſury, out of my own eſtate." The king told *Haman*, that he would leave the *Jews* to be dealt with according to his diſcretion, and remit the money over and above. *Haman* immediately publiſhed an edict in the king's name, and ſent it abroad through all his dominions, to this effect.

The great king *Artaxerxes* to the hundred and ſeven and twenty governors of the provinces betwixt *India* and *Ethiopia*, greeting.

"Whereas it has pleaſed God to give me the command of ſo many nations, and a dominion over the reſt of the world, as large as I myſelf deſire, I being reſolved to preſerve my people in their peace and liberties, in the firſt place, and to ſettle them in a ſtate of tranquility and happineſs not to be ſhaken; and being given to underſtand, by my truſty and well beloved friend and counſellor *Haman*, that there is a mixture of a ſort of inhuman people among my ſubjects, that take upon them to govern by their own laws, and to preſcribe ways to themſelves, in contempt of public order and government, men depraved both in their cuſtoms and in their manners, and enemies, not only to monarchy, but to the methods of our royal adminiſtration: This is therefore to will and require, that, upon notice given to you by *Haman*, you put all the ſaid perſons, men, women, and children, to the ſword, without any commiſeration or favour, in a ſtrict purſuance of my decree; and that you put this in execution upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of this preſent year, to make but one day's work of the deſtruction of all mine and your enemies, in order to a future peace and ſecurity all our lives after."

CHAP. X.

Eſther *appoints and obſerves a ſolemn Faſt. She invites* Artaxerxes *and* Haman *to a Banquet.*

THIS edict was quickly ſpread through the whole empire, and the people made themſelves ready accordingly to do execution upon the *Jews* at the day appointed; and there was the ſame diſpoſition for miſchief at *Suſa* as elſewhere. The king and *Haman* all this while paſſed their time in drinking, junqueting, and making merry;

but the people of the town were at their wits end, at the thought of ſo barbarous a maſſacre at hand.

When *Mordecai* came to be informed of this proclamation he tore his garments, put on ſackcloth, and went up and down the town with aſhes on his head, 'till he came at laſt to ſtop before the gate of the king's palace; for there was no entrance allowed to any man in that habit. They were every where overwhelmed with lamentations and deſpair. When it came to the queen's ear, that *Mordecai* was before the gate of the palace in that forlorn habit, ſhe was troubled at the report, and ſent one out to him to change his garment; but his anſwer was that he could not do it, till the cauſe were firſt removed that made him take it up. It fell out that *Hatach*, one of the king's eunuchs, was at that time in the queen's preſence, ſo ſhe preſently ſent him out to inform himſelf what had befallen *Mordecai*, that he ſhould put himſelf into ſuch a dreſs. *Mordecai* gave the eunuch the whole ſtory, how the king, at the inſtigation of *Haman*, had iſſued out his royal proclamation thorough all his dominions, for the extirpating of the *Jews*, and how vaſt a ſum of money *Haman* had offered by way of compoſition, for leave to do it. *Mordecai* gave him a true copy of the edict, from the original, to be delivered to the queen; deſiring further, that ſhe would be pleaſed to make an humble application to the king, and to intercede with him on their behalf, for the lives of the whole nation were now in queſtion.

Upon the eunuch's giving the queen this account, ſhe ſent *Mordecai* word back again, "that it was a capital crime to break in upon the king when he was upon the throne of ſtate, without being called to attend him, unleſs he ſhould vouchſafe to hold forth his golden ſceptre in token of his pardon." When *Mordecai* heard this, he preſſed the queen once again by the ſame meſſenger, telling her, it was not her own perſonal ſafety that was now the queſtion, but the ſecurity of the whole race; adviſing her likewiſe to have a care how ſhe ſlipt that opportunity, and to aſſure her that God himſelf would relieve them, even if ſhe ſhould neglect to do it: And that ſhe and her family might live to be at the mercy of thoſe that ſhe now deſpiſed. *Eſther* then made uſe of the ſame meſſenger back again to her uncle, to call an aſſembly of the *Jews* together at *Suſa*, and to indict a three days faſt for the ſafety of the queen, and that ſhe and her ſervants would do the like; and that after that preparation ſhe was reſolved to go to the king: And that, if die ſhe muſt, ſhe would frankly expoſe her life in that ſervice.

Mordecai appointed a public faſt, and humbled himſelf in ſupplication to Almighty God, to defeat the malice of their enemies; and finally to deliver them from the deſtruction denounced againſt them: Repreſenting that it was not for any fault of their own that they were expoſed to this extremity, but that it was owing to the pride of *Haman*'s ſtomach, that thought it an indignity offered to himſelf, in the refuſal of that adoration to him, that was only due to God. The queen herſelf worſhipped likewiſe with her face proſtrate upon the ground, impoſing upon herſelf a three days abſtinence from either meat or drink, or any other ſenſual ſatisfaction, beſeeching God to move the king's heart, in favour of her mediation for a miſerable and a perſecuted people, by rendering both her words and her perſon more acceptable than ever.

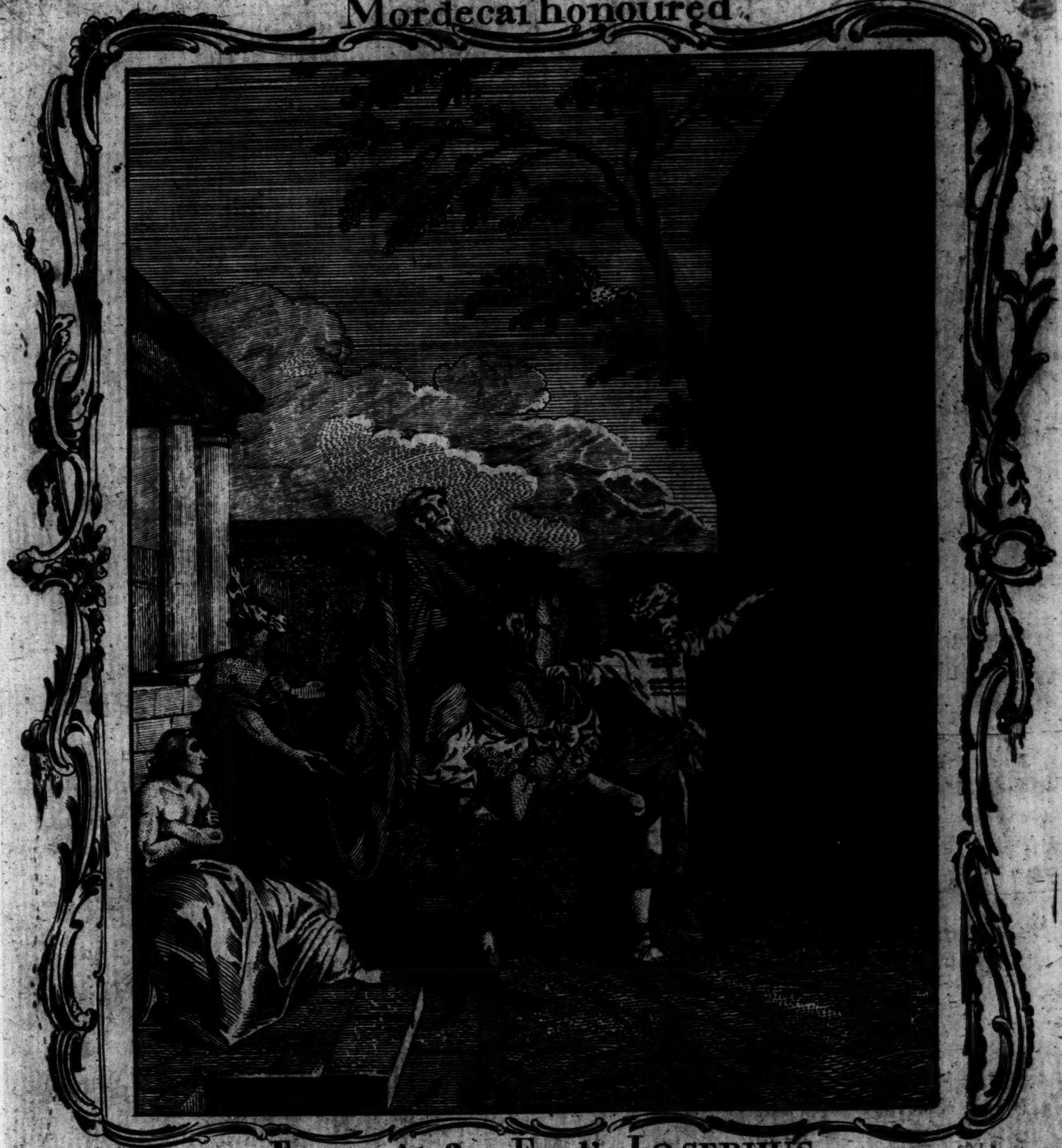
After three days ſpent in a pious importunity for mercy, the queen put on her royal apparel, and with her two handmaids, leaning gently upon the one, and the other bearing up her train, ſhe advanced toward the king, her face being covered with ſuch a bluſh as expreſſed both grace and majeſty together, but with ſome doubtful apprehenſion; for upon ſight of the king mounted on his throne, and the ſparkling glory of his robes, ſhe was taken with a trembling at ſo ſurpriſing a ſpectacle: And upon fancying that the king looked upon her as if he were out of humour; ſhe fell into the arms of one of her maids in a ſwoon. This accident put the king into a fright, for fear ſhe might not come to herſelf again; ſo that making what haſte he could from his throne, he took her into his arms, and with the kindeſt words that could be, gave her this comfort, "that no advantage ſhould be made of the law to her prejudice, for that was a decree that extended only to ſubjects, whereas he looked upon her as his companion and partner in the empire." With theſe words he put his golden ſceptre into her hands; and laying it gently upon her neck, ſecured her from any farther fear or danger. Upon this tenderneſs coming to the uſe of her ſpeech and reaſon again, "Sir," ſays ſhe, "it is impoſſible for me to expreſs the manner of this ſudden ſeizure: But I had no ſooner the awful appearance of your ſacred perſon and majeſty in my eye, but my heart failed me." The king, to comfort her, bid her aſk him any thing, to the one half of his kingdom, and it ſhould be given her. *Eſther* told him that her requeſt was only this, "that he would take part of a treat with her that day, which ſhe had provided for him, and permit *Haman* to come along with him." Her ſuit was granted, they both came, and when the king was in his cups, and in good humour, he called upon his wife as before, to aſk what ſhe pleaſed within that compaſs, and it ſhould be granted her. The queen begged the king's favour for the ſame honour again the day following at another entertainment, bringing *Haman* along with him once again, and ſhe would then preſent him her petition. The king was very well pleaſed with the propoſition; and *Haman* overjoyed to find himſelf the only man to bear the king company at a treat.

CHAP. XI.

Haman *prepares a Gallows for* Mordecai. Mordecai *Honoured, and* Haman *Hanged.*

IT was *Haman*'s fortune, in his paſſage homeward, to ſee *Mordecai* in the king's palace, and taking notice that he paid him no ſort of reverence, he went to his wife *Zereſh*, with a knot of his friends about him, and there told them how much he was in the good graces of the king and queen, how he had ſupped with them that day, upon a particular invitation, and was to be with them again to-morrow upon the ſame account: "But ſtill, after all this," ſays he, "the ſaucy ſtiffneſs of the *Jew, Mordecai*, ſticks in my ſtomach." "Why then," ſays *Zereſh*, "order a gallows of fifty cubits high to be immediately ſet up, and get the king's leave to-morrow morning to hang *Mordecai* upon it." *Haman* took his wife's counſel, and commanded his people to erect ſuch a gallows in his own palace, which he deſigned for the execution of the *Jew*, and the gibbet was ſet up accordingly. But that very night the king, finding he could not ſleep, commanded his ſecretary to bring him his memorials and papers of ſtate, to read the contents of them. The king found upon the reading of them, the name of a perſon that had great honours and poſſeſſions given him, as a reward for a glorious

Mordecai honoured



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rious and a remarkable action: And ſo likewiſe of another, that made his fortune by the bounties, of his prince for his fidelity: Coming at laſt to the particular ſtory of the conſpiracy of the two eunuchs, *Bigthana* and *Tereſh*, againſt the perſon of the king, and of the diſcovery of this treaſon by *Mordecai*, the ſecretary read it over and was paſſing forward to the next; but the king bad him hold, and aſked him if that perſon had any reward given him for his ſervice. The other made anſwer, that there was no reward mentioned in the relation, upon which the king bad him ſtop there, and enquire what time of night it was: And anſwer being brought that it was break of day, he bad his ſecretary go ſee if any of his friends were at the palace gate, and bring him word; and whom ſhould he find there but *Haman*, who was earlier up than ordinary, for fear of being too late with his petition to the king againſt the life of *Mordecai*. Word being brought to the king that *Haman* was at the gate, he ordered him to be called in, and upon his entrance into the lodging, the king ſpoke to him after this manner: "I know," ſays he, "that "you are the kindeſt friend to me in the "world; and therefore I would aſk your "counſel, what mark of honour you would "adviſe me to beſtow upon the perſon "that I have the greateſt obligation to; and "I would do it with a reſpect to my own "royal dignity, as well as to my affec"tion." *Haman*, preſuming that this character could not be intended of any other than himſelf, gave his opinion, that the king ſhould clothe the man whom he deſired to honour, with his own royal apparel, mount him upon his own horſe, make him a preſent of a golden chain, and then cauſe one of his particular friends to march before him as a herald, and make proclamation all over the city, That thus ſhall it be done to the man that the king vouchſafes to honour. Now *Haman* took all this to himſelf, and the king was highly pleaſed with the motion: "Wherefore go," ſays he, "and "take the horſe, the apparel and the chain, "and find me out *Mordecai* the *Jew*, dreſs "him up in theſe accoutrements, and when "he is mounted do you march before him, "in quality of an officer, to make the pro"clamation. I will do this honour to "*Mordecai*, becauſe I am indebted to him "for my life."

This order ſtruck *Haman* like a thunderbolt: But, however, he was obliged to go upon the errand, and away he went with the horſe, habit, and the gold chain, to look for *Mordecai*, and finding him at the palace gate in his rags of humiliation, he bad him ſtrip himſelf of his ſackcloth, and put on that purple. Now the *Jew*, knowing nothing of the matter, took the whole ceremony for a mock, and treated *Haman*, in plain terms, as a mean inſolent wretch, to inſult at that rate over the miſerable: But *Haman* convinced him at laſt that the king had ordered this honour to be done him, in recompenſe of the ſervice he had rendered him in the ſaving of his life from the conſpiracy of the two eunuchs: And being thus convinced, he put on the royal purple and the golden chain, mounted the king's horſe, and took the tour of the city, *Haman* making proclamation before him, "Thus ſhall it be done unto him that the "king honours."

Mordecai, after this, went to the king; *Haman* ſneaking away ſhamefully to his own houſe, where he entertained his ſorrowful wife and friends, with the lamentable account of what had paſſed. Upon the hearing of theſe circumſtances they found that there was no revenging themſelves upon *Mordecai*, for God had taken him into his protection.

As they were in the middle of the diſcourſe came the king's eunuchs from *Eſther*, to call away *Haman* preſently to ſupper. As they were at ſupper, the king put the former day's propoſal over again to the queen, with an aſſurance, that let her aſk what ſhe pleaſed it ſhould not be denied her. Upon that occaſion ſhe fell into a ſad diſcourſe upon the miſerable ſtate and danger of the *Jewiſh* nation, and how ſhe herſelf,

ſelf, and her countrymen were all deſigned for deſtruction; that if it had been ſo ordered that her countrymen might have only been ſold for ſlaves, this calamity might have paſſed yet for tolerable: So that ſhe only deſired that he would be pleaſed to put a ſtop to the imminent deſtruction that was otherwiſe to be executed upon the whole race. The king called out preſently to know who had any ſuch deſign a-foot. The queen made anſwer, that *Haman* was the author of that advice, and that he did it out of an impulſe of pure malice to the peopeople. This diſcourſe put the king out of humour, and ſo he withdrew from the treat into the garden. *Haman* by this time found the ſtorm a coming, and began to apply himſelf to the queen, with acknowledgements of his errors, and deſire of pardon; and caſting himſelf upon the bed by her as in a way of humiliation and reſpect. The king returning at the ſame time, and ſeeing *Haman* in that poſture upon the bed, was more irritated by that circumſtance than by all the reſt; calling him the baſeſt of men, for ſo inſolent an attempt upon the honour of his wife. Theſe words were accompanied with ſuch a fierceneſs of tone and action that *Haman* was directly out of his wits at the hearing of them, and had not one ſyllable to ſay for himſelf. Upon this, the eunuch told the king of a gibbet of fifty cubits in height that *Haman* had ſet up for *Mordecai* in his own court, as he underſtood by one of his ſervants, when he was there to give him an invitation to ſupper. The king immediately ordered *Haman* to be hanged upon the ſame gibbet.

This was the end of *Haman*, the wicked abuſer of the king's goodneſs and bounty. His body was delivered up to juſtice, and his eſtate given to the queen. The queen had by this time made it known to the king that *Mordecai* was her kinſman: So that he ſent for him, and delivered him the ſame ring that *Haman* had been entruſted with before.

CHAP. XII.

King Artaxerxes *orders Letters to be publiſhed in favour of the* Jews. *The* Jews *put great numbers of their Enemies to the Sword.* Haman*'s ten Sons Hanged.*

THE poſſeſſions of *Haman*, that the the king had granted to the queen, ſhe beſtowed upon *Mordecai*: And then made it her requeſt to his majeſty, that he would deliver the *Jews* out of that apprehenſion for their lives that was yet upon them, reminding him of the letters that *Haman*, the ſon of *Ammedatha*, had diſperſed in his name all over the empire; declaring that her own life depended upon the ſafety of her country and her relations. The king gave her his royal word that nothing ſhould be done to the *Jews* without her privity and good will; and he gave her farther liberty to write what ſhe thought fit, concerning the *Jews*, in his name, and the leters ſhould be ſigned and ſealed, and diſperſed by his order throughout all his dominions:

And when they ſhould once come to be confirmed by the royal ſignature, their authority would paſs without any diſpute or contradiction; wherefore the king appointed his ſcribes and ſecretaries to attend him; commanding them to write letters on the behalf of the *Jews* to the magiſtrates of all the nations that lie betwixt *India* and *Ethiopia*, under the command of a hundred and ſeven and twenty governors. Of which letters this is a true copy.

Artaxerxes, the great king, to our truſty magiſtrates, greeting.

“ Whereas it is a common practice for men that are advanced rather upon favour than merit, not only to inſult over their inferiors, but to fly in the faces even of their benefactors, and, as much as in them lies, to extinguiſh all ſenſe of gratitude, or good nature, in human ſociety, perverting alſo, out of a pride and impotency of mind, the power and credit that was given them, to the diſhonour of their patrons, from whom they received it; and all this under ſuch an appearance too, as if they thought God himſelf could not ſee through the diſguiſe: Beſide that, it is no new thing for ſtate-minions to gratify their own private paſſions, to the prejudice of their maſters, by miſrepreſenting things and men, and calumniating the innocent; and, by theſe ill offices with the prince, to put honeſt men in danger of their lives.

“ It is well known that *Haman*, the ſon of *Ammedatha*, was by extraction an *Amalekite*, and not a *Perſian*, and with what tenderneſs I received him, what honours I conferred upon him, even to the degree of calling and eſteeming him as my father, commanding all my ſubjects to pay a reverence next in order to what they ought to my own perſon. Now this man was ſo intoxicated with the fumes of his vanity, that he improved the power I gave him, ſo far as in him lay, toward the ſupplanting of me in my kingdom, and the deſtroying of that perſon by treacherous practices, to whom I ſtand indebted for my life and government. I ſpeak of *Mordecai*, my benefactor and preſerver, and of my deareſt wife the queen likewiſe, whom I tender as the one half of my own ſoul, and my partner in the empire; his plot being in the firſt place perfidiouſly to attempt upon the lives of my moſt neceſſary friends, and then to ſeize my royal authority to his own uſe.

“ Now for ſo much as the lewd deſigns of this wicked man are unqueſtionably notorious, and particularly his bloody and barbarous contrivance for the total extirpation of the *Jews*, this is to notify and declare, that I find thoſe people ſo far from troubleſome or ſeditious, as he repreſents them, that, on the contrary, I do highly approve of their inſtitutions, ways, and manners, as a people worſhipping the ſame God to whoſe bounty and protection our family ſtands indebted both for the poſſeſſion and preſervation of our empire. It is therefore our royal pleaſure, not only to diſcharge the ſame people of all the pains and penalties to which they were made liable by our letters communicated to you by the hands of *Haman*, but likewiſe, the ſame mandate notwithſtanding, that you treat them with all manner of gentleneſs and reſpect; having cauſed the author of this malicious perſecution, with his whole family, to be put to death upon a gibbet before the gates of *Suſa*, as a moſt neceſſary ſacrifice to divine juſtice.

“ This is alſo farther to will and require you, that you forthwith diſpatch copies of theſe our letters through all our dominions, permitting the *Jews* to live in a peaceable enjoyment of their own laws, and that you aſſiſt them towards the vindicating of themſelves upon thoſe that oppreſſed them in their adverſity; and whereas the preciſe time appointed for the utter deſtruction of theſe people was to have been upon the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, or the month of *Adar*, “it is our pleaſure that you pitch upon the ſame month and day for their deliverance, as moſt agreeable to the methods of God's power and juſtice: And be it likewiſe known to all our people herein concerned, that what perſon ſoever ſhall preſume to act in any thing contrary to the tenor of this our imperial command, he ſhall be liable to military execution by fire and ſword, whereof all our ſubjects are to take warning; and the *Jews* to be in readineſs at the time aſſigned to do themſelves right upon their enemies.”

There were couriers immediately ſent expreſs with theſe letters to all quarters. *Mordecai*, in the mean while, coming forth out of the palace, in the ſtate of his royal robe, his crown, and golden chain, the *Jews* preſently interpreted his appearance in that pomp and magnificence, as a common bleſſing to them all; and their joy was ſo great in all other places upon the publication of the king's letters, that every man ſeemed animated with a new ſoul. Nay, this grace of the king's had ſo powerful an influence even upon other nations, that many of them circumciſed themſelves. Upon the obtaining of this mandate, the princes, governors, magiſtrates, and lieutenancies all paid a more than ordinary reverence to the *Jews*, for fear of the power of *Mordecai*.

Upon the publiſhing of this edict, the *Jews* put five hundred of their enemies to the ſword at *Suſa*, and the king ſhewed the queen the number of them; but there was no account taken as yet of thoſe that were ſlain elſewhere. So he put it to her if ſhe would require any thing more, for he was reſolved to deny her nothing. Her requeſt was then, that the *Jews* might have one day's revenge upon their enemies, and that the ten ſons of *Haman* might be hanged upon the gallows, which the king granted alſo for the day following, without any contradiction or delay; ſo that they gathered in troops together upon the fourteenth, and killed near three hundred more of their adverſaries, without ſo much as touching any of their goods; but in other places up and down the empire, they deſtroyed ſeventy five thouſand of their enemies. This ſlaughter was made upon the thirteenth, and on the fourteenth they feaſted; at *Suſa* alſo they celebrated the fourteenth of the following month as a feſtival; and theſe days are ſtill obſerved by the *Jews* with the ſame ſolemnity, regaling one another, by way of compliment, with ſome preſent or portion of the entertainment. *Mordecai*, upon this, ſent his orders to all the *Jews* under the dominion of *Artaxerxes*, requiring them to obſerve thoſe days for feſtivals, and to tranſmit the obſervance of them to poſterity, and to make it everlaſting, for the perpetual memory of the thing. Upon this account it is that thoſe days are obſerved, which they call *Phrurœa*, or *Purim*, that is to ſay, feaſts of conſervation. *Mordecai*, all this while, was a man of great power with the king, both in reſpect of his adminiſtration, being near his perſon, and as an aſſiſtant companion to the queen. The affairs of the *Jews* proſpered under their direction and favour beyond all expectation.

CHAP. XIII.

John *the High Prieſt kills his Brother* Jeſus *in the Temple.* Manaſſes *marries the Daughter of* Sanballat.

AFTER the death of *Eliaſib* the high-prieſt, his ſon *Judas*, by an hereditary right, ſucceeded to the office; and after his deceaſe came on his ſon *John*, who was the occaſion of the violation and the prophanation of the temple afterward by *Bagoſes*, the commander in chief of the troops of *Artaxerxes*, impoſing a tribute alſo upon the *Jews*, obliging them to allow out of the treaſury fifty drachmas a day for every lamb they ſacrificed, before they entered upon their daily offerings; which impoſition came thus to be brought on. *John* had a brother, whoſe name was *Jeſus*, and *Bagoſes* being very much his friend, took upon him the advancing of *Jeſus* to the pontificate. *Jeſus* depended ſo much upon this aſſurance, that he took the liberty to wrangle with his brother in the temple itſelf upon this ſubject; and his brother, in a rage, ſet upon him and killed him. But God would not ſuffer ſo audacious an affront to eſcape unpuniſhed. The people loſt their liberty for it, and the *Perſians* prophaned the temple; for, as ſoon as the news of it came to *Bagoſes*, that the high-prieſt had ſpilt the blood of his brother in the very temple, he called out to the *Jews* in contempt and indignation, "Impudent wretches!" ſays he, "to make ſhambles of the place of your worſhip!" at the ſame time preſſing to get into the temple; but being oppoſed in his paſſage, "What!" ſays he, "do you look upon my living body to be fouler than the carcaſs that lies here within?" and with theſe words forced his way.

Upon this occaſion he kept a ſevere hand over the *Jews* for ſeven years. But after the death of *John*, his ſon *Jaddus* came to the prieſthood. This *Jaddus* had a brother, whoſe name was *Manaſſes*, to whom *Sanballat*, underſtanding *Jeruſalem* to be a famous city, and that the kings of it had put the *Syrians* and *Aſſyrians* to many difficulties, frankly gave his daughter *Nicaſa* in marriage, as an earneſt of the amity he propounded to himſelf with the *Jews*. This was that *Sanballat* that governed *Samaria* under the laſt *Darius*, a *Chuthite* born, from whence the *Samaritans* had their original.

CHAP. XIV.

Alexander *the Great treats the* Jews *with all Tenderneſs and Reſpect.*

IT was about this time that *Philip* king of *Macedon* was treacherouſly murdered in the city of *Ægæa*, by *Pauſanias*, the ſon of *Ceraſtes*, of the family of *Oreſtes*. *Alexander* the ſon ſucceeded the father; and croſſing the *Helleſpont*, gave *Darius* a notable overthrow at the river *Granicus.* After which, he ſubdued *Lydia* and *Ionia*, and paſſing his army through *Caria*, he entered into *Pamphylia.*

The elders of *Jeruſalem* being very much diſſatisfied with the brother of *Jaddus* the high prieſt, for taking to wife a ſtrange woman, ſtopt little ſhort of a tumult; for it looked like a ſtep toward the antiquating of their country's laws about marriages. Neither had they forgotten this very thing was the cauſe of their former captivity, and of all the calamities that enſued upon it: therefore they poſitively required that *Manaſſes* ſhould either diſmiſs his wife, or ſerve no more at the altar. The high prieſt and the people being moved with indignation after this, would not ſuffer *Manaſſes* to officiate at the altar; whereupon he went to *Sanballat*, his father-in-law, with a profeſſion of the infinite love he had for his daughter, but at the ſame time, he could not ſubmit to loſe his prieſthood and honour that was annexed to his family, for the ſake of a wife, though never ſo excellent. *Sanballat* told him, that he would undertake not only to ſecure him the exerciſe of the function, but advance him to the pontificate, and eſtabliſh him prince of the whole country, upon condition of owning his daughter for his wife; and that he would build a temple for him, upon mount *Garizin*, that overlooks *Samaria*, not inferior to that at *Jeruſalem.* And this he took upon him to ſee effected by the conſent of *Darius* himſelf. *Manaſſes* depended ſo abſolutely upon this aſſurance, that he made no doubt at all of the performance, and ſo continued with his father. *Sanballat* was now in years, and finding a great many prieſts and *Iſraelites* hampered in ſuch matches, the ſtate of *Jeruſalem* was not a little troubled at it, for all thoſe irregular people went over to *Manaſſes*, *Sanballat* furniſhing them with money, houſes, land, and ſtock, and all to ſupport the ambition of his ſon-in-law.

Upon the news of *Alexander's* paſſing the *Helleſpont*, and the famous victory he had obtained at the river *Granicus*, *Darius*, to prevent his further progreſs, drew together all the force he could make, both horſe and foot, to oppoſe his paſſage, with a reſolution to give the *Macedonians* battle, before they ſhould over-run all *Aſia.* Having paſſed the *Euphrates* with his army, and likewiſe *Taurus*, a mountain in *Cilicia*, he put himſelf in order, with a reſolution to fight the enemy in that province. *Sanballat* was not a little comforted with this advance of *Darius*, and told *Manaſſes* that every thing ſhould be made good that he had promiſed him, ſo ſoon as the king ſhould return; for he was fully perſuaded, that the *Macedonians*, with their handful of men, would never ſtand the firſt ſhock. But upon the armies joining, *Darius* was totally routed, a great part of his army loſt, his mother, wife, and children made priſoners, and himſelf forced to fly into *Perſia.* *Alexander*, in the mean time, marched into *Syria*, took *Damaſcus* and *Sidon*, and laid ſiege to *Tyre*, writing alſo to the high prieſt of the *Jews*, that he expected the ſame aſſiſtances from them, which they had before allowed to *Darius*, and that they ſhould provide a market for the ſupply of his army, where he might have neceſſaries for his money, aſſuring them that they ſhould have no reaſon to repent the reſpect. The anſwer the high prieſt returned was briefly this: That they had bound themſelves by an oath to *Darius*, never to bear arms againſt him, and that they were tied up by that obligation during his life. *Alexander* was highly incenſed at this return, but went on with the ſiege of *Tyre*, making no doubt but to be ſuddenly maſter of it, with terrible menaces, that upon the reducing of that place, he would march againſt the high prieſt himſelf. *Alexander*, who was indefatigable, took *Tyre* by aſſault, and went thence to beſiege *Gaza*, a *Perſian* garriſon, of which *Babemeſes* was the governor.

But to return to *Sanballat*: When he found that *Alexander* was before *Tyre*, he took that opportunity of going over to him with eight thouſand of his own men, delivering up his truſt, and transferring his allegiance from *Darius* to *Alexander*, who received him with open arms, and bad him ſpeak freely whatever he had to ſay. *Sanballat* told him, that he had a ſon-in-law whoſe name was *Manaſſes*, the brother of *Jaddus* the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, and great numbers of that people following him, that deſired nothing more than leave to build a temple in that province, and that it would be *Alexander*'s intereſt to permit it, if it were but to divide the power of the *Jews*, and to prevent commotions. This boon was no ſooner granted, but they immediately began the building of the temple: *Manaſſes* to be the high-prieſt, and the honour to deſcend to the poſterity of *Sanballat*'s daughter, as he projected to himſelf; but after ſeven months ſpent before *Tyre*, and two more at *Gaza*, *Sanballat* died, and *Alexander*, upon the taking of *Gaza*, advanced to *Jeruſalem*, which put *Jaddus* the high-prieſt to his wit's end, how to behave himſelf in an addreſs to a prince whom he had ſo highly provoked: Wherefore he appointed public prayers and ſacrifices to be offered up to God for his aſſiſtance and protection, and for the common welfare of the people. On the night following God appeared to the high-prieſt in a dream, bidding him be of good courage, dreſs up the city with flowers and garlands, and without more ado to open the gates, the people to march out in white garments to meet *Alexander*, and himſelf with the reſt of the prieſt, in the habits of their order, depending upon providence for the reſt. *Jaddas*, upon waking, told the citizens with great joy the ſubſtance of this revelation; and ſo put every thing in order to attend the approach of the king. Upon intelligence a little while after that he was drawing near toward the town, *Jaddus* advanced, together with his prieſts, and the citizens, in a new and a venerable way of pomp and ſolemnity, to a place that is called *Sapha*, that is to ſay, a place of proſpect, becauſe it commands a view of both city and temple.

The *Phœnicians* and *Chaldæans* promiſed themſelves all the licence of blood and pillage upon the high-prieſt himſelf, as well as upon the citizens, that rage or revenge could draw from a victorious prince under the ſenſe and provocation of the affront he had received. But in the event they found the clear contrary; for when *Alexander* ſaw from a diſtance the order of the proceſſion, the people all in white, with the prieſts at the head of them in their ſilken robes, and the high-prieſt himſelf in his purple ſtole embroidered with gold, his mitre upon his head, and a golden plate upon his forehead, with the name of God engraven upon it, the majeſty of this ſpectacle ſtruck him with ſo reverend an awe, that he advanced to him in his own ſingle perſon, adored the ſacred inſcription, and ſaluted the high-prieſt himſelf: All the *Jews*, at the ſame time, with one heart and voice, ſhouting out acclamations to *Alexander*, and gathering in multitudes about him. The kings of *Syria*, and the reſt preſent, were amazed at the king's behaviour, only *Parmenio* took the freedom to aſk him, how it came to paſs that he that was adored by the whole earth, ſhould now deſcend to bow to a *Jewiſh* prieſt? "No," ſays *Alexander*, "I do not adore the man, but the God that he ſerves; for, ſome time ſince, when I was at *Dion* in *Macedonia*, I ſaw this man I remember, and in this very habit. I was then deliberating what courſe I ſhould take to conquer *Aſia*; and this very perſon bad me paſs my army over the river, and be confident that if I would take this counſel, I ſhould make myſelf maſter of the *Perſian* empire. Upon the view of this man now, and in this habit, I call to mind my dream at *Dion*, and that this is the lively figure of what I ſaw there in a viſion, and of the perſon that encouraged me to this expedition: So that it is not without a divine impulſe that I undertake this war, and I make no doubt at all of gaining my point now upon the *Perſians*, and ſucceeding in all things to my wiſh."

The

After this diſcourſe to *Parmenio*, the king embraced *Jaddus*, and was conducted into the city by the reſt of the prieſts, where he went up to the temple, and ſacrificed in form, paying alſo a ſingular veneration to the high prieſt himſelf, who ſhewed the king the book of the prophet *Daniel*, and in it the prediction of a certain *Greek* in time to come, that ſhould make himſelf maſter of the *Perſian* empire, which *Alexander* interpreted of himſelf; and ſo, with great ſatisfaction in all reſpects, he diſcharged the multitude till the day following, at which time he called them together again, to know what requeſt they had to make him. The high prieſt made anſwer, that they only deſired his leave to enjoy the freedom of their own country laws, and that they might be exempted from the ſeven years tribute, which was all granted them. They beſought him alſo to allow the ſame freedom to the *Jews* in *Babylon* and *Media*, which he granted likewiſe; offering them moreover, that if any of them had a mind to take up arms in his ſervice, they ſhould be received into his army, and enjoy the liberty of exerciſing their religion, as before; which generoſity brought great numbers of the *Jews* over to him.

Matters being thus ſettled at *Jeruſalem*, *Alexander* marched with his army from place to place among the neighbouring cities, and wherever he came he was well received. The *Samaritans*, whoſe capital at that time was *Sichem*, near the mountain *Garizim*, and peopled by *Jewiſh* deſerters, taking notice how honourably *Alexander* treated the *Jews*, began now to bethink themſelves of returning to their former profeſſion. *Alexander* was hardly out of the city, when the *Sichemites*, in great pomp and parade, preſented themſelves before him, in company with the troops that *Sanballat* had ſent over to him, making ſuits to the king, that he would vouchſafe to honour their city and temple with his preſence; who ſpoke them all fair, and promiſed to give them a viſit at his return; but upon their deſiring an immunity of the ſeventh year's tribute, as the other, in regard that they did not ſow in that year, *Alexander* aſked what countrymen the petitioners were? They told him they were *Hebrews*, but that they were called *Sichemites* by the *Sidonians*. The queſtion was put to them again, whether they were *Jews* or not? They ſaid no. Whereupon, ſays *Alexander*, "I "have granted this to the *Jews*; but how"ever, when I come back again, I ſhall do "what I think reaſonable, upon a fuller in"formation of the matter." Thus were the *Sichemites* diſmiſſed; but he took *Sanballat*'s men along with him into *Egypt*, allotting them a diſtribution of lands to live upon there, which they had afterwards in *Thebes*, where they were put in garriſon.

After the death of *Alexander*, the empire was parted among his ſucceſſors, only the temple by *Garizin* remained untouched; and if at any time the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem* were found guilty of the violation of their laws, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the ſabbath, or the like, they took ſanctuary with the *Sichemites*, upon a pretence that they were unjuſtly accuſed. About this time the high prieſt *Jaddus* died, and *Onias* his ſon ſucceeded him in the dignity.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK XII.

From the Year of the World 3635, to 3804.

CHAP. I.

After the Death of Alexander, *his Generals ſhare the Empire.* Ptolemy *ſurprizes* Jeruſalem. *The* Jews *and* Samaritans *are perpetually at War.*

SOON after *Alexander* king of *Macedon* had made himſelf abſolute maſter of the *Perſian* empire, and ſettled the affairs of the *Jews*, he departed this life, and leſt the empire divided into many principalities. *Aſia* fell to *Antigonus; Babylon*, with the countries bordering upon it to *Seleucus;* the *Helleſpont* to *Lyſimachus* ; *Macedon* to *Caſſander ;* and *Egypt* to *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Lagus.* Upon this diviſion there enſued a long war betwixt theſe princes, who were all competitors for the ſovereign command of the whole, to the ruin of ſeveral conſiderable cities, and the loſs of a great many lives. The whole tract of *Syria* was abundantly ſenſible of this miſery, under the government of *Ptolemy*, otherwiſe called *the Saviour.* This was he that got into *Jeruſalem* by ſtratagem, upon a ſabbath day, under colour of devotion, and then treacherouſly poſſeſſed himſelf of the city, without any oppoſition. *Agatharchides* the *Cnidian* ſays, in his hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, “ There are a people that are known by the name of *Jews*, “ and have their habitation in a ſtrong and

“ populous city, called *Jeruſalem.* Theſe “ men fell into the hands of *Ptolemy,* and “ ſubjected themſelves to a cruel ſlavery “ upon a fantaſtical ſcruple of conſcience “ that would not ſuffer them to take up “ arms againſt an oppreſſor in their own de- “ fence, upon that day.” *Ptolemy* carried away a great many captives out of the mountainous part of *Judæa,* from about *Jeruſalem, Samaria,* and the mountain *Garizin,* which he tranſported into *Egypt:* And then reflecting upon the ſacredneſs of an oath among the *Jews,* by their fidelity to *Darius,* even after his overthrow, notwithſtanding the ſummons, and the invitation of *Alexander* to thoſe people to come over to him, he diſpoſed of them into ſtrong holds, garriſons, and places of truſt, upon their oath of fidelity to be true to him and his ſucceſſors, granting them alſo immunities and privileges in *Alexandria,* in common with the *Macedonians* themſelves. So that there came over great numbers of *Jews* into *Egypt* from other parts. But the *Jews* and the *Samaritans* could never be reconciled upon the ſubject of their ancient laws and conſtitutions: The one inſiſting upon it, that the temple at *Jeruſalem* was the only holy place, and the *Jews* not allowed to ſend their ſacrifices any where elſe; the other ſaying as much for the temple at *Garizin:* Inſomuch that there was a great deal of blood ſpilt upon this queſtion.

CHAP. II.

Ptolemy Philadelphus *ſets a hundred and twenty thouſand* Jews *at Liberty.*

AFTER the death of *Ptolemy,* (*the Saviour,* as they called him) *Philadelphus* the ſon ſucceeded to the kingdom of *Egypt.* He reigned nine and thirty years, and gave orders for tranſlating of the law into the *Greek* tongue. There were at that time captives in *Egypt* to the number of a hundred and twenty thouſand *Jews,* which *Philadelphus* commanded to be ſet at liberty upon the following occaſion.

Demetrius Phalereus having under his care the truſt of the king's library, bought up all the choice books that he could hear of, which he thought might be worthy of a place in the king's ſtudy and good opinion. *Philadelphus* aſking one time how many thouſand volumes he thought he had got? He told him two hundred thouſand, but that he hoped in a ſhort time to make them five hundred thouſand, for he was certainly informed that there are a world of choice manuſcripts among the *Jews,* concerning their laws, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, that are very well worth the reading, and the honour of a place alſo in the royal library; but being written in their own language and characters it would be very difficult to turn them into *Greek.* For though there may ſeem ſome reſemblance betwixt the language and the writing of the one and of the other, there are yet ſeveral niceties peculiar to each, and diſtinct from the other. Not, ſays he, that this is to diſcourage the turning of them out of the *Hebrew,* and the depoſiting of them in the royal collection, ſo long as there is wherewithal to anſwer the expence. The king highly commended this project of *Demetrius* upon ſuch a collection of books, and wrote to the high prieſt of the *Jews* to give him his aſſiſtance in the providing of theſe copies. There was one *Ariſtæus*, a particular confident of the king's, a man of great modeſty, and upon that account he had his maſter's ear with the more freedom. This ſame *Ariſtæus* had it a long time in his heart to get the *Jews* ſet at liberty, and laying hold of this occaſion, as the moſt decent opportunity of moving the king about it, he went in the firſt place to *Soſibius*, *Tarantinus*, and *Andreas*, three captains of the guards, to ſee how they ſtood affected; and upon finding them well diſpoſed, he beſought them earneſtly to aſſiſt him with their intereſt, toward the doing of ſo good an office; upon which aſſurance he addreſſed himſelf to the king after this manner.

"Sir," ſays he, "if I may preſume to lay my thoughts at your feet, in all ſimplicity: Since it is your royal pleaſure that the laws of the *Jews* be not only tranſcribed, but tranſlated, to anſwer your preſent purpoſe; I do not well ſee how it can be fairly done, while ſo many of that nation are in bondage under your government, from whom you expect ſo neceſſary ſervice. It ſeems to me to be an act worthy of your magnificence and goodneſs, to ſet theſe poor people at liberty from their preſent miſery; for by all that ever I could underſtand of the matter, the ſame God that orders and over-rules your government, is the author of their laws: And both we and they worſhip the ſame creator and Almighty power, only under the name of *Jupiter*, or *Jove*, a *Juvando*, from helping, being the life of us all. Wherefore you may be pleaſed, out of a revence to that God whom they love and worſhip with a zeal and affection beyond all other mortals, to reſtore theſe wretched exiles to their own country, that they may end their days where they received their birth, as in the place that providence had aſſigned them. I do not preſume, Sir, to interpoſe on their behalf out of any partiality, upon the account of tribe or extraction, but in a contemplation that the ſame God is the creator of us all, and that ſo illuſtrious a clemency would be acceptable even to that God himſelf."

The king aſked him then, how many thouſands he thought there were that would ſtand in need of this indulgence? *Andreas*, being preſent, made anſwer, that he believed there might be a matter of a hundred and twenty thouſand ſouls. "Well," ſays the king to *Ariſtæus*, "and doſt thou take this for ſo moderate a requeſt?" *Soſibius*, and the reſt that were by, ſaid, that it would be an action becoming the dignity of ſo great a prince, to be merciful to others, in acknowledgment of the honour that he himſelf had received from above. The king was ſo well pleaſed with this motion, that he ordered an allowance of a hundred and twenty drachmas to the ſoldiers for every *Jew* they had in cuſtody, to be made good to them on the next pay-day, over and above their ſtipend, with a further promiſe to anſwer the deſire of *Ariſtæus*, in all points, and to ratify the whole by a public edict, wherein ſhould be comprehended not only thoſe which his father, or his army had carried away, but thoſe alſo that either before, or ſince that time, had been taken into captivity. His friends told him, that at this rate the deliverance of theſe people would ſtand him in at leaſt forty talents; but the king would not ſtick at that, he ſaid, for the thing ſhould be done. A copy of the proclamation itſelf is as follows:

"It is our royal will and pleaſure, that all the *Jews* that have been taken by any of my fathers's forces, upon their incurſions into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and thoſe brought away or ſold, into any of my dominions, and all thoſe likewiſe that either before or ſince that time have been ſo ſold and enſlaved, be all ſet free, upon the payment of one hundred and twenty drachmas for every ſuch ſlave: The ſoldiers to receive this redemption-money,

" together with their pay, and the reſt out " of the treaſury: For the forcing of ſo many people away into captivity, and the " ravaging of their country for the ſake " purely of the pillage and booty, was a " thing contrary to common equity and " reaſon. Wherefore I do hereby expreſsly charge and command, that all the " *Jews* that are at this time in ſervitude be " immediately diſmiſſed, upon the payment " of the ſum aforeſaid to their reſpective " maſters, in obedience to this our mandate, without fraud or colluſion. And " farther, that this our proclamation be " made public for three days ſucceſſively " after the receipt of it; and in the mean " time, that the aforeſaid maſters bring in " a liſt of their priſoners to ſuch officers, " and in ſuch manner, as we ſhall find moſt " for our ſervice. And all this to be done " upon the peril of confiſcation, if any man " ſhall be found acting contrary to the tenor " hereof."

Upon the firſt ſight of this draught, the king took notice, that the proviſion for the liberty of thoſe that were taken either before or after, was not ſo cautiouſly expreſſed: He therefore gave poſitive orders to the collectors of his tribute, and the officers of his treaſury, to have the money in readineſs for the ranſom of the *Jews*. So that within ſeven days the whole work was diſpatched at the king's charge, to the value of four hundred and ſixty talents, the maſters inſiſting upon the ſame rate for the children that they had for the reſt.

CHAP. III.

Ptolemy Philadelphus *ſends for ſeventy two choſen Perſons out of* Judæa, *to turn the* Jewiſh *Laws into* Greek.

WHEN every thing was advanced thus far, the king commanded *Demetrius* to publiſh his purpoſe about the tranſcribing of the *Jewiſh* books and records, proceeding from one thing to another in order, and with conſideration. There was entered upon a regiſter, a copy of *Demetrius*'s petition, and likewiſe of the letters that were written upon that occaſion, with an account of the preſents that were made toward the work, and what they were, and by whom. The petition ran in terms much to this purpoſe:

Demetrius to the great king.

" Since it is your royal will and command that I ſhould endeavour to ſupply " what may be further added toward the " perfection of your library, and to find out " what curious and uſeful books and copies " may have hitherto eſcaped my ſearch and " enquiry; this is humbly to inform your " majeſty, that I do not find any thing ſo " much conducing to your preſent purpoſe, " as the hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* laws; for being written in *Hebrew* characters, and in " an *Hebrew* idiom, it will be hard for us " to underſtand them aright: Beſide, that " the verſion we have already of them is " not ſo correct as it ſhould be, for want " of a royal authority and encouragement " toward the making of them known. So " that it will be neceſſary to have them accurately and carefully tranſlated, as being

" a body

" a body of the wiſeſt and perfecteſt laws " that are any where extant, God himſelf " having been the author of them. For " this reaſon, ſays *Hecatæus* the *Abderite*, " we find in none of the poets or hiſtorians " any mention made of theſe laws, or of " the adminiſtrators of them, the original " and inſtitution of them being ſacred, and " not to be prophaned by unhallowed lips. " Wherefore your majeſty may be pleaſed, " if you ſhall judge it meet, to write to the " high-prieſt of the *Jews*, only to ſend you " out of every tribe ſix elders, whom he " ſhall make choice of, as men the beſt " ſkilled in the knowledge of their conſtitutions and cuſtoms, and by their aſſiſtance, in the interpreting and expounding of their writings, we may be able to " gather ſomething from them to your majeſty's ſatisfaction."

The king, upon this motion, gave directions for letters to be written to *Eleazar* the high-prieſt, according to the propoſal of *Demetrius*, taking notice alſo of the general releaſe of all the *Jews* that were priſoners in *Egypt*. The king ſent a preſent alſo of fifty talents of gold, for cups and bowls, and to a great value in precious ſtones, ordering thoſe that had care of the coffers, wherein they were depoſited, to let the lapidaries take and chuſe as they thought fit: And beſide all this, the king aſſigned a hundred talents more for ſacrifices, and other ſervices of the temple. We ſhall now preſent the reader with a copy of the letter that was written to *Eleazar*, together with an account how he came to this dignity.

Upon the death of the high-prieſt *Onias*, his ſon *Simon* ſucceeded to the office, a perſon of ſingular piety towards God, and of an exemplary tenderneſs and good nature toward mankind, from which character he was ſirnamed *the Juſt*. *Simon* lived not long; and leaving behind him only one ſon, a child, whoſe name was *Onias*, his brother *Eleazar*, of whom we are now ſpeaking, entered upon the pontificate: And it was to this *Eleazar* that *Ptolemy* wrote the letter following.

King *Ptolemy* to *Eleazar* the high-prieſt,
ſendeth greeting.

" Whereas there were great numbers of " *Jews* in my dominions that were brought " captives hither by the *Perſians* while they " were in power: And whereas my father " had ſo great a value for them, that he " entruſted ſeveral of them in his armies, " others in his ſtrong holds and garriſons, " for a check upon the *Egyptians*, with the " allowance of large penſions for their ſervice: Be it known unto you, that I myſelf alſo have had a peculiar tenderneſs " to your people, having ſet above a hundred thouſand of them at liberty, and " paid the charge of their ranſoms out of " my own coffers. Some of them I have " made uſe of in my army, others I have " entertained about my perſon, and in the " court: Wherefore out of a deſire to oblige the *Jews* all over the world, I have " propoſed to myſelf the turning the books " of your law into *Greek*, and to give the " tranſlation a proper place in my own library. In order to the compaſſing of this " deſign, it will be kindly done to make a " cull out of your ſeveral tribes, of ſix elders out of each tribe, the beſt ſkilled " men in the laws you can pitch upon; " and ſend them to aſſiſt me in this tranſlation. The perſons I employ to treat " with you about this affair are, *Andreas*, a " captain of my guards, and *Ariſtæus*, whom " I have charged with a preſent of a hundred talents of ſilver for you, which I " ſend as an obligation of my firſt fruits, " towards your ſacrifices and your temple. " Write me back what you pleaſe, it ſhall " be welcome to me."

Upon the receipt of this letter, *Eleazar*, with all the deference and reſpect imaginable, returned this anſwer.

Eleazar the high-prieſt to king *Ptolemy*, greeting.

"If it be well with your moſt excellent "majeſty, with your queen *Arſinoe*, and "with your illuſtrious family, it is ſo likewiſe with your ſervants the *Jews*. Your "moſt gracious letter is come to our hands, "and we have read it in a full congregation with infinite joy and affection: As an "inſtance, not only of your clemency and "good will towards a diſtreſſed people; but "as a token alſo of your ſingular reverence "and piety for the worſhip of the great God. "We have received alſo by the ſame "hands, that is to ſay, by the hands of "*Andreas* and *Ariſtæus*, twenty golden cups, "thirty ſilver ones, five goblets, and a table to be conſecrated for the ſervice of "the altar, together with a hundred talents "toward the charge of ſacrifices, and other "ſervices for the temple: All which we "have ſhewed and repreſented unto our "brethren in the moſt affectionate terms "of gratitude and reſpect; and we are all "ſo ſenſible of the generous obligations you "have been pleaſed to lay upon us, that "you may depend upon our readineſs to "ſerve and obey you in all things without "reſerve, to the uttermoſt of our power. "In purſuance whereof we have recommended unto God in our public prayers "the protection of your royal perſon, ſiſter, "and all that love and are dear to you, wiſhing peace and proſperity to yourſelf and "people, and beſeeching God that the "work you have now in hand, of compiling a collection and hiſtory of our laws "and antiquities, may be of as much ſatisfaction and advantage to you as your own "heart can deſire. In order to this end, I "have ſent you ſix elders out of every "tribe, with the law, to attend your pleaſure, ſubmitting ourſelves upon the whole "matter to your piety and juſtice, that after the tranſcribing of them, the ymay be "remitted to us back again by the ſame "bearers: Recommending your majeſty to "the providence of the Almighty."

This was the high-prieſt's anſwer to the king's letter, together with the names ſubjoined of the ſeventy elders that were ſent by *Eleazar*, upon this occaſion.

Upon the delivery of theſe donatives, and the dedication of them to the uſe and ſervice of the holy temple at *Jeruſalem*, *Eleazer* treated the king's commiſſioners with all honour and acknowledgement, and diſmiſſed them with recriprocal ſatisfaction. The king had no ſooner heard of their arrival at *Alexandria*, and that they had brought the ſeventy elders along with them, but he ſent inſtantly for his two ambaſſadors, *Andreas* and *Ariſtæus*, from whom he received *Eleazar*'s letter, and very acceptable anſwers to many queſtions. His mind was ſo bent upon an immediate conference with the ſeventy perſons that were ſent over to him to interpret the laws, that no other creature had acceſs to him upon any particular buſineſs, though contrary to his cuſtom of giving private audience once in five days, and public once a month. Having thus ſecured himſelf from interruptions, he only waited the coming of *Eleazar*'s agents, who attended him ſoon after with preſents from the high-prieſt, and with certain manuſcripts of the *Jewiſh* laws written upon parchment, in golden letters. The leaves of the books were ſo artificially put together, that there was no diſcerning where one ſkin was joined to another. The writings were then put into the hands of the officers that were to have them in charge; and the king taking the deputies into his arms, told them that he would only in the firſt place ſpeak a word or two to the buſineſs they came about, and after that take their perſons into his particular care: For he looked upon the day of their arrival, he ſaid, as ſo great a providence to him, that he reſolved to have it obſerved all the days of his life, as an anniverſary in memory of the bleſſing; and it fell out luckily in this too, that it happened to be upon the very day of his naval victory over *Antigonus*. The king, in fine, told them that they ſhould be his gueſts, and ordered them their conveniencies, and apartments in his own palace. The care of providing for ſtrangers was properly *Nicanor*'s province, who appointed *Dorotheus* under him, in this, as in other caſes, to ſee that nothing might be wanting. The king's method in ſhort was this, both for the honour and convenience of ſtrangers, that they ſhould be all treated after the way of their own country.

The direction of this affair was committed to *Dorotheus*, as a perſon well read in the faſhions and cuſtoms of the *Jews*. There were in the firſt place two ſeats diſpoſed of, one on the king's right hand and the other on his left, by his own order, and with all becoming deference to the commiſſioners. When the gueſts had taken their places, the king bad *Dorotheus* ſerve them after the ſame manner as he had formerly ſerved their countrymen upon the like occaſion. The *Egyptian* prieſts and officers that uſually did duty at the king's eating time, being all diſcharged, one of our own deputies and prieſts, *Eliſa* by name, was called out by the king himſelf to bleſs the table, who thereupon ſtood up to give God thanks. The king took occaſion while they were at dinner, to ſtart ſeveral philoſophical queſtions. The ſenſe and judgment of the commiſſioners was ſo grave and pertinent to every point, that the king took a prodigious delight in their converſation, and they continued feaſting and rejoicing for the ſpace of twelve days. The excellency of this converſation had very happy effects, not only upon the king, but they brought over *Menedemus* the philoſopher alſo, to acknowledge an over-ruling providence, and to put a final end to that controverſy: The king acknowledging himſelf to be ſo exceedingly edified by converſing with theſe people, that they had inſtructed him in the very art of government. He ordered them a gratification of three talents a man, and they were then conducted to their lodgings. At the end of three days, *Demetrius* took them along with him by a cauſeway of ſeven furlongs in length, and a bridge of communication betwixt the iſland and the continent; and advancing from thence northward, ſettled them in a houſe by the ſea ſide, where they might reſt without noiſe; he then made it his requeſt, that they would immediately fall to work upon the interpretation, and prayed God to ſpeed them in the enterprize. They ſpared neither care nor pains, but kept cloſe to their ſtudies from early in the morning till three in the afternoon, which was their dining time; *Dorotheus* not forgetting, according to the king's order, to ſupply them with delicacies from his own table, over and above a plentiful competency of proviſions at the king's ordinary allowance. It was their cuſtom to wait upon the king every morning at his levee, and thence to betake themſelves to their taſk again, ſtill waſhing their hands with ſea water, before they entered upon their buſineſs.

This verſion of the law was finiſhed within the compaſs of ſeventy two days, and when that was over *Demetrius* called all the *Jews* together into the place where it was tranſlated, and in the preſence of the interpreters read over the book, the whole aſſembly unanimouſly approving of the interpretation, and extolling *Demetrius* as the occaſion of the great advantages they had received. He deſired alſo, that it might be read by the eminent men of the nation; and after this the high-prieſt, the elders, and the magiſtrates of the people, propounded, that ſince the tranſlation was ſo happily finiſhed, the authority of it might be ratified, and the text remain unalterable for ever. They all came to this reſolution, that the book might be ſubjected to a further examination and reviſe, and if there ſhould be found any thing in it of exceſs or defect, it might be rectified; but that upon a further approbation, it ſhould ſtand good for ever.

The king was doubly pleaſed, firſt, for the gaining his point, and ſecondly, that it ſucceeded ſo happily to the advantage of the public: But when he came to hear it read, he was tranſported with joy, in the contemplation of the wiſdom of the lawgiver; and entered into a diſcourſe with *Demetrius*, that neither any hiſtorian, or poet, ſhould ever make mention of theſe incomparable laws. *Demetrius* made anſwer, that the frame of them being manifeſtly ſo divine, and the matter of them ſo venerable, people were afraid of meddling with them, eſpecially conſidering what judgments had befallen ſeveral people for the temerity of prophaning them; as *Theopompus*, taking upon him the part of a plagiary in publiſhing texts of holy writ as his own invention, was ſtruck with a fit of madneſs that held him thirty days, and in the intervals of his phrenſy was conſcious of the ſin, and aſked God forgiveneſs for it; having revelations alſo in his ſleep that it was his audacious curioſity, in confounding ſacred things with prophane, that brought this diſtemper upon him. But, upon his repentance and amendment, he was reſtored to his right mind. Nor was this the only inſtance of God's judgment: *Theodectes* the poet was taken blind upon the intermixing of divine writ with tragedy, and upon the acknowledgement of his ſin reſtored to his ſight again.

The king, upon the receipt of theſe books from *Demetrius*, bleſſed God and worſhipped, giving a ſtrict command for the preſerving of them ſafe and entire, deſiring the interpreters alſo that he might ſee them again as often as they could viſit him, aſſuring them that it ſhould turn to their honour as well as to their advantage. Upon this, the king diſmiſſed them with a preſent to each of three rich ſuits of raiment, two talents of gold, the value of one talent in cups, couches to ſit and eat upon; with preſents alſo for the high-prieſt, of ten beds with ſilver feet, and ſuits of furniture belonging to them, a chalice of thirty talents, ten purple robes, a glorious crown, and a hundred pieces of fine linen, beſides cups and goblets of ſeveral ſorts, and two golden veſſels dedicated expreſſly to the ſervice of the temple: Deſiring the high-prieſt by letter, that if any of theſe commiſſioners ſhould have a mind to come to him again at any time hereafter, he ſhould give them leave, for he had a high eſteem for the converſation of learned men, and could not think his favours better beſtowed than upon ſuch company.

CHAP. IV.

The Kings of Aſia *kind to the* Jews.

THE *Jews* were in great eſteem alſo among the kings of *Aſia*, both for their faith, and ſkill in military matters: Inſomuch that *Seleucus*, ſirnamed *Nicanor*, gave them the privileges of freemen in all the cities he built throughout *Aſia* and the *lower Syria*, and even in the metropolis of *Antioch*, declaring it to be his will and pleaſure that they ſhould enjoy the ſame rights and immunities with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*; which was no more than what they are poſſeſſed of to this very day. As for example: The *Jews* being interdicted the uſe of foreign oil, the olympic officers that had the ordering of that affair, were obliged by the government to allow them ſo much money in lieu of it. The people of *Antioch* inſiſted upon the abrogating of that cuſtom the following war; but *Mutianus*, who was then governor of the province of *Syria*, would not agree to it. In the reign afterward of *Veſpaſian*, and his ſon *Titus*, the people of *Alexandria* would have had the *Jews* disfranchiſed; but ſuch was the honour and juſtice of thoſe two princes, that they could not obtain it.

We read likewiſe to the ſame purpoſe, of *Marcus Agrippa*'s good affection to the *Jews*; for when the *Ionians* went open-mouth to him with a remonſtrance, that their city being ſingly and entirely their own, by the gift of *Antiochus*, the grandſon of *Seleucus*, whom the *Grecians* ſirnamed *the God*, they deſired to be put in poſſeſſion of it with ſole privileges, excluſive of all other people, demanding farther, that if the *Jews* ſhould pretend to the ſame immunities, it might be upon condition of their worſhipping the ſame gods; the *Jews* brought the queſtion to an iſſue, *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus* being of their council, who obtained judgment for them in favour of the right they claimed to the free exerciſe and enjoyment of their own laws and cuſtoms: *Agrippa* pronouncing upon the whole matter, that he could not agree to any innovation upon that point.

Under the reign of *Antiochus the Great*, *Aſia*, *Judæa*, and *Cœle-Syria*, were never at reſt; for *Antiochus* being at that time in actual hoſtility with *Philopater Ptolemy*, and his ſon *Ptolemy*, ſirnamed *Epiphanes*, whether ſide ſoever had the better of it, the *Jews*, betwixt the proſperous and adverſe fortune of *Antiochus*, were ſtill ſure to be ſufferers. But *Antiochus* in the end prevailed, and made himſelf maſter of *Judæa*.

After the death of *Philopater* his ſon ſent a great army into *Cœle-Syria*, under the command of *Scopas*, who took ſeveral of their cities, and reduced *Judæa* by force: But *Antiochus*, a while after, obtained a notable victory over *Scopas*, at the head of the river *Jordan*, and recovered the places in *Cœle Syria* and *Samaria*, which *Scopas* had got poſſeſſion of before. The *Jews*, upon this ſucceſs, rendered themſelves upon their own accord, received the army into their city, provided plentifully for the elephants, and valiantly aſſiſted in the attack of the caſtle, where *Scopas* had left a body of men in garriſon. *Antiochus* thought it but reaſonable to gratify the *Jews* with ſome honourable mark of the ſenſe he had of their good-will and ſervices upon this occaſion, and ſo wrote letters to ſuch of his friends and officers as were witneſſes of the obligations they had laid upon him.

Polybius the *Megalopolitan*, in the ſixteenth book of his hiſtory, ſays, "*Scopas*, *Ptolemy*'s general, made a winter war with the "*Jews*, brake into the heart of their country, and wholly ſubdued it." And then he goes on, a little after, in the ſame book, with the ſtory of *Scopas*'s being defeated by *Antiochus*, over-running *Bathamæa*, *Samaria*, *Gadara*, and *Abila*, after which the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem*, and of the glorious temple there, went over to him. "I ſhould "ſay a great deal more," ſays he, "upon "this text; but I muſt put it off to another "time." Thus far went *Polybius*. The letter of *Antiochus* run thus:

King *Antiochus* to *Ptolomy*, greeting.

"Whereas we have received ſeveral inſtances of the good diſpoſitions of the "*Jews* toward us, from the time of our "firſt coming into their country, which "they have expreſſed by the pomp and "reſpect of their elders and magiſtrates, in "attending us in a body upon the way, "and the ſplendid reception of our perſon "and our army into the city, and making "ſo ample a proviſion both for our horſes "and elephants, aſſiſting us likewiſe againſt "the garriſon of the *Egyptians* in the caſtle: "Theſe good offices being duly conſidered, "we reckon ourſelves bound to beſtow upon them ſome diſtinguiſhing marks of "our acknowledgment and eſteem, by contributing toward the repairing of their "miſerable city, and reſtoring it to its "former ſtate of reputation and glory, by recalling all their countrymen, wherever diſperſed, to their former habitations: And in order to the compaſſing of thoſe ends, we have in the firſt place aſſigned twenty thouſand pieces of ſilver toward the charges of their ſacrifices, wine, oil, and frankincenſe; and for fine flour, according to the cuſtom of the place, one thouſand four hundred and ſixty meaſures of wheat, and three hundred and ſeventy five meaſures of ſalt. And then for any thing that may be wanting toward the repairing of the temple, porch, galleries, or whatever elſe, it is our will that the timber be ſupplied, whether from *Judæa*, *Libanus*, or elſewhere, without any tax or duty: And we do likewiſe grant the ſame immunity for all other materials that ſhall be made uſe of for the holy temple; with permiſſion moreover of an univerſal liberty to live and govern themſelves according to their country laws. And we do hereby reſpectively diſcharge their elders, prieſts, ſcribes, and ſinging men, of poll taxes, royal duties, and of all other tributes whatſoever. And for a further encouragement to the ſpeedy re-peopling of this city, we do by our royal authority grant unto all the preſent inhabitants of the ſame, and to ſuch as ſhall come over to take up their habitations there, at any time betwixt this and the month of *Hyperberetæus* next enſuing, a total exemption from all public impoſitions for the ſpace of three years to come; and ſo likewiſe from that time forward, an abatement of one third part of all taxes, in conſideration of their paſt damages and ſufferings. And finally, whereas great numbers of theſe people have been carried away captive, and remain to this day in bondage, we do farther command, that they be forthwith ſet at liberty, with reſtitution, in ſatisfaction for what had been taken from them. And ſo we bid you heartily farewell."

This gracious prince followed his generous declaration with another edict, in ſubſtance as follows:

"That no ſtranger ſhall preſume to enter into the temple but with the conſent of the *Jews*, and without being purified and qualified beforehand for his admittance, according to the laws of the country. That no man ſhall dare to bring into the city the fleſh either of horſes or mules, or of aſſes, wild or tame; the fleſh of panthers, foxes, hares, or of any other creature that the *Jews* are not allowed ſo much as to touch, nor the ſkins of any of them; nor to bring up or feed any of theſe, or any other creatures in the city, but ſuch as their forefathers, according to God's appointment, made uſe of for ſacrifices, upon the penalty of three thouſand drachmas to be levied upon every offender againſt the ſaid orders, for the uſe and benefit of the prieſts."

This king gave the world another ſignal proof of the high eſteem he had for us in the matter of our piety and allegiance. Upon the breaking out of a commotion in *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, *Zeuxes* being at that time at the head of an army in the upland provinces, the king preſently ordered his general to ſend away from *Babylon* ſuch a number of the *Jews* there, into *Phrygia*, giving him his inſtructions in a letter to this effect.

The king *Antiochus* to *Zeuxes*, his friend and father, greeting.

"If you are well, all is well; for I am ſo too. Whereas I am given to underſtand, that there are ſeditious practices a-foot in *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, it ſtands me upon to look well about me betimes; ſo that I am now to acquaint you that I am adviſed by my council to take two thouſand *Jewiſh* families out of *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia*, and to tranſport them into *Phrygia*, and there to place them for a guard in garriſons, being thoroughly ſatisfied in the knowledge I have of their zeal and fidelity. Wherefore, it is my

“ pleaſure that they be forthwith tranſplanted,
“ giving them all aſſurance that they
“ ſhall ſtill enjoy the freedom of their own
“ laws and cuſtoms. And upon their arrival
“ there you are to aſſign them lands
“ and poſſeſſions, with all ſorts of conveniencies
“ for building, planting and tillage,
“ with an immunity from all taxes
“ and contributions, out of the profits for
“ ten years to come. And in the mean
“ while you are to allow them a competent
“ proviſion of wheat, for the maintenance
“ of themſelves and their families, by which
“ kind uſage they will be encouraged to act
“ more chearfully in our ſervice. You are
“ finally to take care that they be not expoſed
“ to any ſort of trouble. And ſo we
“ bid you farewell.”

This ſhews what eſteem *Antiochus the Great* had for the *Jews:* After which there followed an alliance betwixt this king and *Ptolemy*, upon a marriage with his daughter *Cleopatra*, who had in lieu of a portion *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judœa*, and *Samaria*. The revenue was in partition betwixt the two kings, and let out in farm to ſome of the principal men in the reſpective provinces.

The *Samaritans* were at this time proud and powerful, and moſt particularly vexatious to the *Jews*, carrying ſeveral of them away captives; and this ravage was committed chiefly in the time of the high-prieſt *Onias:* For after the death of *Eleazar*, his uncle *Manaſſes* took the pontificate, and after his death ſucceeded *Onias*, the ſon of *Simon the Juſt*, which *Simon* was the brother of *Eleazar*. This *Onias* was weak and covetous, to the degree of refuſing the king the cuſtomary tribute of twenty talents, which his anceſtors had made good to him, in acknowledgment of a duty. This ſo incenſed *Ptolemy Euergetes*, the father of *Philopater*, that he ſent an ambaſſador expreſsly to *Jeruſalem*, with a menace to demand the payment of it, upon the peril of having an army quartered upon their country at diſcretion, and a new plantation ſettled there, if they did not immediately comply. This meſſage put the *Jews* out of their wits: But *Onias* out-faced the danger, his heart being only ſet upon his money.

CHAP. V.

Joſeph, *the Nephew of* Onias, *begs pardon for his* Uncle *of* Ptolemy; *and makes his own Fortune by it.*

THERE was one *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Tobias*, by the ſiſter of *Onias* the high-prieſt. This *Joſeph* was a young man; but for his integrity, prudence and juſtice, a perſon of great reputation among the *Jews*. While he was one time at *Phichola*, the place of his birth, his mother ſent him an account of the meſſenger before ſpoken of, and of his buſineſs, who went immediately with an invective to *Onias* for ſo manifeſt an expoſure of the public peace, and adviſed him at leaſt to make a dutiful application to the king about it, and to try if he could get the whole, or at leaſt ſome part of it remitted. *Onias* abſolutely refuſed to go to the king upon that errand: Why then, ſays *Joſeph*, will you give me leave to attend the king upon the ſame commiſſion? *Onias* told him, with all his heart. So *Joſeph* went up to the temple, called a congregation, and bad them chear up their hearts, he would wait upon the king himſelf in their name, and do the beſt he could to ſet matters right again. The whole multitude gave him thanks for the propoſal, and ſo left the buſineſs entirely to his management. *Joſeph*, upon this, went to the king's commiſſioner, and when he had treated him ſplendidly for ſome days, and made him rich preſents, he diſmiſſed him to his maſter, with an aſſurance that he himſelf would follow him very ſuddenly. This perſon was mightily taken with the addreſs of the young man; and upon his return into *Egypt*, reflecting abundantly upon the ingratitude of *Onias*, he did not forget at the ſame time to ſpeak the beſt things in the world of *Joſeph*, who he ſaid would be there himſelf e're long, on the behalf of the people: Upon this occaſion, *Joſeph* ſent to his friends in *Samaria* to take up money for his equipage, which in clothes, horſes, carriages, plate, and other neceſſaries, ſtood him in a matter of twenty thouſand drachmas. He had the hap, in his way to *Alexandria* to fall into company with a train of the princes and nobility of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, who were at that time trooping up to the king to treat with him about his revenue, according to a yearly cuſtom they had of putting it up by the way of outcry to the faireſt bidder. Theſe great men made themſelves merry at the pitiful appearance of *Joſeph* and his retinue: But he kept on his way ſtill, directly to *Alexandria*, and being there informed that the king was ſtill at *Memphis*, he proſecuted his journey, and met him ſitting in his chariot with the queen, and his particular confident *Athenion*, in his return to *Alexandria*. This *Athenion* was the perſon that carried the embaſſy to *Jeruſalem*, and was ſo honourably treated by *Joſeph* there. *Joſeph* was no ſooner in his eye but he gave the king to underſtand that this was the young man whom he had ſpoken ſo many excellent things of at his coming back from *Jeruſalem*. *Ptolemy* ſtopt and took him into his chariot, complaining upon the firſt greeting, how ill he had been uſed by *Onias*. "Sir," ſays *Joſeph*, "an old man is the ſecond time a child; and I hope your majeſty will impute nothing to *Onias* beyond that infirmity: But for the young men that are in their vigour of ſtrength and underſtanding, I dare be anſwerable for it, that you ſhall not find any one of us wanting in his duty." The king was ſo delighted with this taſte of *Joſeph*'s diſcretion and civility, that he gave orders for the lodging of him in his own palace, and entertaining of him at his own table.

The day of auction was now come on, when the ſeveral branches of the revenue were to be put up, and the nobility of every province to bid for the purchaſe: So they came to a contract for eight thouſand talents upon the duties out of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*. *Joſeph* blamed the contractors for abating the compoſition ſo much below the value, and propounded the doubling of it himſelf, over and above the forfeitures, which theſe publicans had reſerved for themſelves. The king was very well pleaſed with this propoſal for the improvement of his revenue, and in favour of the propoſer himſelf too: But what ſecurity can you give, ſays he, for the performance of what you undertake? *Joſeph* pleaſantly enough replied, that he could give him ſecurity of perſons beyond all exception; and upon the king's bidding him name them, his anſwer was, that he doubted not but his majeſty and the queen would be bound one to another for his honeſty and juſtice. The king, in fine, was ſo well ſatisfied, that he entruſted him with his revenue upon his word, without any other ſureties. This ſurprizing preference of a ſtranger put the reſt of the undertakers exceedingly out of humour.

Joſeph, upon being taken into this truſt, deſired a guard of two thouſand ſoldiers to ſupport him in the collecting of the duty, in caſe of oppoſition; which was granted him, and thereupon, having borrowed five hundred talents of the king's friends in *Alexandria*, he went his way into *Syria*. Upon his coming to *Aſkalon*, and demanding the king's tribute there, they not only refuſed him the money, but affronted him with foul words; but he preſently cauſed his ſoldiers to take up twenty of the ringleaders, and to put them to exemplary juſtice, raiſing a thouſand talents out of their forfeited eſtates, and ſent the treaſure to the king, with a particular account of what had been done. The king was ſo much pleaſed with the conduct and diſcretion of the proceeding, that he left it to him after that to do whatever he thought fit. The freſh example of this ſeverity upon the people of *Aſkalon*, wrought ſuch an effect upon the reſt of the *Syrians*, that they ſet their gates open in all places to *Joſeph*, and without any difficulty or ſcruple paid their taxes.

CHAP. VI.

Joſeph *Marries the Daughter of his Brother* Solymius. *The Hiſtory of* Hyrcanus.

JOSEPH lived in a ſtate of proſperity for the ſpace of two and twenty years, having had ſeven ſons by one wife, and another, whoſe name was *Hyrcanus*, by the daughter of his brother *Solymius*, whom he took to wife upon this occaſion.

Travelling one time in company with his brother to *Alexandria*, to find out ſome *Jew* of quality that might be a match for a daughter of his that he took along with him; and being at ſupper with the king, he fell paſſionately in love with a beautiful maid that he ſaw dance there for the king's entertainment. He made his brother his only confident of the ſecret, deſiring him that ſince he could not lawfully enjoy her as his wife, (being a ſtranger) he would do him the good office to bring them together privately. His brother, promiſing that he would do what he could in it, dreſſed up his own daughter, and at night put her to bed to him. *Joſeph* who had taken a cup too much, paſſed the firſt night with his brother's daughter, and never found the error. This abuſe was put upon him over and over, and the oftener he enjoyed this converſation, the more enamoured he grew of his miſtreſs, till at laſt he made his moan to his brother, that he was afraid he ſhould never get that love out of his heart; beſide that he feared the king would never agree to the match ſhould he propoſe it to him. As for that fancy, ſays *Solymius*, trouble your head no farther, for you may lawfully enjoy the woman you love, and enjoy her as your wife too. *Solymius* confeſſed the whole matter to him; and that he had rather choſe to ſuffer an affront in the perſon of his daughter, than to have his brother guilty of ſo diſhonourable a ſin. *Joſeph* upon this diſcovery extolled his brother's tenderneſs and friendſhip very much, and married his daughter, by whom he had *Hyrcanus*.

This *Hyrcanus*, at thirteen years of age, gave the world ſuch hopes of him, that the pregnancy of his youth drew a mortal envy upon him from the reſt of his brothers. *Joſeph* after this ſent his youngeſt ſon, *Hyrcanus*, upon a ſeven days journey into a deſert, with three hundred pair of oxen, to plough and ſow there, having firſt privately taken away the lines that ſhould couple the yoke and the plough together. When he came to the place, and wanted his tackle, he was adviſed to ſend home to his father for it; but he was againſt loſing ſo much time, and therefore bethought himſelf of an invention, that is to ſay, he cauſed ten yoke of oxen to be killed, dividing the fleſh among his workmen, and cutting the ſkins into thongs, he tacked the oxen and their gears together, ploughed up the ground, and ſowed it as his father had ordered him; after which he returned home again. Upon his return, his father kiſſed and embraced him, bleſſing himſelf, to conſider that ſo very a youth ſhould have the ſteadineſs of mind to put ſo extraordinary a thought in execution.

About this time news was brought to *Joſeph* that the queen was delivered of a ſon, to the exceeding great joy of the princes and great men of *Syria*, who preſently trooped away in great pomp to *Alexandria*, to congratulate the king upon this bleſſing; only *Joſeph*, by reaſon of his age, was forced to ſtay behind. But he had a mind however to feel how his ſons ſtood affected to this expedition; and upon putting the queſtion to them, one did not underſtand the ways of the court, he ſaid; another made a difficulty of ſhewing himſelf to the king; and ſo put it to their father to ſend *Hyrcanus*, which he was very glad to hear, and had him called in immediately. "Son," ſays *Joſeph*, "what if I ſhould ſend you now "to the king? Could you behave yourſelf, "do you think, as you ought to do?" "Why, Sir," ſays *Hyrcanus*, I ſhould take "it for a great honour to be ſo employed, "and moſt readily obey you. And," ſays he further, "I ſhould not put you to any "great expence neither, for I would manage every thing as well as I could, and "a matter of ten thouſand drachmas would "do my buſineſs." The father was much delighted with his ſon's ſobriety and moderation; and the diſcourſe ſtopt for a while, till the ſon after a little pauſe brake ſilence. "Sir," ſays he, "I would propoſe it to you "not to ſend the king any preſents from "this place, but rather to write to your agent at *Alexandria* to furniſh me wherewithal to buy the richeſt and the moſt agreeable curioſities for preſents for the "king, that are to be had for money." *Joſeph* complied with his ſon, and gave him letters of credit to *Arion*, his caſh-keeper at *Alexandria*, who had ſome three thouſand talents at that time in his hands, it being *Joſeph*'s method ſtill to remit thither the collections he received in *Syria*, to be there returned into the treaſury upon the preciſe pay day, which *Arion* was entruſted to take care of. *Hyrcanus* was no ſooner diſpatched, but away he went to *Arion* at *Alexandria*, with his letters; his brothers at the ſame time being engaged in a ſecret practice and deſign upon his life. Upon the delivery of his credentials, *Arion* aſked him now many talents would ſerve his turn, computing that about ten talents, or ſomewhat over, might be ſufficient. *Hyrcanus* told him, that he ſhould have occaſion for a thouſand talents. "What," ſays *Arion*, "to be ſquandered "away in luxury and profuſion? No, no, "Sir," ſays he, "your father made his fortune by induſtry and good huſbandry, and "you ſhould do well to tread in his ſteps. "In ſhort, you are like to have but ten talents of me, and I will ſee every penny "of the money laid out upon the preſents "too." At this rate he went on, till *Hyrcanus* took him up, and laid him by the heels for his ſaucineſs. Now the wife of *Arion* being much in the queen's favour, told her this adventure, and the queen handed it to the king. This complaint was ſoon followed by a meſſage from the king to *Hyrcanus*, that he being ſent expreſſly by his father to attend his majeſty, he very much wondered that he ſhould never come to him; and likewiſe at his taking upon him to impriſon his father's agent: Wherefore it was his majeſty's command that he ſhould wait upon him, and acquit himſelf if he could, of the charge that was exhibited againſt him. *Hyrcanus* deſired the meſſenger to inform the king, that he durſt not wait upon his majeſty, till he had firſt preſented the oblations, which his father had entruſted him withal, in teſtimony of his gratitude and duty: And for the matter of puniſhing a ſervant for his diſobedience, he thought that he had great right on his ſide; for the relation is ſo near betwixt great maſters and little ones, that an ill example in a ſubject ſtretches in the conſequence to the king himſelf: For where the contempt of authority paſſes with impunity, the precedent is contagious. The king could not but wonder to find ſo great a ſoul in ſo young a creature.

Arion perceiving that his court intereſt failed him, delivered the thouſand talents that were demanded of him, as a compoſition for his liberty. After three days *Hyrcanus* went to court, to pay his reſpects to the king and queen, where he had the honour to be admitted to their table. While this was in agitation, he contracted privately with certain merchants for a hundred of the moſt beautiful youths that were to be gotten, at a talent a head, and as many lovely ingenious girls, at the ſame price. Being invited after this to the king's entertainment, together with other perſons of the moſt eminent quality, the officers that had the ordering of the ceremony in the ranging of the gueſts, aſſigned *Hyrcanus*, being but a youth, the loweſt place at the table. When the reſt of the company had filled their bellies with the fleſh, they laid their bones together by conſent in a mockery before *Hyrcanus*, and ſet on *Tryphon*, a jeſting buffoon, who deſired the king to take notice what a heap of bones *Hyrcanus* had before him. "Juſt ſo," ſays he, "has " the father picked the bones of all *Syria*, " as the ſon has ſerved thoſe bones that are " now before him." The king could not but ſmile at the drollery of the conceit, and aſked *Hyrcanus* how he came to have ſuch a pile of bones before him. "Oh! Sir," ſays he, "there's no wonder in it at all; for " the dogs devour fleſh and bones, and all," pointing with his eye to thoſe that had none before them: "But men, ſuch as I am, " when they have done with the fleſh, " throw away the bones as I do." The king found him ſo facetious, that he recommended him to the reſpect and kindneſs of the company.

Hyrcanus the day following fell to pumping of the ſervants what preſents their maſters intended to compliment the king with, upon the birth of the prince. One ſaid twelve talents perhaps; another, more or leſs, according to their ability: *Hyrcanus* ſeeming uneaſy, upon a pretence that he could not come up to their proportion, for five talents was all that he was to advance. Theſe ſervants told their maſters what paſſed between them and *Hyrcanus*, who were not a little pleaſed to think how the narrowneſs of the young man's preſent would leſſen him in the eſteem of the king. But when it came to appear upon the day appointed for the ſolemnity of making their oblations, that twenty talents was the moſt that was given by any man, *Hyrcanus* only excepted, whoſe preſent was a hundred boys, and a hundred girls, the former for the king, the latter for the queen, and with every one of them a talent for another preſent over and above; this was ſo unexpected a munificence, that the king himſelf and all his friends were in admiration at it: Beſides the gratuity of divers talents more, that were diſtributed among the king's miniſters and officers, for fear of the worſt, *Hyrcanus*'s brothers having employed their utmoſt intereſt to get him deſtroyed. The king was ſo ſenſible of the greatneſs of the young man's mind, and the graceful way of expreſſing it, that he bad him aſk what he would and he ſhould have it; but he only deſired his majeſty's letters of recommendation back again to his father, and to his brethren; which the king granted him, and gave him his diſcharge. But when his brothers came to underſtand how magnificently the king and queen had received him, and that his reputation was now much greater at his return than it was before this expedition, they laid their heads together how they might meet him out of the town under pretence of a compliment, and deſtroy him; and this not without their father's privity, who was ſo highly diſguſted at his extravagant expence upon the late preſents, that he did not care what became of him. In concluſion, the brothers met and aſſaulted him upon the way, and after a generous reſiſtance on his part, loſt a conſiderable number of their train; two of the brotherhood were killed upon the place, and the reſt got back again to their father at *Jeruſalem*. *Hyrcanus* kept on his way into the city; but finding nobody owned him there, he croſſed the river *Jordan* for his own ſecurity, where he ſpent the remainder of his life in gathering the king's duties from the *Barbarians*.

This was in the days of *Seleucus* the king of *Aſia*, otherwiſe called *Soter*, or *the Saviour*, the ſon of *Antiochus the Great*. About the ſame time died *Joſeph*, the father of *Hyrcanus*. His uncle *Onias* died alſo about the ſame time, and his ſon *Simon* ſucceeded him to the prieſthood; and he going off too, his ſon *Onias* ſucceeded him, to whom *Arius*, king of the *Lacedæmonians*, ſent an embaſſy in the terms following.

Arius king of the *Lacedæmonians*, to *Onias*, health.

“Whereas there is come to our hands an ancient manuſcript, ſetting forth the affinity betwixt our anceſtors and yours, and the relation we have to the line of *Abraham*; it is but reaſonable for brethren ſo nearly allied to do all good offices one toward another. This is therefore to offer you the command of any thing within our power to ſerve you, as we ourſelves ſhall take the ſame freedom in looking on your concerns as our own, and joining in one common intereſt. You are to receive this letter from our truſty ſubject and ſervant *Demoteles*, written in a quarto page, and ſealed with the figure of an eagle holding a dragon in her talons.”

After the death of *Joſeph* the people brake out into mutinies and ſeditions, upon the quarrel of the ſons that he had left behind him, the elder brothers making war upon the younger: The greater part of the people appearing alſo in favour of the former, and among the reſt *Simon* the high-preiſt, upon the account of his relation. *Hyrcanus* did not think fit to return to *Jeruſalem*, but kept himſelf ſtill beyond *Jordan*, where he was harraſſed by a perpetual war with the *Arabians*, killing great numbers of them, and carrying others into captivity. He cauſed to be erected there a marvellous ſtrong caſtle, the walls from the bottom to the top all of white ſtone, with figures upon them of ſeveral ſorts of creatures, of an extraordinary ſize and proportion. This building was encompaſſed with a deep ditch, or fiſh pool, and vaults cut out through a mountain juſt againſt it, of ſeveral furlongs in length, and only broad enough at the mouth for one man to enter at a time, which they did both for fear and ſecurity. To this place he gave the name of *Tyre*, which lies upon the borders of *Arabia*, and *Judæa* beyond *Jordan*, and not far from the county of the *Eſſebenites*.

Hyrcanus held this government for the ſpace of ſeven years, that is to ſay, for the whole time that *Seleucus* reigned in *Syria*. After his death, his brother *Antiochus* ſucceeded him, otherwiſe called *Epiphanes*, and then died *Ptolemy* alſo, king of *Egypt*, who was likewiſe called *Epiphanes*. This *Ptolemy* left two ſons behind him in their minority, the name of the elder was *Philometor*, and the name of the other *Phyſcon*. *Antiochus* was at that time very ſtrong and powerful; inſomuch that *Hyrcanus*, for fear of being called to an account for his inroads upon the *Arabians*, laid violent hands upon himſelf, and *Antiochus* took poſſeſſion of all his goods and eſtate.

CHAP. VII.

Onias, *otherwiſe* Menelaus, *is excluded from the Pontificate. He betakes himſelf to* Antiochus, *and apoſtatizes from his Religion.*

ONIAS the high-prieſt dying about this time, *Antiochus Epiphanes* advanced to the pontificate his brother *Jeſus*, in the minority of a ſon he had then living. This *Jeſus* fell under the king's diſpleaſure, who depoſed him from the pontificate, and transferred it afterward to *Onias*, the younger brother. Now theſe were the three ſons of *Simon*; but *Jeſus* choſe rather to take upon himſelf the name of *Jaſon*, as the other changed his name for *Menelaus*. In this confuſion of chopping and changing, one brother advanced a faction againſt the other, and the people divided upon it. The ſons of *Tobias* ſided with the new high-prieſt *Menelaus*, but the greater part of the multitude joined intereſts with *Jaſon*, and ſo much overpowered the other, that *Menelaus* and the ſons of *Tobias* withdrew to *Antioch*, declaring themſelves that they would no longer be tied up to their country's laws and inſtitutions, but go over to the religion of their king, and the *Greek* way of worſhip, deſiring liberty to erect a kind of academy, or place for public exerciſes in *Jeruſalem*. Upon obtaining of this licence, they ordered their bodies ſo that, even naked, there was no viſible difference betwixt them and the *Greeks*; at the ſame time caſting off all regard to the *Jewiſh* laws and cuſtoms, and betaking themſelves to the ways and manners of other nations.

Antiochus finding himſelf at this time ſo eaſy at home, and his people ſo well ſettled, advanced with a mighty army to *Peleuſium*, where he ſlily circumvented *Philometor* by craft, and got footing in *Egypt*, advancing from thence to *Memphis*, and other neighbouring places, which he reduced likewiſe, and ſo to *Alexandria*, with a deſign to reduce at once both the king and the city; but upon the peremptory command of the *Romans*, to withdraw his army immediately, he quitted what he had taken.

CHAP. VIII.

Jeruſalem *betrayed to* Antiochus. *The* Samaritans *dedicate the Temple at* Garizin *to* Jupiter.

ANTIOCHUS, at his return from *Egypt*, marched with his army to *Jeruſalem*, and entered the city in the hundred and forty third year from the time that the kingdom of *Syria* fell into the family of *Seleucus*. He made himſelf maſter of it without any difficulty, for the gates were ſet open to him, by the treachery of a party he had made in the town, where he exerciſed great cruelty, and put a great many people to the ſword, without diſtinction of friend or foe; pillaged the city, and carried the treaſure away to *Antioch*.

This calamity happened in the ſecond year after the taking of the city, in the hundred and forty fifth year from the firſt *Seleucus*, the twenty fifth day of the month which we call *Chaſleu*, the *Macedonians Apellæus*, and in the hundred and fifty third *Olympiad*. In this outrage they did not ſpare ſo much as thoſe that quietly opened the gates to them, only for the greater liberty of breaking in upon the riches of the temple. The temple, in ſhort, was wholly ſtripped and rifled, all the holy veſſels and utenſils taken away, the golden candleſticks, the golden altar, and the table of ſhew-bread; the curtains, and the embroidery of ſilk and fine linen, nay, the very hiding places, where they concealed an immenſe maſs of treaſure, were all laid open and expoſed, and nothing left of this prodigious wealth. Their daily ſacrifices were forbidden, the inhabitants partly killed, partly carried away captives, together with their wives and children, to the number of ten thouſand, their walls demoliſhed, their ſtately edifices conſumed by fire. They erected a tower in the city that overlooked and commanded the temple itſelf, and when they had ſupplied and fortified the place, a great garriſon of *Macedonians* were put into it, but not without a mixture of execrable and apoſtate *Jews*, that were as malicious as the worſt of their enemies: They raiſed an altar in the temple, and ſacrificed hogs upon it, in a moſt ſpiteful contradiction to the laws and conſtitutions of the *Jews*: They put all people to extremities that would not renounce the true God, and worſhip their idols: And ſo in all other cities and towns, they built temples and altars for the daily ſacrifice of ſwine's fleſh: They made it grievouſly penal for any of the *Jews* to circumciſe their children, keeping their officers and informers always at hand, either to proſecute them upon the violation of their edicts, or to extort from them by terror or force an obedience: So that the greater part of the *Jews* complied with the king's orders, though there were others ſo brave, as to ſtand firm againſt all trials of torment and death itſelf, rather than depart from the religion and laws of their couutry, having their bodies cut and torn with whips, and then crucified alive, with their wives, and ſo many of their children as were circumciſed, hanging about their necks according to the king's order: The holy ſcriptures were deſtroyed alſo wherever they were found; and it was made death ſo much as to entertain them.

When the *Samaritans* found the *Jews* brought to ſo miſerable a ſtate of diſtreſs, there was no longer any talk of claiming kindred with them, but ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Antiochus* in theſe terms.

To the king *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the illuſtrious God, the humble petition of the *Sidonians*, inhabitants of *Sichem*, ſheweth:

“That the forefathers of your petitioners lying under the affliction of many and grievous plagues in their own country, were partly wrought upon by that calamity, and in part prevailed upon by the ſuperſtition of an ancient cuſtom, to join in the religious obſervance of a certain feſtival, which the *Jews* call the ſabbath, and in the erecting of a temple upon the mountain *Garizin*, where ſacrifices were offered to a god without a name. Now ſince your majeſty hath been pleaſed to puniſh this wicked people according to their deſerts, and to appoint officers, who upon a ſuppoſition that we were all of the ſame ſtock, are thereby induced to involve your petitioners with the *Jews* in the ſame crime: Whereas we derive our original from the *Sidonians*, as we can make appear by records extant to this day.

“May it therefore pleaſe your majeſty to grant ſuch order to *Apollonius* our governor, and to *Nicanor* his deputy, in favour of your petitioners, that they may not be any farther moleſted for the future, upon the ſuſpicion of any confederacy with the *Jews*: And we do farther pray that the temple, which hath ſtood hitherto without any dedication at all, may from this time forward be called the temple of *Jupiter* of *Greece*, to the end that when we ſhall live in more ſecurity and freedom, we may the better attend thoſe duties in the advancement of your ſervice and revenue.”

In anſwer to this requeſt of the *Samaritans*, the king wrote back as follows.

King *Antiochus* to *Nicanor*.

“Having received a petition from the *Sidonians* at *Sichem*, which we have here annexed to this letter; it appeareth unto us, and to our council, that the *Sidonions* are no way guilty of the crimes charged upon the *Jews*, but that they govern themſelves according to the way of the *Greeks*; wherefore it is our will that they receive no further trouble about this matter: And as to what concerns the temple, it is our will likewiſe, that from this time forward, it may be known by the name of the temple of *Jupiter* of *Greece*. We have written to the ſame effect to our governor *Apollonius*. Dated in the year forty ſix, and the eleventh day of the month *Hecatombæon*.”

CHAP. IX.

Matthias *and his Sons kill the Meſſengers that would force them to a falſe Worſhip.*

THERE lived at this time in *Modim*, one *Matthias*, a prieſt of the family of *Joarib*, and a native of *Jeruſalem*. This *Matthias* was the ſon of *John*, the ſon of *Simon*; and *Simon* the ſon of *Aſmonæus*. *Matthias* had five ſons; *Joannan*, who was ſirnamed *Gaddis*; *Simon*, otherwiſe *Thaſſi*; *Judas*, who was alſo called *Maccabæus*; *Eleazar*, alias *Auran*; and *Jonathan*, ſirnamed *Apphus*. This *Matthias* was very frequently condoling with his ſons upon the deplorable ſtate of the *Jewiſh* nation, their city laid deſolate, their temple pillaged and prophaned, with a thouſand other calamities, and aying, how much more glorious it would be to fall a ſacrifice to the laws and religion of their country, than to linger out a miſerable life at this ſervile rate.

Upon the coming of the king's officers into the village to preſs the execution of their maſter's orders, they began with *Matthias*. They laid before him the danger of diſobeying, with the advantages and rewards he ſhould receive upon his compliance, and charged him in the king's name to worſhip as he was commanded; which he not only refuſed to do, but told them, that if every ſoul within their maſter's dominions ſhould yield to him in that particular, he would never either ſubmit to him himſelf, or adviſe any of his ſons to abandon the religion of their country. *Matthias* ſtopped here; and after a ſhort ſilence out ſtepped a *Jew*, to ſacrifice according to the king's way; but *Matthias* and his ſons not only killed the *Jew*, but the king's officer, *Apelles*, with all his guard about him, as they were forcing the people to that abominable worſhip. In this heat they overturned the altar alſo, *Matthias* calling out with a loud voice to the people about him, "As "many of you," ſays he, "as have any "regard for your honour, or for your religion, follow me:" And ſo the father and ſons withdrew themſelves into the wilderneſs. Soon after this, a great part of the people, with their wives and children, fled into the ſame deſert, where they lived for ſome time in caves. When this came to the ear of the king's general officers, they drew the garriſon out of the caſtle at *Jeruſalem*, and marched after the *Jews* into the wilderneſs. Upon coming up to them they tried them firſt by good counſel and fair words, adviſing them not to force the ſoldiers upon the neceſſity of a military execution; but all to no purpoſe: And when they ſaw there was no good to be done that way, they pitched upon the ſabbath day for an attack upon them; and ſuch was the reverence they had for the ſacredneſs of that day, that they choſe rather to periſh than prophane it. There were a thouſand of them, men, women and children, that were ſuffocated under ground; but there were great numbers alſo that made their eſcape, and liſted themſelves under the command of *Matthias*. But upon this experiment, he preached another doctrine; and that in caſe of ſuch an extremity they were to fight, and to defend themſelves, upon the ſabbath as well as upon another day; otherwiſe that ſcruple would be their total deſtruction. The reaſon of this diſcourſe was ſo clear, that they were all convinced of the lawfulneſs of uſing their arms on the ſabbath, in caſe of neceſſity; and the practice of it has continued ever ſince. This great general was by this time maſter of a conſiderable force; inſomuch that he deſtroyed their altars, and put all apoſtates to the ſword, appointing children to be circumciſed, which was before forbidden, and driving away the king's officers that were appointed to hinder it; having drawn all into a body that had diſperſed themſelves up and down into privacies and hiding places, for fear of the enemy.

Matthias having now been a full year in this command, felt himſelf ſeized with a mortal illneſs, and calling his ſons about him, ſpake to them to this purpoſe.

"My dear ſons," ſays he, "my life is "drawing to an end, but I am now to "charge you upon my bleſſing that you "ſtand firm to the cauſe that your father "has aſſerted. Do your uttermoſt to ſupport the rights and the laws of your country, and to reſtore the order of a nation "that wants but very little of being ſwallowed up in confuſion: Have nothing to "do with thoſe that either for fear or for "intereſt have betrayed it. In contempt of "all force and extremity, carry your lives "in your hands, and deliver them up with "comfort, if any occaſion ſhould require it "in defence of your country, computing "with yourſelves that this is the way to preſerve you in God's favour. Our bodies, "'tis true, are mortal; but great and generous actions will make us immortal in our "memory. Be ſure, in the firſt place to "agree among yourſelves, and in what caſe "ſoever any of you hath an advantage over "the reſt, give way to every man in the "buſineſs of his province and talent. As "for example, it being *Simon's* faculty to "make a right judgment of things, I ſhall "adviſe you to make him your council; "*Maccabæus* is a man made for military "conduct and bravery, wherefore chuſe "him for your general. Do but mind your "buſineſs, and depend upon it that all "men of honour and piety will join with "you."

CHAP. X.

After the Death of Matthias, Judas *ſucceeds to the Command of the Army.*

MATTHIAS concluded his diſcourſe to his ſons with prayers to God for a bleſſing upon their endeavours toward the redemption of their countrymen, and the recovery of their ancient rights and privileges.

He departed this life ſoon after; and being buried at *Modim*, *Judas*, otherwiſe called *Maccabæus*, had the public adminiſtration put into his hands, which was in the year one hundred and forty ſix, reckoning from *Seleucus* the firſt: And he was ſo well ſeconded by his brothers that he cleared the country of the enemy, put all the renegadoes to the ſword, and purged the land from all the abominable pollutions that had been practiſed there.

The news of this turn of affairs upon the progreſs of *Judas*, brought *Apollonius* the governor of *Samaria* in all haſte up with his army againſt *Judas*, who met him half way, fought with, and routed him, killed a great number of his people upon the place, and *Apollonius* himſelf for one, diſarming him with his own hand, and carrying off his ſword in triumph. He had alſo the ſpoil of the camp, a booty of prodigious value.

Upon the tiding of this defeat, and of the vaſt reinforcements that came thronging in to *Judas*, *Seron*, the governor of *Cœle-Syria*, reſolved immediately to puſh it to a battle. In order to this expedition, he took his march to *Bethoron*, a village of *Judæa*, where he pitched his camp: *Judas* put himſelf in a poſture to encounter him; but finding his ſoldiers out of humour, if not out of heart, he made a ſhort harangue, that brought them to their mettle again.

Upon this *Judas* led his men on to the battle, where they behaved theſelves like heroes, engaged *Seron*, and killed him upon the ſpot, defeating the whole army of the *Aſſyrians*, for upon the fall of their general, their troops were preſently broken and ſattered. *Judas* had the chace of them as far as the plain; eight hundred of them were ſlain upon the field of battle, and the reſt made their eſcape toward the ſeaſide.

Theſe diſaſters forced *Antiochus* upon the neceſſity of an extraordinary levy, inſomuch that he got a mighty army together in a ſhort time, with a reſolution to break into *Judæa* early in the next ſpring: But theſe troubles had given ſuch an interruption to the raiſing of his taxes, that upon the payment of his troops he found that the income of his revenue would not anſwer the charge of the war. Upon this conſideration he propoſed to go into *Perſia* firſt, and to ſupply himſelf with what money he could pick up out of that province.

CHAP. XI.

Judas Maccabæus *encounters* Antiochus's *numerous Army, and Defeats them.*

ANTIOCHUS left the command of all the country betwixt *Egypt* and *Euphrates*, during his abſence, in the hands of one *Lyſias*, a perſon of approved faith and integrity, together with ſome part of his troops and elephants: Giving him alſo charge to have particular care of his ſon *Antiochus*, till he ſhould return again: And moreover, that upon the reducing of *Judæa*, and the ſale of all the inhabitants for ſlaves, he ſhould utterly deſtroy the city, and extirpate the nation. Upon the giving of theſe orders he marched away for *Perſia*, in the year one hundred and forty ſeven; and paſſing the *Euphrates* went forward into the higher countries.

Lyſias took to his aſſiſtance, in the execution of this commiſſion, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Dorymenes*, *Gorgias*, and *Nicanor*, three of the beſt officers he could find among the king's particular friends. He put theſe commanders at the head of forty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe, with orders to march forthwith into *Judæa*. They advanced as far as *Emmaus*, and there encamped upon the plain, where came over to them great numbers of auxiliaries from *Syria*, and other neighbouring countries, and an abundance of fugitive *Jews*, beſide ſeveral merchants and traders, with large ſums of money to buy ſlaves; who brought fetters and manacles with them of all ſorts to ſecure their priſoners. The enemy had aſſembled a formidable army; but *Judas* however bad them caſt themſelves upon providence, and fear nothing. The general's next buſineſs was to range his men by regiments, troops, and companies, into order of battle, according to the *Jewiſh* cuſtom; and then to diſcharge the army of all new-married men, and ſuch as had lately made purchaſes, who probably might be thinking of ſomething elſe when they ſhould be fighting: Animating his people alſo at the ſame time, by his words as well as his actions, to acquit themſelves like men of honour and courage.

After this, as his head was employed upon the buſineſs of the army, there came intelligence that *Gorgias* would be with him that night with a thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, with ſome renegado *Jews* for their guide, to beat up his quarters. This diſcovery put *Judas* upon an attempt upon the camp of the enemy. In order to this he cauſed ſeveral fires to be made in his camp, and ſo marched all night towards *Emmaus*, where the enemy lay. *Gorgias*, finding nobody in the *Jews* camp, and preſuming that they were run away for fear, reckoned that he had little more to do than to learn how he might hunt them out. But *Judas* coming by break of day to the enemy's camp, with only three thouſand men, and thoſe but ill armed, ordered the ſounding of the charge; and breaking in upon the ſame inſtant, put them into ſuch a conſternation, that after putting of thoſe to the ſword that reſiſted, the reſt betook themſelves to flight, and they purſued them as far as *Gadara*, and ſo to the plains of *Idumæa*, *Azotus*, and *Iamnia*. The number of the ſlain was about three thouſand. But *Judas* would not ſuffer his people to meddle with the ſpoil, the troops of *Gorgias* being as yet entire. *Gorgias*'s people diſcovering veting from an eminence near hand, the dead bodies of his friends, the havock that had been in their tents, and their camp all in a ſmoke, they took for granted that *Judas's* men were ſtill in a body; and they fled immediately upon it, diſperſing themſelves ſeveral ways. The victory being thus gained without a blow, *Judas* turned his men looſe to the pillage of the field, where they found rich booty in abundance, which they carried off ſafe and in triumph, ſinging as they marched, and giving thanks to God, the bleſſed author of that victory, which proved both an earneſt and a foundation of their future freedom.

Lyſias was ſo ſenſible of this diſgrace, that he brought into the field the year following an army of ſixty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, all tried and choice men; and with this body he entered into *Judæa* by the way of the mountains, encamping at a place called *Bethſura*. *Judas* was not at all diſcouraged at the odds of number, but marched directly up to him with a party only of ten thouſand men. His truſt was only in God. After a ſhort and fervent prayer, he charged the enemy ſo home, that upon the firſt ſhock he forced their line, and cut them off five thouſand men upon the place. *Lyſias* finding them obſtinately determined to live or die free, thought it his beſt courſe to withdraw his troops before the conſternation was gone too far: Accordingly *Lyſias* returned to *Antioch*, where he poſted himſelf by the help of mercenaries, and other additional reinforcements, to be ready for the firſt opportunity of a revenge upon the *Jews*.

Judas was ſo fluſhed with theſe repeated ſucceſſes, that he prevailed upon the *Jews* to march without any more delay to *Jeruſalem* itſelf, and there to purge the temple, and offer up their daily ſacrifices. But when they came thither, and found the temple abandoned, the gates all burned, and the courts over-run with weeds, *Judas* and his people could not but ſhed tears. The two great works that he firſt entered upon were the aſſault of the citadel, and the cleanſing of the temple. The former he committed to his officers and ſoldiers, and reſerved the care of the other to himſelf. When he had gone through with the purging of it in form, he provided new veſſels and utenſils, a candleſtick, a table, and an altar of incenſe, all of pure gold, put up new veils and hangings upon the walls and before the paſſages of the doors, and even ſupplied new doors. The altar, that had been profaned with idolatrous ſacrifices and burnt-offerings, was demoliſhed and removed, and another of unhewn ſtone (according to the *Moſaical* precept) erected in the place of it. Upon the twenty fifth day of the month *Caſleu*, which the *Macedonians* called *Apellæus*, they ſet lighted tapers in the candleſticks, offered incenſe upon the altar, and laid the ſhew-bread upon the table, and ſo went on to their oblations of burnt-offerings: This fell out preciſely upon the ſame day three years from the prophanation of the temple and religion by *Antiochus*; the temple having now been full three years deſerted. This happened in the year one hundred and forty five, the twenty fourth day of the month *Apellæus*, and the hundred and fifty third *Olympiad*. Which ſolemnity of purification was repeated alſo on the anniverſary of the year one hundred and forty eight, *Olympiad* one hundred and forty four, as the prophet *Daniel* had expreſſly foretold, four hundred and eight years before this diſſolution by the *Macedonians* came to paſs.

The celebration of feſtivity was continued by *Judas* for eight days, with all ſolemnity of ſacrifices and rejoicing. The people, in fine, were ſo tranſported at the unexpected bleſſing of finding themſelves reſtored to the religion and laws of their forefathers, that they appointed an anniverſary of eight days ſolemnity to be ſtrictly obſerved by their poſterity for ever after; which we have conſtantly celebrated under the name of the feſtival of lights, alluding, I ſuppoſe, to the comfort of that light which beyond all hope ſhined down from Heaven upon us on this occaſion. *Judas* in the mean time rebuilt the walls of the city, and fortified them with ſtrong towers to keep off an enemy, ſettling a garriſon in *Bethſura*, and putting the place in a poſture of defence.

The neighbouring nations were ſo irritated at the growing power and confidence of the *Jews*, that they ſet their inſtruments at work by fraud or treachery to circumvent them, deſtroying many of them unawares: *Judas*, in the mean time, uſing the beſt means he could, either to prevent or to diſappoint their incurſions. About this time he fell upon *Acrabatan* where he killed great numbers of the *Edomites*, the poſterity of *Eſau*, making himſelf maſter alſo of a great booty. He blocked up the ſons of *Baan* likewiſe, their chief, in the ſtrong places they were poſſeſſed of, and where they lay in wait to make ſallies upon the *Jews*, taking the places by aſſault, killing the defendants, and laying the forts in aſhes. After the ſubduing of theſe people, he carried his arms againſt the *Ammonites*, who had at that time a numerous army under the command of *Timotheus*. He fought with theſe, and overcame them, and then took the city of *Jazar*, carried away the people's wives and children captives, and after pillaging the city, ſet it on fire, and returned home victorious. He was not long gone, before the people thereabouts, gathering together at *Galaad*, made an attempt upon the *Jews* that lay upon that quarter: Who being forced to take ſanctuary in the fortreſs of *Dathema*, gave intimation to *Judas*, both by meſſengers and letters, that *Timotheus* had a deſign to attack them, and praying him earneſtly for relief. While *Judas* was reading this intelligence came in ſeveral meſſengers from *Galilee*, with complaints that the people of *Ptolemais*, *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, and other bordering nations, were all joined in a confederacy againſt them.

CHAP. XII.

Simon, *the Brother of* Judas, *does great Things in* Galilee. Judas *and* Jonathan *get a bloody Victory over the* Ammonites. Joſeph *and* Azarias *fight contrary to Orders, and are Defeated by* Gorgias.

JUDAS ſent his brother *Simon* with three hundred choice men to the ſuccour of the *Jews* at *Galilee*, and with eight thouſand more marched with his other brother *Jonathan* to *Galaad*, leaving the reſt of the army under the command of *Joſeph* the ſon of *Zacharias*, and *Azarias*, as his lieutenant-generals for the guard of *Jeruſalem*, with orders to forbear fighting till his return. *Simon*, upon his arrival at *Galilee*, engaged the enemy, and defeated them, giving them chace to the very gates of *Ptolemaus*, and killing about three thouſand in the purſuit. They ſtripped them of what they had, and redeemed the priſoners with what goods they had taken from them, whom they conducted back to *Jeruſalem*.

At the ſame time *Judas*, and his brother *Jonathan*, after three days march beyond *Jordan* into the wilderneſs, were amicably received by the *Nabathites*, who very kindly gave them intelligence of the extreme diſtreſs of divers of their friends and countrymen, who were cloſe ſhut up in the towns and caſtles of *Galaad*; adviſing them withal, that they would make what haſte they could by the way of the deſert to carry them relief. In this expedition they took the town of *Baraſa* by the way, putting all people to the ſword that were able to bear arms, and burning it to the ground. It was now toward night, but *Judas* ſtill proſecuted his way to a caſtle wherein the *Jews* were beſieged; and coming thither betimes in the morning, he found the enemy hard at work with their machines and ſcaling ladders, to force the place; whereupon he diſtributed his troops into three diviſions, animated his men to behave themſelves reſolutely, and ſo, upon the ſound of the trumpet, charged the enemy in the rear. As ſoon as *Timotheus* underſtood that *Judas Maccabæus* had the command of this action, his men fled immediately. Eight thouſand of them fell upon the place. *Judas*, upon the purſuit, took a town of the barbarians called *Mallam*, where they put all the males to death, and deſtroyed the city by fire. They did the ſame thing alſo at *Caſphan* and *Boſor*, and other places that they took in that country.

Some ſhort time after this *Timotheus* got a mighty army together, and, among other auxiliaries, he had a band of *Arabians*. They croſſed the river, and encamped near *Raphon*, where he encouraged his people to acquit themſelves like men, and to be ſure to keep the *Jews* from paſſing the river; for if ever they gained that paſs, they would carry the day. When *Judas* underſtood that *Timotheus* was prepared for a battle, he paſſed the river immediately with his army, and gave the onſet, and put the enemy to the rout upon the firſt encounter. Part of them betook themſelves for ſanctuary to the temple of *Carnaim*, in hope that the place might protect them. But *Judas* took the town by force, burnt the temple, and deſtroyed all the inhabitants by fire and ſword.

This difficulty being over, he aſſembled together all the *Iſraelites* that were in the country of *Galaad*, with their wives, children, and goods, and carried them all into *Judæa*. The city of *Ephron* lay ſo directly in his way, that there was no avoiding it, without going a great way about; ſo that he ſent a fair meſſage to the inhabitants, for leave to paſs with his army through the town; but the inhabitants denied him any paſſage that way. Upon this he put his men in poſture for the attack of the town; and in one day and night made himſelf maſter of it, laid it in aſhes, and marched with his army over the bodies of the dead thro' the ruins of it, putting all the males that were found in it to the ſword. After paſſing the river *Jordan*, they advanced to a great plain near *Bethſan*, called by the *Greeks Scythopolis*, and from thence returned to *Judæa*, the people rejoicing all the way they went with hymns and triumphal ſongs, and offering ſacrifices of thankſgiving for the ſafety of the army, for they had not yet loſt ſo much as one *Jew* in all theſe encounters.

Joſeph, the ſon of *Zacharias*, and *Azarias*, being left for a guard to *Judæa*, in the abſence of *Simon* and *Judas*, theſe commanders reckoned upon it as a point of honour to ſignalize themſelves by ſome glorious adventure, as well as their brethren. In this fit of emulation to *Iamnia* they went, where *Gorgias* gave them a fair battle, killed two thouſand of them, and purſued the reſt to the very borders of *Judæa*. This calamity was but juſt upon them, for not obeying the orders of their general, who had poſitively commanded them not to engage the enemy upon any terms, till his return.

But *Judas* and his brethren carried on the war all this while vigorouſly againſt the *Edomites*, preſſing them on all hands. They took *Hebron* by force, demoliſhed the fortifications of it, and burnt the towers and caſtles down to the ground, laid the enemy's country all waſte, demoliſhed *Mariſſa*, and over-ran *Azotus*; and returned all ſafe and triumphant to *Jeruſalem*.

CHAP. XIII.

Antiochus Epiphanes *beſieges* Elymais, *but is forced to draw off. He Dies, and leaves the Government to* Antiochus Eupator.

As *Antiochus Epiphanes* was about this time in his progreſs through ſome of his up-land provinces, he was told of a very rich city in *Perſia*, called *Elymais*, and of a moſt magnificent temple in it dedicated to *Diana*, where were depoſited precious donatives of all ſorts, with the very ſhields and breaſt-plates of *Alexander* the ſon of *Philip* of *Macedon*. *Antiochus* advanced towards it with his army, to take it by aſſault: But the inhabitants made a very brave reſiſtance; and they thought it not enough to beat him from their walls, but followed him ſo cloſe upon his retreat, that they cut off a good part of his rear, and drove him before them into *Babylon*. Preſently came the tidings to him of the defeat of his other troops alſo, to whom he had committed the care and conduct of the war againſt the *Jews*; ſo that the inſupportable anguiſh of his thoughts made him heart-ſick. Finding himſelf grow ſtill worſe, and his end near at hand, he called his friends about him, and told them both the cauſe and the quality of his diſtemper. "I am here juſtly "puniſhed," ſays he, "for the ſake of theſe "miſerable *Jews*, for the ſacrilegeous rifling "and profaning of their temple, and for "the contempt of the heavenly God;" and with theſe words he died. Now I cannot but admire at *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan*, a man otherwiſe of credit, ſo ſaying, that this judgment befel *Antiochus* for his deſign of rifling the temple of *Diana*, which was a ſacrilege only in his will, but never come to act: But if *Polybius* was of opinion that he deſerved this puniſhment only for the intention, he might much more reaſonably have imputed his death to the ſacrilege that he was actually guilty of upon the temple at *Jeruſalem*.

When *Antiochus* found himſelf near his end, he ſent for *Philip*, and committed the regency of his kingdom into his hands, delivering up to him the crown, the royal robes, and ſignet, with order to preſerve them for his ſon *Antiochus*, who was then in his minority, paſſionately adjuring him to take care of his education, and to ſecure the crown to him, till he ſhould come to be capable of the adminiſtration. *Antiochus* died in the year one hundred and forty-nine. The death of this prince was no ſooner made known to the people, but *Lyſias* declared *Antiochus* king, under the name of *Eupator*, having at that time the tuition of the young prince.

The *Macedonians*, who were then garriſoned in the citadel of *Jeruſalem*, together with ſome *Jewiſh* revolters, made ſeveral ſallies upon the *Jews*, as they went to worſhip at their temple; ſo that *Judas* found it of abſolute neceſſity to reduce that fort for the common ſecurity of the nation. It was now juſt a hundred and fifty years that this government had been in the family of *Seleucus*. *Judas*, in ſhort, was ſo bent upon his deſign, that he fell preſently to the framing of machines and engines for battery, and the caſting up of works. While this was in agitation, ſeveral deſerters ſlipt away by night, and joining with others as bad as themſelves, went to *Antiochus*, ſetting forth the miſerable condition they were reduced to by men of their own tribe, for their obedience to the king's command, in oppoſition to their own law; and that they were now in imminent danger of falling into the hands of *Judas*, without ſome immediate relief. The young prince gave orders preſently to his commanders to make a levy of auxiliaries, over and above the utmoſt force of choice men that they could raiſe out of his own ſubjects. In a ſhort time they muſtered a hundred thouſand foot, twenty thouſand horſe, and two and thirty elephants. With this formidable army, under the command of *Lyſias*, as general, the king marched out of *Antioch*, advancing to *Idumæa*, and from thence to *Bethſura*, a place well fortified. This fort he aſſaulted, and loſt a great deal of time before it; for, betwixt ſallies and ſtratagems, they found a way to burn or diſappoint all engines of battery and danger that were brought againſt it. *Judas* being informed of the approach of *Antiochus*, raiſed the ſiege from before ~~the citadel~~, and marched to meet the enemy, pitching his tents upon the very entrance into the ſtreights of *Bethzachariah*, about ſeventy furlongs from the adverſary. *Antiochus*, upon this, quitted the *Bethſurites*, and encamped within diſtance of engaging *Judas*; but the place being too narrow for the elephants to march in front, they were forced into a narrow defile, with a thouſand foot and five hundred horſe upon the guard of every elephant, and ſo to advance one after another with a kind of tower charged with archers, while the reſt of the troops mounted the hills on both ſides. From this aſcent they gave the attack, and with ſo horrid a ſhout and clamour, that the vallies all rang with the echo. What with the hideous outcry and the dazzling flaſhes of their gold and brazen bucklers, nothing could be more ſurprizing. But all this was to *Judas* no more than ſo much empty pomp and noiſe; he received them ſo bravely, that he killed ſix hundred of them upon the firſt encounter. While they were thus engaged, *Eleazar*, otherwiſe called *Auranes*, the brother of *Judas*, taking notice of one elephant that was capariſoned with richer trappings than the reſt, he made his way through all the guards to that beaſt, ſuppoſing that the king himſelf was upon her. When he had cut part of his oppoſers to pieces on each hand, and forced the reſt to clear his paſſage, he crept under the belly of the elephant, and wounded him to death, periſhing himſelf under the weight of the beaſt upon his fall. He had the honour however to die encompaſſed with the dead bodies of his enemies.

Judas finding himſelf ſo mightily overnumbered, drew off to the ſiege of the fortreſs at *Jeruſalem* again; when *Antiochus* ſent one part of his army to *Bethſura*, and with the remainder of it went to *Jeruſalem*. The *Bethſurites* were ſo diſanimated upon the appearance of theſe troops, and with their want of proviſions, that they found themſelves obliged to deliver up the place; which they did upon conditions, with ſolemn articles that there ſhould be no violence offered them. But the king kept not his faith; for the inhabitants were all turned naked out of the town, and a garriſon of his own was ſettled in their ſtead. But the ſiege of the temple held them at work a long time after, by a moſt obſtinate defence. All their machines and approaches were ſtill eluded with counter-workings and deſigns. Their only diſtreſs was want of bread; for having already ſpent their laſt year's ſtore, and this falling out upon the ſeventh year, when by the *Jewiſh* law they could neither plow nor ſow, great numbers of the *Jews* ſlipt out of the town for the pure want of proviſions, inſomuch that there were hardly hands enough left to defend the place.

At this time intelligence came to the king and his general *Lyſias*, that *Philip* had uſurped the government, and was marching toward them at the head of an army out of *Perſia*; ſo that they came to a ſecret reſolution betwixt themſelves to quit the ſiege, ſeek him out, and give him battle; but to carry the deſign ſo private, that neither officer nor ſoldier ſhould ſo much as gueſs at the meaning of it: Wherefore the king ordered *Lyſias*, without mentioning the name of *Philip*, to talk with the commanders and ſoldiers about the ſiege, the ſtrength of the place, and that it would be a work of time to take it; beſide that being brought to a pinch now for want of corn, and the king's buſineſs alſo requiring his preſence elſewhere, they could not do better than to come to ſome ſort of agreement with them, though upon the condition of allowing them the free exerciſe of their religion, laws, and cuſtoms; and this being granted, which had been the only ground of their rebellions, the king might go back again when he pleaſed. *Lyſias* had this in charge to communicate to the army, and the ſoldiers were all highly pleaſed with the propoſal.

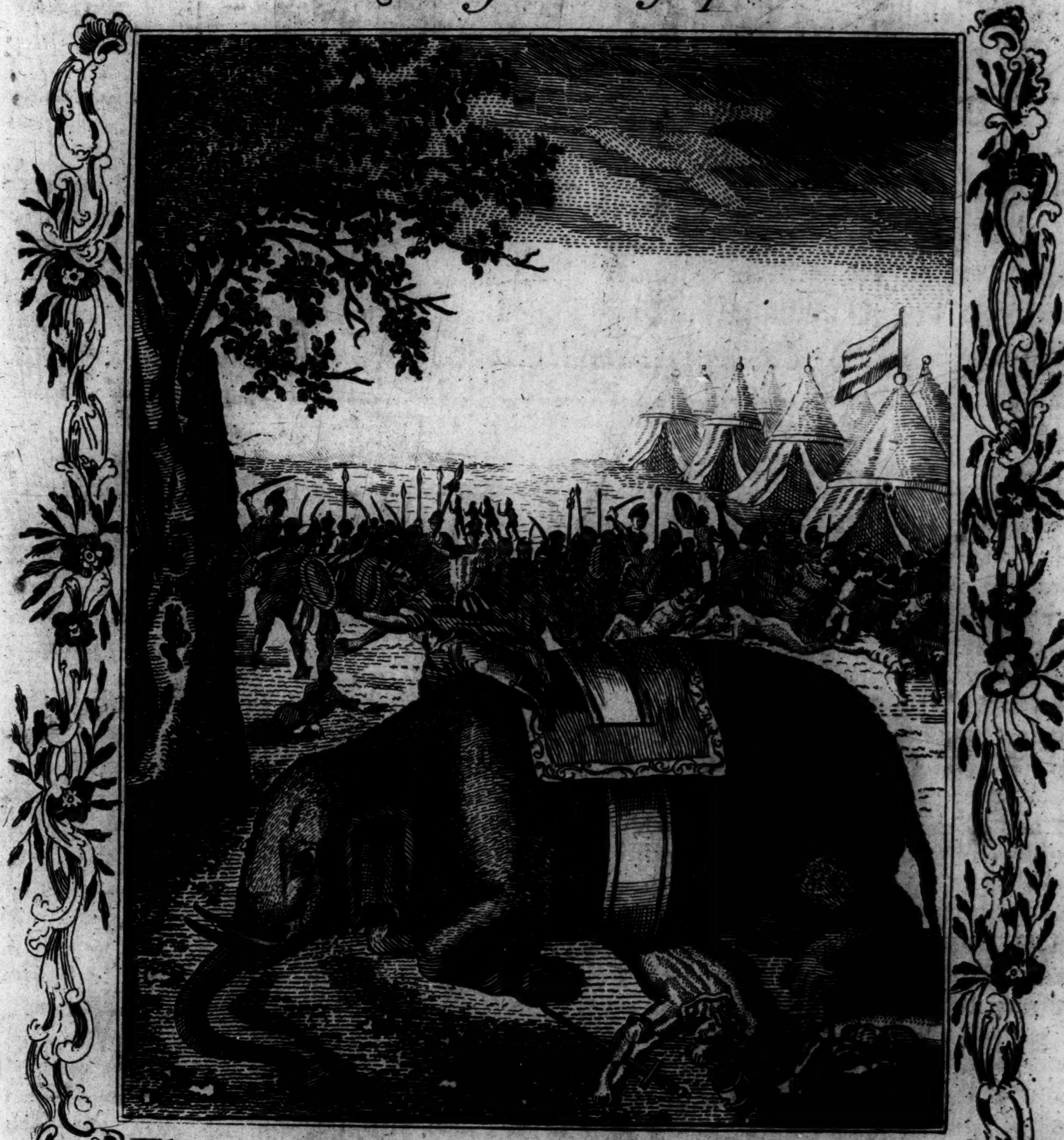
CHAP. XIV.

Antiochus *takes the Temple.* Onias *put to Death.* Alcimus, *or* Jacimus *promoted in his Stead.* Antiochus *gives* Philip *Battle.* Onias *flies to* Egypt, *and gets Leave to build a Temple in* Heliopolis.

MATTERS being thus concerted, *Antiochus* diſpatched a herald to *Judas* and the beſieged, with an offer of peace, and a free exerciſe of their laws, which they readily agreed to, and upon the ſecurity of oath and honour for the performance of articles, they delivered up the temple: But upon *Antiochus*'s taking poſſeſſion of it, he found the place ſo ſtrong, that without any regard to his oath and promiſe, he ordered his ſoldiers to demoliſh the walls, which was executed accordingly; and he returned to *Antioch*, carrying the high-prieſt *Onias*, otherwiſe called *Menelaus*, along with him. This was upon the advice of *Lyſias*, who told him that if ever he lived to ſee the *Jews* quiet, or himſelf at eaſe, that man muſt be made out of the way; for it was at his inſtigation, that his father forced the *Jews* to a rebellion againſt their laws and judgments; and that *Onias* was conſequently the author of all thoſe evils that had befallen him. The king, upon this, ſent away *Menelaus* to *Berrhœa* in *Syria*, where he cauſed him to be put to death, after ten years enjoyment of the pontificate. His ſucceſſor's name was *Alcimus* who was alſo called *Jacimus*.

When *Antiochus* found that *Phillip* had uſurped the government, he fought with and overcame him, took him priſoner, and ordered him to be put to death. But the ſon of the high-prieſt *Onias* being left an infant by the death of *Menelaus*, finding that the king had given away the dignity to *Alcimus*, who had

Engrav'd for Earls *Josephus.*



Eleazar killed by the Weight of an Elephant.

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had no relation at all to the ſacerdotal family, and was only over-ruled by *Lyſias* in the transferring of it; he went his way, and made his application to *Ptolemy* the king of *Egypt*, where he was ſo graciouſly received, both by himſelf and the queen *Cleopatra*, that they beſtowed a place of truſt upon him in *Heliopolis*, where he erected a temple after the model of that at *Jeruſalem*.

CHAP. XV.

Demetrius *ſeizes* Tripolis, *and puts* Antiochus *and* Lyſias *to Death.* Alcimus *complains of* Judas *to* Demetrius, *who ſettles* Alcimus *in the Pontificate.*

DEMETRIUS, the ſon of *Seleucus*, being fled away from *Rome*, poſſeſſed himſelf about this time of *Tripolis* in *Syria*, took the crown upon him, and with as many mercenaries as he could get together, invaded the country, where the people did not only receive him with open arms, but ſeized upon *Antiochus* and *Lyſias*, and brought them priſoners to him. Whereupon they were immediately put to death by the command of *Demetrius*, *Antiochus* having now reigned two years. He had in his party a great number of profligate *Jews*, that had been baniſhed for notorious crimes, together with *Alcimus* the high-prieſt in the head of them, who all joined in one common accuſation againſt the whole people of the *Jews*, but eſpecially *Judas Maccabæus* and his brethren, whom they charged, not only with the deſtruction of as many of the king's friends as fell into their hands, but even with the very ejection of themſelves out of the land. Wherefore they made it their requeſt to *Demetrius*, only to ſend ſome particular perſon that he could confide in to examine matters in *Judæa*, and to ſee what havock *Judas* had made there.

Demetrius preſently ſent away *Bacchides*, a friend formerly to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, a reſolute man, and at that time governor of *Meſopotamia*, putting *Alcimus* likewiſe into the ſame commiſſion, whom he diſpatched away with an army, and orders to fall upon *Judas* and his followers. With theſe troops *Bacchides* left *Antioch*, and marched directly into *Judæa*, where he gave *Judas* and his brethren a ſolemn invitation to come to a better underſtanding with him. The deſign was under the colour of a peaceable diſpoſition, to draw them into a toil, and ſurpriſe them. However ſeeing him come attended with ſuch an army, and in the poſture of an enemy rather than a friend, *Judas* kept himſelf upon his guard, but ſome credulous people yet went over to them, in confidence that their countryman and their tribeſman *Alcimus* would do them no wrong, eſpecially under the caution of a ſolemn oath from both, that no violence ſhould be offered either to themſelves or any of their party: But *Bacchides* cauſed ſixty of them to be cut to pieces upon the place, which barbarous perfidy ſerved for a warning to the reſt not to come near him. *Bacchanides*, after this, removed his army from *Jeruſalem*, and went to *Bezeth*, where he found ſeveral deſerters, and other diſaffected people thereabouts, which he put all to the ſword. This being done, he commanded all the *Jews* in his abſence to obey *Alcimus*; and leaving part of his army with him for the ſecurity of the province, he himſelf returned with the reſt to king *Demetrius* at *Antioch*.

Alcimus had thoughts all this while of ſettling himſelf in the dignity of the pontificate, and by the flatteries of obliging ſpeech and behaviour, he quickly doubled the number of the forces that were left him: And with theſe he ravaged the country, putting all the *Jews* to death wherever he came, that were friends to *Maccabæus*. *Judas*, laying it to heart to ſee what a rabble of an army *Alcimus* had gotten together, and the havock they made of all the men of honour and conſcience, took up a reſolution alſo of going the ſame way to work with the faction of *Alcimus*, who finding that he was not ſtrong enough to hold it out, betook himſelf to *Demetrius* at *Antioch* for ſupport and ſuccour, where he did all that was poſſible, to irritate that prince againſt *Judas*.

CHAP. XVI.

Demetrius *grows jealous of* Judas, *who fights* Nicanor. Alcimus *cut off.* Judas *ſucceeds him in the Pontificate, and enters into an Alliance with the* Romans.

JUDAS was now ſo formidable that *Demetrius* was very uneaſy to think what might come of it, if he ſuffered him to go on: So he aſſigned *Nicanor* the command of ſuch an army as he reckoned ſufficient for the reducing of *Judas*, with poſitive orders to make war upon the whole nation, and give no quarter. Upon his ſetting out for *Jeruſalem*, he tried to inveigle *Judas*, under a countenance of peaceable purpoſes, into a credulity that would certainly be his ruin. "Why ſhould we," ſays he, "expoſe the ſum of our well-being and happineſs to the uncertain chance of war, and not rather treat the points in controverſy into a better ſtate? Or if you apprehend any danger in it, I am ready to give you the moſt ſacred oath for ſecurity; for peace is my buſineſs, as you may judge by the friends I have brought, only to poſſeſs you with the knowledge of my maſter's mind, and of his hearty good will to the whole nation of the *Jews*." This declaration wrought ſo far upon the brothers that they interchangeably paſſed their oaths, and received *Nicanor* with his whole army. After the firſt greeting betwixt *Judas* and *Nicanor*, the latter gave a ſignal to his people to lay hold of *Judas*; but the plot being diſcovered in time, he made his eſcape immediately to his own people. After the detecting of this treachery it came to open force on both ſides, the armies drew out and came to a battle near *Capharſalama*, where *Judas* was worſted, and forced into the caſtle of *Jeruſalem*.

It happened one day, as *Nicanor* was paſſing by the temple, that ſeveral of the prieſts and elders met him upon the way, and ſhewed him the ſacrifices that they were about

bout to offer to God, for the proſperity of *Demetrius*. But *Nicanor* threatened them, and not without blaſphemous revilings even againſt God himſelf, that if the people did not deliver up *Judas* to him, he would deſtroy their temple, and leave it in rubbiſh. The prieſts were ſo caſt down at this declaration, that they forthwith addreſſed themſelves to God with prayers and tears, to protect his own houſe, and his miniſters that belonged to it, againſt the outrages of the enemy. *Nicanor* went his way from *Jeruſalem*, and pitched his tents in *Bethoron*, where he was joined with a great reinforcement out of *Syria*. *Judas* at the ſame time encamped at *Adaſi*, within forty furlongs of the enemy, and with a body of only a thouſand men. He told them that the enemy indeed was numerous, but that the cauſe was God's, whoſe power was above that of a multitude: "Therefore fall on," ſays he, "like valiant men, and commit the iſſue "to God." It came, in fine, to a battle; and the firſt encounter was vigorous and ſharp, but upon the fall of great numbers of the enemy, and of *Nicanor* himſelf too, the whole army caſt away their arms, *Judas* purſuing the fugitives without mercy or quarter; the country people gathered together every where, and fell ſo bloodily upon the ſoldiers in their flight, that of nine thouſand men there was not one creature eſcaped. This was upon the thirteenth of the month which the *Jews* call *Adar*, the *Macedonians*, *Dyſtrus*; and in memory of this mercy we celebrate an anniverſary thankſgiving upon it to this very day. The *Jews* after this victory had a little breathing, but it laſted not long neither.

Alcimus the high-prieſt had a mind to have the old wall of the ſanctuary pulled down, and the works of the ancient prophets demoliſhed, but in the very inſtant of his ordering it to be done, God ſtruck him with ſo judicial a diſtemper, that he fell down upon the ground ſpeechleſs, where he lay languiſhing a while in miſerable torments, and then died, after having enjoyed the pontificate four years. The people upon his deceaſe, with one voice, choſe *Maccabæus* for his ſucceſſor.

This new high-prieſt had heard ſo much of the fame and power of the *Romans*, and of the overthrows they had given to the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, *Carthaginians*, nay, to *Greece* itſelf, and king *Perſeus*, *Philip* and *Antiochus*, that he had a mighty mind to enter into a league with them. So he ſent *Eupolemus*, the ſon of *John*, and *Jaſon*, the ſon of *Eleazar*, two ſingular friends of his, to *Rome* upon that embaſſy, with a deſire to be received into the number of their allies, and that they would write to *Demetrius* not to be any longer troubleſome to the *Jews*. The ſenate conſented to the league, and paſſed an order ſoon after in favour of it, which was written in tables of braſs; the copy of it was ſent to *Jeruſalem*, and the original depoſited in the capitol. The articles were in ſubſtance to this effect: "That "no people whatſoever, under the juriſdic"tion of the *Romans*, ſhould preſume to "make war upon the *Jews*, or to be com"forting, or aſſiſting to any of their enemies "with corn, ſhipping, money, or the like; "and the ſame obligation to lie reciprocal"ly upon the *Jews* in caſe of any war "made upon the *Romans*. If there ſhould "be any thing after this, which the *Jews* "would have to be added or taken away, "that it be firſt ratified by the conſent of "the people." This was the firſt alliance made betwixt the *Jews* and the *Romans*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Bacchides *makes an Inroad into* Judæa. *The generous Bravery of* Judas *and his Companions.*

UPON the tidings of *Nicanor*'s death, and the defeat of the army, *Demetrius* ſent *Bacchides* a ſecond time into *Judæa*, with freſh troops to *Arbela*, a town of *Galilee*, and there encamped, forcing a great many *Jews* out of the caves where they had hid themſelves. From thence he haſtened to *Jeruſalem*; and upon intelligence that *Judas*, and his people were at *Bethſeth*, he poſted away immediately with twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, to encounter him, who had at that time but one thouſand men about him, and but eight hundred of thoſe to ſtand by him neither; for two hundred of them gave him the ſlip for fear of being overpowered. *Judas* however kept up his heart to a reſolution, in deſpite of difficulties, of putting it to the fate of a battle; only deſiring his men to ſtand by him, and follow his example. They told him how vain and raſh a thing it would be to contend with ſuch inſuperable odds; adviſing him rather to attempt an honourable retreat, by which means poſſibly he might reinforce himſelf. "No, no," ſays he, "it ſhall never be ſaid, "that the ſun ever ſaw *Judas* turn his back "to an enemy. If it ſhould be our lot now "to die, God's will be done, provided that "we do not blaſt the reputation of a glori- "ous life, with an ignominious death." With theſe words he raiſed the courage of his ſoldiers.

Bacchides ranged his army thus; the horſe upon the two wings, whereof he himſelf commanded the right; his light armed men, and archers in the front, ſupported by a *Macedonian Phalanx* in the body: In this order of battle, he marched up to the enemy, ſounded a charge; and with a military ſhout, according to cuſtom, gave the onſet: *Judas* encountering him on the other hand after the ſame manner. It was hard fought on both ſides from morning till toward ſunſet; when *Judas*, taking notice of the danger his men were in to be overlaid by the enemy's right wing, where *Bacchides*, with the very flower of the army preſſed upon them, came in with a band of hearty courageous youths to their relief; and breaking their line, pierced into the very body of them, routed, and gave them chace as far as *Aza*. The enemy's left wing, upon this, followed *Judas* ſo cloſe upon the heel, that he was now on all hands beſet, and out of all poſſibility of eſcaping; ſo that he and his people ſtood their ground, and fought it out, reſolving to ſell their lives as dear as they could; in the concluſion, after a great ſlaughter of their enemies, *Judas* and his companions were ſo ſpent and wearied out, that they ſeemed at laſt to be rather tired than overcome: Nor did they fall unrevenged. And thus did this glorious hero finiſh the character of a great man, by making his life and death all of a piece. Upon this the ſoldiers preſently diſperſed and fled; while the two brothers, *Simon* and *Jonathan*, treated with the enemy for the body of their brother, which they carried away, and laid it at *Modin* in the ſepulchre of his fathers.

JEWISH

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK XIII.

From the Year of the World 3804, to 3898.

CHAP. I.

Jonathan *ſucceeds* Judas. *Divers Exploits and Encounters betwixt* Jonathan, Simon, *and* Bacchides.

JUDAS was no ſooner taken away, but the whole party of the profligate *Jews* reſumed their former animoſities, and perſecuted their honeſt countrymen afreſh, more ſpitefully than ever. There happened alſo at the ſame time a general famine over the land; which, in conjunction, doubled the other calamity. Upon this juncture, *Bacchides* ſent a ſummons to all the apoſtate *Jews* that were gone to ſtrange Gods, and committed the care of the government principally into their hands; who made it their buſineſs in the firſt place to take up all the friends and late partizans of *Judas*, and ſo to deliver them up to *Bacchides*, to torture them at pleaſure, and in the end to put every man of them to death. The condition of the *Jews* was never ſo deplorable ſince their captivity in *Babylon*, as it was at this time: Inſomuch that all thoſe who had wiſhed well to *Judas*, joined in a requeſt to *Jonathan*, to take upon himſelf his command alſo: And *Jonathan* was declared their general accordingly.

Bacchides knowing *Jonathan*'s character, fell to bethinking himſelf of ſome way to take

take him off by a plot: But he and his brother *Simon* were both ſo well aware of ſuch a deſign, that they withdrew immediately into the neighbouring deſert, with what ſtrength they were able to get together, and pitched their tents by the pool of *Aſphar*. *Bacchides* marched away preſently toward them with all his troops, and encamping beyond *Jordan*, choſe that place for his rendezvous. *Jonathan* hearing of this motion, ſent his brother *John* (otherwiſe *Gaddis*) to the *Arabian Nabathhites*, being in friendſhip with them, for leave only to depoſit their baggage in their cuſtody, till the battle with *Bacchides* ſhould be over. But as *John* was upon the way, the ſons of *Amaræus* made a ſally out of *Medaba* upon the convoy, and took all they had, killed *John* himſelf upon the place, and all his people: But the brothers had their revenge upon them not long after.

Bacchides having intelligence how *Jonathan* lay encamped in the fenny grounds near the river *Jordan*, pitched upon the ſabbath day for the attack, in confidence of the ſuperſtitious reverence they had for that feſtival: But *Jonathan* laying before them the abſolute neceſſity of fighting, they made a reſolute charge upon the enemy, and killed great numbers of them. Whilſt this was doing, *Bacchides* preſſed furiouſly upon the perſon of *Jonathan*, who at the ſame time made a blow at him, but the other diverting it off, *Jonathan* and his company took the river, and the enemy not daring to follow them, they got ſafe to the other ſide. *Bacchides*, after this, withdrew into the citadel of *Jeruſalem*, with the loſs of near two thouſand men; he fortified *Jericho*, *Emmaus*, *Bethoron* and *Bethel*, *Thamnatha*, *Pharathon*, *Techoa* and *Gazara*: But particular care was taken to make the citadel of *Jeruſalem* impregnable; in which place the chief men's ſons of the country were ſecured for hoſtages.

There was brought intelligence about this time to *Jonathan* and *Simon*, that there was a famous wedding in hand, between one of the ſons of *Amaræus*, and the daughter of an illuſtrious *Arabian*, the ſons of *Amaræus* to be at the wedding, and the bride to be conducted in ſplendid pomp from the city of *Gabatha*. The brothers haſtened away towards *Medaba* to way-lay the people that were to aſſiſt at this wedding. Upon the coming up of the bridegroom with his bride, and their friends, the party ſallied out upon them, and cut them all off, to the number of four hundred, carried off the booty entire, and did juſtice at the ſame time to the memory of their brother: And ſo returned to their quarters at *Jordan*,

When *Bacchides* had ſettled garriſons in *Judæa*, he went back to his maſter, and for two years the *Jews* were in ſome quiet; but the apoſtates were galled to ſee *Jonathan* and his people ſo much at eaſe in *Judæa*: So that they fell to plying *Demetrius* by their proxies, that *Bacchides* might be ordered to reduce *Jonathan* abſolutely into his power, which was a thing eaſily done, they ſaid, by a ſurpriſe. The king thereupon diſpatched *Bacchides* into *Judæa*, where he ſent his letters to all the king's friends and officers, to aſſiſt in ſeizing *Jonathan*. But finding, upon ſeveral trials, that all failed, the *Macedonian*, in a tranſport of rage, imputed the whole miſcarriage to the apoſtate *Jews*; and in that freak put fifty of their chief men to death.

Jonathan and his brother, finding themſelves too weak for *Bacchides*, withdrew into the wilderneſs, to a village called *Bethalaga*, and fortified it with works and walls, to ſerve them for a retreat. Upon this *Bacchides* marched to them with all the power he was able to make. He opened his trenches immediately againſt the place: *Jonathan*, on the other ſide, making a very ſtout reſiſtance. While matters were in this poſture, he left the defence of the place to his brother *Simon*; and with ſuch a body of men as he was able to draw together, he himſelf ſtole away by night, and fell upon *Bacchides* in his quarters, killed a great many of his men, and by the havock and confuſion that enſued, *Simon* knew it was his brother's doing: Upon which he made a ſally, burned their machines, cut off a great many of their people, and ſo returned. *Bacchides* was ſo amazed at this aſſault upon him, in front and rear, that it put him quite beſide himſelf; but all was laid ſtill at the dor of the *Jewiſh* impoſtors. It remained now only to conſider how the ſiege might be raiſed without loſs of honour.

Jonathan took the opportunity of falling in with him upon that neceſſary point, having gotten intimation of what he had in his thoughts at that time. So he ſent him an honourable meſſage with propoſals of a mutual league and friendſhip, upon condition of releaſing all priſoners on both ſides. *Bacchides* immediately ſtruck up an alliance with *Jonathan*, which being ratified, *Bacchides* returned to the king at *Antioch*, without ever coming back again with his army to *Judæa*. *Jonathan* being now ſettled in peace and ſafety, took up his abode in *Machmas*, where he gave himſelf up to the buſineſs of the government.

CHAP. II.

Ptolemais *delivered up to* Alexander.

IN the year one hundred and ſixty, *Alexander*, the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, took poſſeſſion of *Ptolemais* in *Syria*, by the confederacy of the garriſon, out of an averſion they had to *Demetrius*; for he had a humour of mewing himſelf up in a certain fortified caſtle not far from *Antioch*, where nobody was admitted to him; leaving the government to ſhift for itſelf. But upon the news of *Alexander*'s poſſeſſing himſelf of *Ptolemais*, he preſently marched with an army againſt him.

Demetrius, upon this occaſion, ſent an embaſſy to *Jonathan*, with propoſals of a league betwixt them, to prevent *Alexander*'s pre-engaging with him, though but in revenge for injuries and indignities formerly received. The purport of the meſſage was, an authority to levy men, to provide arms, and to ſet the hoſtages at liberty that *Bacchides* had committed priſoners to the caſtle. Upon the receipt of this letter *Jonathan* went to *Jeruſalem*, where he read it publickly, in the hearing both of the garriſon and of the people. The profligates and fugitives in the citadel were ſtartled to ſee *Jonathan* on a ſudden ſo much in favour. But he went on however with his levies, and ſet the hoſtages at liberty. He made *Jeruſalem* the place of his reſidence, which he fortified. The *Macedonians* that were diſperſed up and down in ſeveral garriſons, quitted their ſtations upon this change at *Jeruſalem*, and went to *Antioch*; but for thoſe in *Bethſura* and the tower at *Jeruſalem*, the greater part of them being *Jewiſh* deſerters, it was not ſafe for them to ſtir out of their holds.

CHAP. III.

Alexander Ballez *endeavours to make* Jonathan *his Friend. A bloody Battle betwixt* Alexander *and* Demetrius.

ALEXANDER was no ſtranger to the character of *Jonathan*, nor to the indignities that had been put upon him, both by *Demetrius* and *Bacchides*; ſo that being told of the fair promiſes of *Demetrius*, he diſcourſed the matter with his friends, and brought it to this iſſue, that he could not at that time do better than to enter into an aſſociation and alliance with *Jonathan*. Accordingly a letter was immediately diſpatched away, in the terms following.

King *Alexander* to his brother *Jonathan*, ſendeth greeting.

"Whereas we have been given to underſtand that thou art a man of honour, " faith and courage, and worthy of our " friendſhip, we have now ſent our ambaſſadors to make thee a tender of our amity " and alliance; and we do by theſe preſents, and by our royal authority, ordain " and pronounce thee to be the high-prieſt " of the *Jews*, and adopt thee into the roll " of the king's friends; ſending thee for a " preſent likewiſe a purple robe and a crown " of gold, not doubting but that our affection and eſteem will be anſwered on thy " part with a ſuitable return."

Jonathan put on his ſacerdotal robe upon the day of the feaſt of tabernacles. This was four years after the death of his brother *Judas*, the pontifical ſeat having been ſo long vacant: And from thence forward he applied himſelf to the advancing of troops, and making a large proviſion of arms. *Demetrius* was by this time ſenſible of the error of his delay, and therefore wrote to *Jonathan* the following letter.

King *Demetrius* to *Jonathan*, and to the people of the *Jews*, greeting.

"Whereas we have ever found you " faithful to your duty, and to our ſervice, " in deſpight of all the arts of our enemies " to ſeduce you from your allegiance, we " cannot but give you ſome inſtance of our " eſteem. It is our pleaſure therefore, to " remit to you the greateſt part of your tributes, formerly paid to my predeceſſors " or to myſelf; over and above the cuſtom " of ſalt, and crown taxes; the thirds of " your corn, and of your fruits; which duties I do diſcharge you of for ever, together with the poll tax upon the inhabitants of *Judæa*, and the three governments of *Samaria*, *Galilee*, and *Peræa*. " I will have the city of *Jeruſalem* to be " accounted holy, and to have the privileges of a ſanctuary, or a city of refuge, " with an exemption both to itſelf and its " dependencies, from all tenths and tributes. The citadel ſhall be delivered up " to the high-prieſt *Jonathan*, with liberty " to put into it a garriſon: All the *Jews* " that were carried away priſoners into any part of our dominions, ſhall be forthwith ſet at liberty, without impoſing any " hardſhips upon them. All their ſabbaths " and ſolemn feſtivals, and three days before them, ſhall be days of immunity and " freedom to all the *Jews* in our dominions.

“And for ſo many of the *Jews*, within the compaſs of thirty thouſand men, as ſhall deſire to bear arms in our ſervice, they ſhall be entertained at the ſame rate of pay with our own guards; and the better ſort of them ſhall be received as the domeſtics of our royal family. They ſhall moreover have the free exerciſe of their own laws both in *Jeruſalem*, and in the three dependent provinces, committing it to the high-prieſt's care to ſee that no *Jew* be ſuffered to worſhip in any other temple but that of *Jeruſalem*. We do hereby grant them likewiſe the yearly allowance of fifteen thouſand ſhekels of ſilver toward the charge of their ſacrifices, out of our own coffers, and diſcharging the prieſts and officers attending the ſervice of the temple, of the ten thouſand drachmas formerly paid to our predeceſſors; alſo, that whoever ſhall fly to the temple of *Jeruſalem*, or to the liberties thereof, for any debt whatſoever, he ſhall be protected, both in his perſon and goods. We do likewiſe give leave, and require, that the temple be repaired, ſtrong walls and turrets erected, and garriſons to be put into ſuch places of ſtrength as the *Jews* ſhall think fit to raiſe and fortify: And all this at our own proper charge.”

Upon this juncture king *Alexander* drew out a mighty army, and marched with them againſt the enemy. They came to a battle, and the left wing of *Demetrius* being too hard for the right wing of *Alexander*, they got the pillage of the camp; but the right wing at the ſame time, where *Demetrius* himſelf fought in perſon, was forced to give way. *Demetrius* behaved very gallantly, killing ſome, purſuing others, and defending himſelf, till his horſe plunged into an impaſſable bog, where he was overborne by the multitude that preſſed in upon him, and at length ſlain, after having fought it out on foot till his body was covered all over with arrows and darts. *Demetrius* had now reigned eleven years, and this was his end.

CHAP. IV.

Onias *propoſes a Temple in* Egypt. *A Queſtion ſtarted, which is the true Temple,* Garizin *or* Jeruſalem. *The King gives it for* Jeruſalem.

ONIAS, the ſon of *Onias* the high-prieſt, lived in exile with *Ptolemy Philometor*, at *Alexandria*. This *Onias*, finding *Judæa* ſo terribly ravaged by the *Macedonians*, and out of an ambition to get himſelf immortal fame, reſolved to try if he could obtain leave from king *Ptolemy*, and his queen *Cleoptra*, to build another temple in *Egypt*, after the model of that of *Jeruſalem*, and to ſupply it with prieſts and *Levites* of his own family. The thing that put this thought in his head was a prediction of the prophet *Iſaiah*, of at leaſt ſix hundred years before, preſaging, that in time to come there ſhould be a temple erected in *Egypt*, to the honour of the great God, and that it ſhould be the work of a *Jew*. *Onias* was ſo poſſeſſed with the impulſe of this revelation, that he wrote a letter to *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, to the following effect,

" At the time when I had the honour to " ſerve your majeſties in the field, I paſſed " thorough ſeveral countries, and obſerved, " that in the provinces of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Leontopolis*, in the land of *Heliopolis*, and in ſeveral other places, the " *Jews* had no uniformity in their temples, " and therefore could not agree among " themſelves about it: And it is the ſame " thing with the *Egyptians* too, by reaſon " of the multitude and variety of temples, " and the diverſity of religions. Now as " there is a certain place near the caſtle of " *Bubaſtes* upon the plain, where there are " great ſtore of materials for building near " at hand, and plenty of beaſts appointed " for ſacrifice, it is my humble requeſt that " you will give me leave to purge and to " demoliſh a ruinous temple there, that " was never conſecrated to any deity, and " in the place of it to erect another, after " the model of that of *Jeruſalem*, with a dedication of it to the moſt high God, upon " condition that prayers be offered up there " for the ſafety and proſperity of your royal " perſons and family: To the end that all " the *Jews* in your dominions may by this " means be more united among themſelves, " and better enabled to do your majeſties " ſervice. This is no more than what the " prophet *Iſaiah* had foretold, that God " would have a holy place in *Egypt*, and ſeveral other things upon that ſubject."

The king's anſwer was as follows.

King *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* to *Onias*, joy and health.

" We have read and conſidered of your " letters of requeſt, but can hardly conceive how a temple in ſuch a place ſo unclean, and haunted with ſuch varieties of " deteſtable animals, ſhould be in any meaſure acceptable to God. But as you refer yourſelf for your juſtification to the " predictions of the prophet *Iſaiah*, we do " hereby grant unto you full licenſe ſo far " as in us lies ſo to do; provided it be done " without giving offence to God."

Onias had no ſooner obtained this conceſſion of the place, but he fell preſently to work upon the raiſing of the temple and the altar, according to the draught of that at *Jeruſalem*, though much ſhort of it, both for bulk and ſtate. This being done, *Onias* did not want prieſts and *Levites* of his own perſuaſion to aſſiſt him in the offices of divine worſhip.

There happened at *Alexandria* ſo fierce a diſpute between the *Jews* and the *Samaritans* that erected the temple at *Garizin*, in the days of *Alexander the Great*, about the temple itſelf, and the manner of worſhipping, that the king was forced to take the matter into his own cognizance. The caſe was this. The *Jews* inſiſted upon it that the temple at *Jeruſalem* was the only temple extant that was warranted and authoriſed by the laws of *Moſes*. The *Samaritans* ſtood up for the temple of *Garizin*, and both parties by conſent remitted themſelves to the arbitration of the king, deſiring only that council might be heard on both ſides. *Sabbœus* and *Theodoſius* were for the *Samaritans*, and *Andronicus* the ſon of *Meſſalan* for the *Jews*, binding themſelves in an oath on both ſides, to offer nothing in proof but what was according to the law, and deſiring that the breach of that oath might be made death to the violator of it. Upon a debate who ſhould ſpeak firſt, *Sabbœus* and *Theodoſius* gave the precedence to *Andronicus*, who opened the cauſe, and made a deduction of the ſanctity, practice, and venerable antiquity of the temple of *Jeruſalem*; even from the very original, according to the law, ſetting forth the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of the prieſthood through all ages, with the honour and majeſty of the place, as it was celebrated from time to time with the magnificence and bounty of all the kings of

Aſia: Whereas the temple of *Garizin*, then in queſtion, was ſo obſcure in all reſpects, that little more notice was taken of it than if there had been no ſuch thing. By theſe reaſonings the king was prevailed upon to give ſentence in favour of *Jeruſalem*, and to adjudge *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* to death, according to the conditions of the propoſal. This was the ſtate of affairs with the *Alexandrian Jews* in the days of *Ptolemy Philometor*.

CHAP. V.

Alexander *marries* Cleopatra, *the King of* Egypt's *Daughter*.

AFTER the death of *Demetrius*, *Alexander* took upon himſelf the government of *Syria*, and by a letter to *Ptolemy Philometor* ſent him a propoſal of a match with his daughter. *Ptolemy* wrote him a letter back again to joy him of all his victories and ſucceſſes, and likewiſe to promiſe him his daughter in marriage, appointing *Ptolemais* for the place of meeting, where he would wait upon him with his daughter *Cleopatra*, and there the wedding ſhould be conſummated.

Ptolemy went directly to the place with his daughter, where he found *Alexander*, and diſpatched the marriage, giving ſuch a treaſure of gold and ſilver for her portion as might become the magnificence of ſo great a prince.

Jonathan the high-prieſt was invited by *Alexander* to the wedding, where both the kings bad him welcome, and conferred on him great honour and preſents, *Alexander* appointing him to change his habit, and put on a purple robe, and to take his place next to himſelf upon the throne, commanding alſo the chief of the officers to attend him into the heart of the city, and to make public proclamation that no man ſhould preſume either to calumniate or accuſe him, or give him any manner of trouble. Upon this his malicious enemies that were come thither on purpoſe to do him ill offices, ſneaked out of the way, with no ſmall mortification to themſelves, from the diſappointment.

CHAP. VI.

Demetrius Nicanor *carries an Army into* Cilicia. Alexander *makes* Appollonius *his General.* Jonathan *gives him an Overthrow.* Ptolemy Philometor, *King of* Egypt, *comes to the relief of King* Alexander *his Son-in-law, who appoints* Ammonius *to lay an ambuſh to ſurpriſe him.* Ptolemy *takes away his Daughter, and marries her to* Demetrius. Ptolemy *and* Demetrius *beat* Alexander; *but* Ptolemy *died of the Wounds he received, after having ſeen the Head of* Alexander, *which was ſent him by an* Arabian *Prince.* Jonathan *lays Siege to the Tower of* Jeruſalem.

IN the year one hundred and ſixty five (of the reign of the *Greeks*) *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Demetrius*, embarked with a body of mercenaries that *Laſthenes* had brought him, and paſſed with them out of *Crete* into *Cilicia*. *Alexander* was ſtartled at the tidings of this expedition, and preſently haſtened away from *Phœnicia* to *Antioch*, to put his affairs in a poſture of ſecurity before *Demetrius* could get thither; committing the government of *Cœle-Syria* to the care of *Appollonius*, who marched with an army to *Jamnia*, and thence ſent *Jonathan* an expoſtulatory meſſage, to know "what privilege he " had to live at eaſe and liberty, and to " withdraw himſelf from the ſervice of the " public: And the ſcandal," ſays he, " is " laid at my door for ſuffering this affront " without reducing you to your duty. If " you are ſo brave as you would be thought " to be, come down for ſhame out of your " hiding holes in the mountains, and meet " me like a man in the plain field, with " your ſword in your hand, and caſt the iſ- " ſue of the cauſe upon that trial."

Jonathan was ſo nettled with this challenge, that he marched away out of *Jeruſalem* with a ſelect band of ten thouſand pickt men, and his brother *Simon* with him; and coming to *Joppa* he encamped there. *Appollonius* having a garriſon in the town, they ſhut the gates againſt *Jonathan*, but upon his making preparations for an aſſault, the inhabitants delivered it up to him.

As ſoon as *Appollonius* underſtood that *Jonathan* was poſſeſſed of *Joppa*, he betook himſelf with three thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot to *Azotus*, and thence to *Joppa*, where he drew off to engage *Jonathan* in the open plain. *Jonathan* followed *Appollonius* towards *Azotus*, and gave him battle. *Appollonius* had planted a thouſand horſe in ambuſh to fall upon the enemys rear, which *Jonathan* provided againſt, by caſting his men into a ſquare figure that fronted every way. They fought till toward evening, when *Jonathan* ordered his brother *Simon* to charge in upon the enemy's body, having given orders to his own men only to receive the darts and arrows of the horſe upon their bucklers, without any other reſiſtance. The enemy were ſo ſpent and tired, with this way of fighting to no purpoſe, from morning till afternoon, that *Simon* took that opportunity of attacking their main body, conſiſting of the infantry, which he did ſo courageouſly that he put them all to flight. The horſe, upon this rout of the foot, fled and diſperſed themſelves: *Jonathan* purſued them as far as *Azotus*, killing great numbers of them in the chace, and forcing the reſt into the temple of *Dagon* there for ſanctuary; he took the city in the ſame heat, ſet fire to it, and to ſeveral neighbouring villages, and burned them all to the ground, together with the temple of *Dagon* itſelf, and all the people that fled to it for protection. The number of thoſe that were either burned or fell by the ſword was eight thouſand men. After this defeat *Jonathan* advanced to *Aſkalon*, the inhabitants coming out to him, and treating him with preſents and other tokens of reſpect, which was all taken very kindly. After this he returned victorious to *Jeruſalem*, laden with booty. Upon this defeat of *Appollonius*, *Alexander* pretended to be wonderfully pleaſed at the miſcarriage, as a thing done utterly againſt his liking, and without his privity; and as a mark of his eſteem he ſent *Jonathan* a gold claſp or buckle for a preſent, an honour peculiar only to the royal family: And gave him alſo the government of *Accaron*.

At the ſame time, *Ptolemy Philometer*, with land and ſea-forces, came into *Syria*, to the aſſiſtance of his ſon-in-law *Alexander*, where he was received in all places with great honour and reſpect, ſave only in *Azotus*; And there he was entertained with nothing but complaints of the burning of *Dagon*'s temple; and all people's mouths were open againſt *Jonathan*, as the author of that outrage. *Ptolemy* gave only the hearing to theſe complaints. *Jonathan* met him at *Joppa*, and was received with all magnificence and honour, and after conducting the king to the river *Eleutherus*, he returned to *Jeruſalem*.

Upon *Ptolemy*'s coming to *Ptolemais* he was within a very little of being deſtroyed by the treachery of *Alexander*, which was managed by his friend *Ammonius*. This deſign being diſcovered, he wrote to *Alexander* to demand juſtice upon him, which *Alexander* refuſing, he concluded that he himſelf had a hand in it, upon which he contracted a mortal hatred againſt him. *Alexander* had loſt himſelf as much with the people of *Antioch* before, upon the account of the ſame *Ammonius*, who had done them many indignities; but he came at laſt to an infamous end, for he loſt his life in the habit of a woman, as he was endeavouring to hide himſelf under that diſguiſe.

Ptolemy was by this time ſo ſick of the relation he had to *Alexander*, that he preſently took away his daughter, and ſtruck up a league with *Demetrius* againſt him, upon condition of giving him *Cleopatra* in marriage, and putting him in poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom. But the people had ſuch an averſion to *Demetrius* upon his father's account, that *Ptolemy* had a hard taſk to bring them over to receive him for their king, whom they looked upon as their enemy. Yet ſuch was their hatred to *Alexander* upon the ſcore of *Ammonius*, and to *Ammonius* himſelf, that they were eaſily prevailed upon to turn him out of the city, and he thereupon ſlipt away into *Cilicia* from *Antioch*. *Ptolemy*, upon this, made his entry into the place, where he was crowned king, both by the burghers and the ſoldiery: That is to ſay, in right of *Aſia* and *Egypt*. Being a perſon naturally juſt, temperate and diſcreet, he managed his buſineſs to the entire ſatisfaction of his own people, and without giving any cauſe of jealouſy to the *Romans*: He forthwith called a general council of the *Antiochians*, entertaining them with a diſcourſe upon the ſubject of receiving *Demetrius* for their king. Upon this mediation the whole body of the people were prevailed upon to accept of him as ſuch.

Alexander was at this time ravaging *Syria*, and the country about *Antioch*, putting all things to fire and ſword, when *Ptolemy*, with his ſon-in-law *Demetrius*, came forth with their armies, encountered and routed him, forcing him to fly to *Arabia*. It happened in that battle that *Ptolemy*'s horſe took fright at the braying of an elephant, and threw his rider to the ground, which his enemies perceiving, they ran all together upon him, and would have ſlain him upon the place, but he was reſcued by a party of his guards; yet ſuch was his condition, that he lay ſpeechleſs for four days. Upon the fifth day, when he was coming a little to himſelf, one *Zabelus*, an *Arabian* prince, having cut off *Alexander*'s head ſent it to *Ptolemy*, who was wonderfully pleaſed both with the report of the action, and with the ſpectacle; but this joy laſted not long, for very ſhortly after he died himſelf. This *Alexander* was otherwiſe called *Balles*. He reigned about five years.

Demetrius, who was known alſo by the name of *Nicanor*, ſucceeded *Alexander*; he was a man of a harſh nature, as appeared by his barbarous uſage of *Ptolemy*'s ſoldiers, who had ſuch an indignation for this ungrateful way of proceeding, that they quitted him, and went away to *Alexandria*, leaving only the elephants behind them.

Jonathan, having at this time drawn together all his forces, ſet himſelf down before the citadel of *Jeruſalem*, with a reſolution to diſlodge the *Macedonian* garriſon, and the fugitive *Jews* that had taken ſanctuary there. They were ſo confident in the ſtrength of the place, that they bid *Jonathan*, at firſt, a moſt contemptuous defiance; but after a while they were glad to ſend ſome of their wicked inſtruments to *Demetrius* for ſuccour, who immediately marched out with his army from *Antioch* toward *Jonathan*; and upon his arrival at *Ptolemais*, he ſent for him to come to him. *Jonathan* took with him ſeveral rich grratifications in gold, ſilver, glorious garments, and other precious curioſities, and, attended with the prieſts and elders, made a compliment of them to *Demetrius*; the ſiege going forward all this time. The king received both the preſents and the preſenters with great honour, confirmed and continued *Jonathan* in the pontificate, and was ſo far from giving any credit to the calumny and ſuggeſtions of the fugitive *Jews*, that, upon *Jonathan*'s ſingle requeſt for an abatement of the tribute of *Judæa*, together with the dependencies of *Samaria*, *Joppa*, and *Galilee*, to the rate of only three hundred talents upon the whole, he cauſed this following declaration to be diſpatched away in their favour.

King *Demetrius* to his brother *Jonathan*, and to the whole *Jewiſh* nation, joy and greeting.

"We have here ſent you the copy of a letter lately written to *Laſthenes*, our truſty and well-beloved couſin."

King *Demetrius* to his father *Laſthenes*, greeting.

"We are ſo ſenſible of the dutiful return we have received from our friends the *Jews*, in acknowledgment of the goodwill we bear them, that it is our good pleaſure to give them ſome ſignal mark of the eſteem we have for them: Wherefore we do by theſe preſents aſſign the three governments of *Aphereima*, *Lydda*, and *Ramatha*, that were taken from the *Samaritans*, together with all the land thereunto belonging, to the uſe and advantage of *Judæa*; diſcharging likewiſe the prieſts at *Jeruſalem* of all the duties by them formerly allowed to our foreſathers, as well upon corn and fruits, as upon ſalt pits and crown taxes, with an expreſs prohibition that nothing of all this be exacted from them for the future. Be ſure to ſend the copy of this letter to *Jonathan*, and to have it hung up in the moſt conſpicuous place of the holy temple."

Matters were now brought into ſo quiet and peaceable a ſtate that *Demetrius* diſcharged his army, and without their full pay, retaining only a body of mercenaries: So that he quite loſt the hearts of his own people."

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Tryphon *ſets up* Antiochus. Jonathan *beſieges the Citadel of* Jeruſalem, *and relieves* Demetrius, *who was beſieged in his Palace. The Ingratitude of* Demetrius. *He is vanquiſhed by young* Antiochus. *A renowned Victory obtained over* Demetrius's *Army by* Jonathan, *who renews the Alliance with the* Romans *and* Lacedemonians. *The three Sects of the* Phariſees, Sadduces, *and* Eſſæans. Demetrius *Vanquiſhed, and taken Priſoner.*

THIS defection of the army from *Demetrius* was ſo notorious, that *Diodotus*, otherwiſe called *Tryphon*, a native of *Apamia*, and formerly an officer under *Alexander*, applied himſelf to *Malchus* an *Arabian*, at that time governor of young *Antiochus*, the ſon of *Alexander*, telling him how deſperately the ſoldiers were bent againſt *Demetrius*, and propoſing that if *Malchus* would put *Antiochus* into his hands, he made no doubt of getting him reſtored to his father's throne. *Malchus* was at firſt a little diffident, but by preſſing inſtances, he was in a ſhort time drawn to a compliance. *Jonathan* the high-prieſt laid cloſe ſiege all this while to the citadel at *Jeruſalem*, with a reſolution to clear not only that caſtle but other ſtrong holds alſo in the country, where the fugitive *Jews* ſheltered themſelves in garriſon. He ſent an embaſſy to *Demetrius* with more preſents upon this occaſion, deſiring him to withdraw all his men that were in any of the fortreſſes of *Judæa;* whoſe anſwer was, that he was ready to gratify him, ſo ſoon as ever he could rid himſelf of the preſent war, but adjuring *Jonathan* to ſend him a ſupply of men: For his own troops, he ſaid, were gone over to the enemy. *Jonathan* ſoon after this ſent the king a ſuccour of three thouſand choice men.

The people of *Antioch* were ſo enraged againſt *Demetrius*, that upon the news of this relief from *Jonathan* they betook themſelves to their arms in a hurry, and immediately beſet the palace in order to ſecure the avenues, and ſeize him as he was coming out. *Demetrius*, finding himſelf thus ſurrounded, drew up his foreign mercenaries, together with *Jonathan*'s auxiliaries, and made a charge upon the enemy; but they were over-born by numbers, and beaten back. The *Jews*, upon this repulſe, retired into the palace, where they mounted the battlements, and from thence with darts and arrows ſo galled the enemy, that they forced them from one houſe to another, without much danger to themſelves, by reaſon of the diſtance and height of the place where they were. The next thing they did was to fire the city, which was preſently all in a flame. The inhabitants ſhifted for themſelves as well as they could, with the *Jews* ſtill at the back of them, from houſe to houſe, doing wonderful execution upon them: And all they had now left to do was to endeavour to ſave their wives and children, finding themſelves no longer able to continue the battle. At laſt they caſt down their arms, and yielded themſelves to *Demetrius*'s mercy, who pardoning their rebellion, appeaſed the ſedition. The booty was given to the *Jews*, whom *Demetrius* ſent back again to *Jonathan*, with a moſt honourable teſtimony of their valour: But this grateful humour did not laſt long; for he did afterward not only break his promiſe, but threaten *Jonathan* with a war, if he ſhould not for the future make good thoſe tributes to himſelf, which the *Jews* had formerly paid to his predeceſſors. But *Tryphon* prevented him from making good his threats, for he was forced to turn thoſe forces which he had deſigned againſt *Jonathan*, to make war upon *Tryphon*, who returning out of *Arabia* into *Syria*, with young *Antiochus*, ſet the crown upon his head, and by the help of the ſoldiers before ſpoken of, that had been couzened of their pay, made open war upon *Demetrius*; worſted him in a ſet battle; made himſelf maſter of his elephants, and of the city of *Antioch*, and forced him back into *Cilicia*.

Antiochus ſent an embaſſy to *Jonathan*, in the ſtile of his friend and ally; eſtabliſhed him in the pontificate, put him in poſſeſſion of the four governments that were aſſigned to *Judæa*, and gave his brother *Simon* the command of all his forces from *Tyre* to the borders of *Sidon*: Preſenting *Jonathan* with ſeveral drinking cups of gold; purple garments with a golden buckle, and the privilege of uſing and wearing theſe enſigns of ſtate; adopting him alſo into the roll of his choiceſt friends. *Jonathan* was ſo ſenſible of theſe multiplied bounties, and marks of honour he had received from *Antiochus*, that he forthwith diſpatched away an expreſs to *Antiochus*, and *Tryphon*, both in one, with a moſt affectionate tender of his friendſhip and ſervice, to join againſt *Demetrius* as a common enemy.

No ſooner had *Jonathan* his commiſſion for the raiſing of men, but he preſently fell to work upon levies in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; and from thence to all the neighbouring towns and cities; where he was received with great honour, but got no ſoldiers among them. Upon his coming afterward to *Aſkalon*, the people entertained him with formalities and preſents, where he took occaſion to lay before them, how much it was their intereſt, and their duty, to take up arms againſt *Demetrius*, for *Antiochus*. He wrought upon them ſo far that they promiſed ſupplies; but advancing afterward to *Gaza*, he found the gates ſhut againſt him, and the people obſtinately refuſed to join their forces, or ſubmit the city to his government. *Jonathan* forthwith divided his army, aſſaulting the town with one part, while the other laid waſte the country. The inhabitants, ſeeing nothing but inevitable deſtruction before their eyes, upon ſecond thoughts made a ſubmiſſive application to *Jonathan*, by their deputies, who were as frankly received on the other hand into his intereſt and friendſhip, and accepted of their propoſals and hoſtages, and ſo ſent them away to *Jeruſalem*, paſſing himſelf through the country to *Damaſcus*.

Demetrius, in the mean while, had a ſtrong army encamped before *Cedaſa* upon the borders of *Tyre* and *Galilee*, with a deſign to draw *Jonathan* out of *Syria* by way of diverſion, to the aſſiſtance of *Galilee*, upon a preſumption that he would look to his own country in the firſt place: But this did not hinder *Jonathan* from advancing with all the ſpeed he could to encounter him, leaving his brother *Simon* behind him in his abſence to take care of *Judæa*. *Simon* at the ſame time marched up to *Bethſura*, and aſſaulted it. As ſoon as the garriſon found themſelves ſo preſſed with works and engines, that the place ſeemed to be in ſome danger, they ſent a meſſenger to *Simon*, only for leave to quit the place, and march away to *Demetrius*. *Simon* granted them their own conditions, and put another garriſon in the room of what was there before.

Jonathan, at this time moving from the place in *Galilee* near the lake of *Genezer*, where he had firſt encamped, advanced into the plain of *Aſor*, not dreaming of any enemy in that quarter. But *Demetrius*'s ſoldiers having intelligence the day before, that *Jonathan* ſhould march forward againſt them, they laid an ambuſh for them, which they placed near the mountains, preparing the reſt of their forces to bid him battle in the plain. As ſoon as *Jonathan*, perceived their preparation to the battle, he arranged his army as conveniently as was poſſible; but when they that lay in ambuſh aroſe, and charged the *Jews* upon their backs, they fearing to be incloſed, and conſequently eaſily ſlain, began to flee. The terror was ſo general that *Jonathan* had hardly a man to ſtand by him; ſaving only two captains of his guards, *Matthias* the ſon of *Abſalon*, and *Judas* the ſon of *Chapſœus*; who, with a band of fifty brave fellows, ſtood their ground, and made ſo deſperate a charge upon the enemy's front, that they fought rather like madmen than ſoldiers. *Jonathan*'s deſerters finding the *Demetrians* ſtaggering in confuſion, rallied, and killed two thouſand upon the place, purſuing the reſt to *Cedaſa* up to their very tents.

Jonathan, after this glorious victory, returned to *Jeruſalem*; and ſent his ambaſſadors to *Rome*, with a commiſſion to renew an alliance with them, and with orders to go to *Lacedæmon* in their return, upon the ſame account. *Jonathan*'s propoſals were entertained and his ambaſſadors honourably treated, and diſpatched away with letters recommendatory to the kings of *Europe* and *Aſia*, for their ſafe paſſage. They called likewiſe upon the *Lacedæmonians*, in their way back again, and preſented them with letters, as follows:

Jonathan the high-prieſt, the elders, the prieſts, &c. unto the ephori, the ſenate, &c. of the *Lacedæmonians*, their brethren, ſend Greeting.

“If you are well, we are ſo too; for we rejoice in your well being.

“Whereas we find in a letter, from *Arius* your king, to *Onias* our high-prieſt, and preſented to him by *Demoteles*, importing a near affinity of blood betwixt us: And whereas it appeareth alſo by the teſtimony we then rendered to *Arius* himſelf, with what joy we received the intimation of ſuch an alliance in that letter: (Not as a new thing to us, for we find mention made of it in the holy ſcripture:) This is to let you underſtand, that we ſhould have put in our claim to the honour of your friendſhip before this, but we were not willing to prevent you in leading the example. You may be pleaſed to take notice however, that from the firſt ratification of an amity betwixt us to this day, we have never forgotten you in our prayers to God for your proſperity, health, and victory over all your enemies. And we have been as tender likewiſe in all our ſufferings and diſtreſſes, under the vexatious perſecution of our covetous and ambitious neighbours, not to involve either yourſelves, or any other of our friendly allies, in our troubles: But our circumſtances being now eaſier, and our wars, by God's providence, over, we have ſent *Numenius* the ſon of *Antimachus*, and *Antipater*, the ſon of *Jaſon*, being ſenators and men of honour, to the *Romans*; and with letters alſo to yourſelves for the ſtrengthening and renewing of a friendly underſtanding betwixt us. You may be pleaſed to return us what anſwer you ſhall think meet, and let us underſtand wherein we may be uſeful to you; in a full truſt and confidence, that you ſhall find us ever ready to ſerve you in all offices of affection and reſpect.”

Theſe ambaſſadors were kindly entertained by the *Lacedæmonians*, who made a public ordinance touching their aſſociation and amity with the *Jews*, which they delivered unto them.

At this time there were three ſects among the *Jews*, who had different and contrary opinions touching human affairs: The firſt was that of the *Phariſees*, the ſecond of the *Sadduces*, and the third of the *Eſſenians*. The *Phariſees* affirm, that ſome things are directed by deſtiny, and others are left to our liberty. The *Eſſenians* ſaid, that deſtiny governed all things; and that nothing happened among men, that was not diſpoſed thereby. The *Sadduces* avow that there is no deſtiny,

deſtiny, and that human affairs cannot be governed and diſpoſed thereby, but that all things depend upon ourſelves; ſo that we are the authors of all the good or evil that happeneth unto us, according as we follow good or evil counſels.

Demetrius's commanders were now advancing toward *Jonathan*, at the head of a better army than they had before; but *Jonathan* made all the haſte he could to meet them at *Amathis*, with a reſolution to oppoſe their paſſage into *Judæa*; encamping himſelf within fifty furlongs of the enemy, and ſending ſcouts abroad for diſcovery how they were poſted, and which way they bent their deſign. Upon the return of the ſpies, *Jonathan* found that their deſign was to ſurpriſe him in his quarters. So that he put every thing immediately into a poſture of defence; planted his watches and out-guards to the beſt advantage, and kept his men in arms and in heart all that night. When the officers of *Demetrius* came to underſtand that the plot was diſcovered, it put them to their wits end what to do next; for they were not in condition to encounter him by open force. Upon this pinch they ſlipt away by night; and under the countenance of ſeveral fires, to cover their retreat. The next morning, *Jonathan* marched up with a reſolution to force the camp; when finding it abandoned, he poſted away after the fugitives, but they had gotten over the river *Eleutherus*, into a place of ſafety, before he could reach them. He took his courſe next into *Arabia*; ravaged the country of the *Nabathæans*; took a great many cattle and priſoners, and ſold them at *Damaſcus*.

Simon, at the ſame time, took a progreſs through *Judæa* and *Paleſtine*, as far as *Aſkalon*, where he garriſoned all places of defence; and after fortifying and ſecuring the country, marched to *Joppa*, took poſſeſſion of the place, and clapt a ſtrong guard upon it to keep the inhabitants in awe.

Matters being in this diſpoſition, *Jonathan* and *Simon* returned to *Jeruſalem*; where the high-prieſt ſummoning the people together into the temple, put them upon repairing the ruinous walls, both of the city, and thoſe about the holy place; adviſing them alſo to erect another wall to cut off all communication betwixt the caſtle and the city, and to put good garriſons into other convenient places. He made it his own province to take care of the city, and committed the reſt to his brother.

Demetrius, being gotten over the river, advanced into *Meſopotamia*, with a deſign of making himſelf maſter, not only of the country, but of *Babylon* itſelf; propoſing alſo, upon the reducing of the upper provinces, to make that quarter the ſeat of the war; for the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* thereabouts had ſent him ſeveral embaſſies and invitations to come over to them; with aſſurances that upon his appearing they would aſſiſt him with their arms againſt *Arſaces* the king of *Parthia*. *Demetrius* moved immediately toward them, conſidering how eaſy a thing it would be to beat *Tryphon* out of *Syria*, after one home blow given to the *Parthians*. Upon his arrival he put himſelf at the head of a brave army, and made war upon *Arſaces*, by whom he was utterly routed, and himſelf taken priſoner.

CHAP. VIII.

Tryphon *ſeeing* Demetrius *ruined, contrives how he might diſpatch* Antiochus, *and Reign in his ſtead; and likewiſe how he may deſtroy* Jonathan, *whom he Deceives, cauſes a thouſand of his Men to be put to Death, and keepeth him Priſoner.*

WHEN *Tryphon* underſtood that *Demetrius* was utterly ruined, he forſook *Antiochus*, and contrived how he might kill him, and make himſelf king. But the fear that he had of *Jonathan*, *Antiochus's* friend, hindered his deſign; whereupon he reſolved firſt of all to deliver himſelf of *Jonathan*, and afterwards to kill the young king *Antiochus*. Having therefore reſolved to kill *Jonathan* by ſome treaſon, he came from *Antioch* to *Bethſan*, (which the *Greeks* call *Scythopolis*) whither *Jonathan* came to meet him with forty thouſand choſen men, ſuppoſing that *Tryphon* came thither to make war upon him. But he knowing that *Jonathan* came thither with ſo great a ſtrength, and imagining that he could not prevail upon him by force, he had recourſe to fraud; he made him rich preſents, and accompanied them with a great deal of civility; and that he might free him from all diſtruſt, and ruin him when he ſhould leaſt ſuſpect it, he commanded the officers of his army to obey him in all things. After this, he invited *Jonathan* to come to *Ptolemais*, and to bring with him ſome few of his ſoldiers, promiſing to deliver the city into his hands, and reſign all the fortreſſes that were in the country into his poſſeſſion, aſſuring him that he came into that country to no other purpoſe.

Jonathan ſuſpecting no ſiniſter dealing, and believing that *Tryphon* ſpake what he intended, diſbanded his forces, and took only three thouſand men with him, whereof he left two in *Galilee*, and with one thouſand he came to *Tryphon* at *Ptolemais*. But the inhabitants of the city ſhutting the gates as ſoon as he was entered (according as *Tryphon* had commanded them) took *Jonathan* priſoner, and ſlew all thoſe that attended upon him. Hereupon *Tryphon* preſently ſent part of his army unto the two thouſand that were left in *Galilee*, to the intent to put them all to the ſword; but they having notice of that which had befallen their chieftain, took up their arms, and departed out of *Galilee*, without any loſs. And although the ſoldiers of *Tryphon* exceeded them far in number, yet they were not ſo hardy as to attack them; becauſe they knew that the *Jews* were ready to expoſe themſelves to all dangers, to defend their lives: And ſo they returned back to him that ſent them, without doing any thing.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Tryphon *enters* Judæa, *and offers to ſet* Jonathan *at Liberty for a Sum of Money and Hoſtages.* Simon *delivers the Money and the Hoſtages; but* Tryphon *cauſes* Jonathan *to be put to Death. The People chuſe* Simon *unanimouſly to ſucceed him.* Simon *demoliſhes the Citadel of* Jeruſalem.

THE news of *Jonathan*'s impriſonment, and the maſſacre of the people, ſtruck the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, not only with an inconſolable affliction, but with a terrible apprehenſion of the miſeries they lay expoſed to in conſequence of his death: And indeed their neighbours all aſſociated againſt them, as men without a head, and utterly deſtitute, the general being loſt, and no other commander qualified to exerciſe his charge. Nay, *Tryphon* himſelf got an army together to make an inroad with it into *Judæa*. But *Simon* obſerving what a conſternation the people were in, for fear of new broils, and out of an affectionate zeal to keep up their hearts againſt the practices of *Tryphon*, called the people together, and made them a diſcourſe as follows.

“I need not tell you,” ſays he, “my friends and countrymen, how frankly I myſelf, my father and my brethren, have expoſed ourſelves for our common liberty: Wherefore, without looking any farther for a leader, you have a man here before you, that is ready to do or to ſuffer all things that are great and glorious, for your preſervation and welfare: Do but you only follow where I ſhall lead you. I make no doubt but that God in his good time will, even by my hand, avenge you upon the heads of your enemies, deliver you, with your wives and children, from your oppreſſors, and vindicate the holy temple againſt all the abominations and violences of your malicious perſecutors. And what is it, in fine, that encourages this preſent confederacy againſt you, but that they look upon you as ſheep without a ſhepherd; that is to ſay, an army without a leader?”

The multitude were ſo inflamed at this declaration of *Simon*, that they all cried out with one voice, “Let *Simon* be our general.”

The new general fell to work upon the walling of the city, and the fortifying of it with ſtrong towers; and that being over, he ſent *Jonathan* the ſon of *Abſalom* to *Joppa*, with order to turn the inhabitants out of the town, for fear they ſhould deliver it up to *Tryphon*; while he himſelf continued at *Jeruſalem*, to look to the city.

Tryphon was now upon his march with a great army from *Ptolemais*, and coming into *Judæa*, he brought *Jonathan* with him in bonds. *Simon* met him with his troops near the city of *Addida*, upon a mountain that overlooks the plain. When *Tryphon* came to underſtand that the *Jews* had choſen *Simon* for their general, he ſent him word that if he had a mind to have his brother *Jonathan* diſcharged he ſhould ſend him a hundred talents of ſilver, and two ſons of *Jonathan* along with it, for hoſtages, that when he ſhould be ſet at liberty he ſhould not ſeduce *Judæa* from their allegiance to the king; *Tryphon* ſuggeſting that he was now to be kept in cuſtody only till the king's money ſhould be paid. *Simon* knew well enough there was a cheat in't; therefore he called a council, and told them *Tryphon*'s demands, giving his opinion alſo beforehand, that there was treachery in the bottom; but intimating, that it would be better to ſend both the money and the ſons, than to incur a ſuſpicion that he was not ſo zealous as he ſhould be for the ſafety of his brother. So the reſolution was taken to ſend both. *Tryphon* brake his faith, after all, and would not yet releaſe *Jonathan*; but went up and down with his army, ravaging the country, till he came at laſt to *Dora*, a city of *Idumæa*, with an intention to make that his way to *Jeruſalem*; *Simon* keeping up with him ſtill, wherever he went.

While *Tryphon* was upon the way, word was brought him from *Jeruſalem*, that the garriſon was hard preſſed for want of proviſions, and that they deſired he would immediately haſten to their relief. But there fell ſo great a ſnow that night, that the ways were all covered and impaſſable; eſpecially for horſe. Upon this diſappointment he went back to *Cœle-Syria*; and paſſing through the country of *Galaad*, cauſed *Jonathan*, near the city of *Baſca*, to be ſlain, and buried there: And from thence he returned to *Antioch*. *Simon* took care, however, to remove *Jonathan*'s bones to his father's ſepulchre at *Modin*, where he erected a glorious monument of white poliſhed marble to the honour of his family. He raiſed alſo ſeven pyramids for his father, mother, four brothers, and himſelf, one for each: A work ſo wonderful, both for the ſtate and beauty of it, that it is yet to be ſeen, and hath the reputation of a celebrated piece even to this day.

Jonathan had governed the people in the quality both of prince, and of high-prieſt, for the ſpace of four years; his brother *Simon*, by the univerſal conſent of the people ſucceeded him. In the firſt year of his promotion he delivered them from the tributes they formerly paid to the *Macedonians*; and this was in the year one hundred and ſeventy from the coming of *Seleucus Nicanor* to the kingdom of *Syria*. Now *Simon* had gained ſo great an eſteem and authority among the people, that they dated their writing as well private as public, in ſuch or ſuch a year of *Simon* the governor of the *Jews*, with this addition, And the moſt deſerving patron of the nation. For under his adminiſtration all things ſucceeded well, both in war and peace, deſtroying the cities of *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and *Jamnia*; laying the citadel of *Jeruſalem* level with the ground; and putting it out of condition of either annoying the town, or of ſerving for a place of protection to fugitives and rebels. To this end he gave his advice for the digging up and plaining of the mountain itſelf that the caſtle ſtood upon, ſo as to leave the temple upon the advantage of the higher ground. He called a congregation, and laid before them what damage they had already ſuffered from this caſtle, and what inconveniences they might reaſonably expect from it over again, if ever it ſhould fall into the hands of an enemy. The multitude were preſently for demoliſhing the mountain. They fell immediately to work upon it, and plied it ſo hard night and day for three years ſucceſſively that in the end they brought it under the command of the temple.

CHAP. X.

Tryphon *murders* Antiochus, *and is choſen King. His Soldiers go over to* Cleopatra. *She marries* Antiochus-Soter, *He makes War upon* Tryphon, *and overthrows him in a ſet Battle.* Tryphon *is Slain.*

SOON after the taking of *Demetrius Nicanor* priſoner, *Tryphon* ſecretly murdered his pupil *Antiochus*, the ſon of *Alexander*, (whom they treated with divine honours) in the fourth year of his guardianſhip; giving it out that it was only an unlucky accident in his exerciſes that brought him to his end. While this rumour was freſh, *Tryphon* made an intereſt among the ſoldiery, by the force of friends and money, to diſpoſe them toward the choice of himſelf for their next governor. *Demetrius*, they ſaid, was a priſoner to the *Parthians*, and *Antiochus* would never forget the deſerters of his brother. By this artifice *Tryphon* obtained the crown: But the ſoldiers grew quickly weary of him, and went over to *Cleopatra*, the wife of *Demetrius*, who had then ſhut herſelf up in *Seleucia* with her children: While *Antiochus*, (otherwiſe called *Soter*, and the brother of *Demetrius*,) ſkulked up and down, ſcarce any body daring to receive him, for fear of *Tryphon*.

Now *Cleopatra*, what with the encouragement of the military men that deſerted him, the inſtance and perſuaſion of friends, and the apprehenſion ſhe herſelf had of the *Seleucians* giving up the town to *Tryphon*, ſent a meſſenger to *Antiochus*, with a propoſal of marriage, and a tender of her kingdom to him, as well as of her perſon. *Antiochus* forthwith embraced the propoſition; and upon cloſing with *Cleopatra* on thoſe terms, the people came trooping in to him in ſuch numbers, that in a ſhort time he was maſter of a marching army, and made war upon *Tryphon*, overcame him in a battle; and beating him out of *Syria*, purſued him to *Phœnicia*, beſieging him at laſt in *Dora*, a very ſtrong and a well fortified hold. He ſent ambaſſadors alſo to *Simon* the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, upon a treaty of amity and alliance, who frankly accepted of his terms, and ſoon after ſent him a ſupply of proviſions and money for the carrying on of the ſiege; which was a ſervice at that time ſo acceptable to *Antiochus*, that he looked upon him as his beſt friend.

Tryphon made an eſcape out of *Dora*, and fled to *Apamia*, which town was taken, and himſelf ſlain, in the fourth year of his government.

CHAP. XI.

The treachery of Antiochus *againſt* Simon; *who contracts a new Alliance with the* Romans. *He is Murdered, and his Wife and two Sons made Priſoners, by his Son-in-law* Ptolemy. Hyrcanus, Simon's *Son, beſieges* Ptolemy *in* Dagon *Caſtle, but raiſes the Siege out of love to his Mother and Brothers, who were in* Ptolemy's *Power, and whom he afterward put to Death.*

ANTIOCHUS was now ſo far from acknowledging the good offices that *Simon* had done him, that he ſent an army under the command of *Cendebæus*, to lay *Judæa* waſte, and to ſeize upon his perſon. But he having ſome privy intelligence of *Antiochus*'s treachery, notwithſtanding that at this time he was very old, was ſo provoked with the injuries that *Antiochus* had done him, that animated with courage more than became his age, he went himſelf to the war, as if as yet he had been youthful: He therefore cauſed his ſon to march before, with the beſt ſoldiers of his army; and having left a number of his ſoldiers in ambuſh, in the hollow retreats of the mountains, he executed all his deſigns, without failing in any one of them: So that after he had every way obtained the upper hand of his enemies, he enjoyed his government in peace during the remainder of his life, and renewed the confederacy with the *Romans*.

When *Simon* had been eight years governor of *Judæa*, he was treacherouſly murdered by his ſon-in-law *Ptolemy*, upon an invitation to a treat. He had got his wife and his two ſons priſoners already, and had his ruffians abroad to take his third ſon *John*, (otherwiſe called *Hyrcanus*) alſo, and kill him; but the young man took ſanctuary in *Jeruſalem*, where the people were doubly kind to him, partly for the love and veneration they had for the memory of his father, and in part for the deadly hatred they bare to *Ptolemy*, whom they bravely repulſed upon an attempt to enter at one gate, becauſe they had already received *Hyrcanus* at another.

Upon this affront *Ptolemy* withdrew himſelf to a certain caſtle not far from *Jericho*, called *Dagon*. *Hyrcanus* at the ſame time entered upon the pontificate, and officiated in it as ſucceſſor to his father. The firſt thing he did was to offer up prayers and ſacrifices, and then marched away to the aſſault of the fort, where the only difficulty he met with (for he had the advantage in all other things) was to contend with the natural piety and tenderneſs he had for his mother and his brethren, whom *Ptolemy* expoſed from the top of the wall, whipping and tormenting them in the ſight of all the people, with menaces to caſt them headlong down from the battlements, unleſs *Hyrcanus* preſently quitted the ſiege: This put him to a ſtand, but his mother called out to him aloud, and encouraged him both with her hand and voice, without any regard to her own and her children's ſufferings, to do himſelf and his family right in a juſt vengeance upon the head of that execrable monſter; for ſhe herſelf deſired nothing more than to expire in torments, upon condition that that unnatural tyrant might be puniſhed according to his deſert. The generous and provoking bravery of this woman encouraged *Hyrcanus* to puſh forward the aſſault. But finding that the more they preſſed upon the fort, the fiercer *Ptolemy* was upon his mother, the reſentments of rage and revenge gave way to the over-ruling ſoftneſs of a dutiful ſon: So that by theſe pauſes and intervals the ſiege was prolonged till the ſabbatical year came on; the ſeventh year being celebrated as a year of reſt by the *Jews*, as well as the ſeventh day is obſerved in the week: So that by this occaſion *Ptolemy* was delivered from the war and the ſiege. He afterwards put to death the mother and the brethren of *Hyrcanus*, which done he flew to *Zeno*, ſirnamed *Cotyla*, a tyrant who had at that time uſurped to himſelf the government of *Philadelphia*.

(The end of the Hiſtory of the Bible.)

CHAP. XII.

Antiochus Soter *beſieges* Hyrcanus. *Grants the* Jews *a ſeven Days Truce.* Hyrcanus *moves him in favour of the* Jews. Hyrcanus *makes an Alliance with* Antiochus. Antiochus *is Slain, and ſucceeded by his Brother* Demetrius.

ANTIOCHUS had not as yet either forgotten or forgiven the baffles and diſgraces he had formerly received from *Simon* the father of *Hyrcanus*: So that he made an inroad into *Judæa* in the fourth year of his reign, the firſt of *Hyrcanus*, and the hundred and ſixty ſecond *Olympiad*; where he firſt ravaged the country, and then drove *Hyrcanus* into the city itſelf, dividing his army into ſeven bodies round about it. They advanced ſlowly at the beginning, the walls being very ſtrong, and the defendants valiant. They found the town moſt acceſſible upon the north ſide of it, and therefore bent their force principally upon that quarter, raiſing a hundred turrets of three ſtories high againſt them, which were well lined with ſoldiers to carry on the attack. They had likewiſe drawn a double circumvallation of a great length and depth, to cut off the means of communication and relief. But this did not hinder the defendants from making frequent ſallies. There were a great many unprofitable mouths in the town, that only waſted their proviſions, without doing any manner of ſervice: So *Hyrcanus* turned all the uſeleſs people out of the city, where, betwixt *Antiochus* on the one hand, that ſtopped them from going any further, and *Hyrcanus* on the other, many of them periſhed for want of bread.

It was now the time of the feaſt of tabernacles; and upon this occaſion theſe miſerable creatures were admitted into the town again: Whereupon the inhabitants addreſſed themſelves to *Antiochus*, only to grant a truce for ſeven days, in honour of the ſolemnity; which out of a conſcience of religion, he allowed them at a word; and he did not only gratify them in their requeſt, but ſent them magnificent preſents of beaſts for ſacrifices; as bulls with gilded horns; cups of gold and ſilver, repleniſhed with all ſorts of precious ſpices and perfumes; and, in fine treated them with an entertainment much different from that of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; who, in affront to their religion, upon the taking of the temple, ſacrificed hogs upon the altar, and prophaned the holy place with porridge made of ſwine's fleſh, in defiance and contempt of their laws and ceremonies, which proved the ground of animoſity betwixt them never to be reconciled: Whereas the preſent *Antiochus* had the character and ſurname of *the Pious* given him by all ſorts of people, in honour of the reverence he had for religion.

Hyrcanus took encouragement upon this inſtance of the king's juſtice and goodneſs, to move him by an embaſſy on the *Jews* behalf, for the liberty only of living one with another, according to the laws and cuſtoms of their own country. The king, who had too great a reſpect for their piety and behaviour to put them to extremities, ſent word back to *Hyrcanus*, that upon condition the beſieged ſhould deliver up their arms, undertake for the taxes of *Joppa* and the reſt of the cities about *Judæa*, and receive a garriſon into the town, of his appointment, he was ready to put an end to the war. The *Jews* agreed to all but the receiving of the garriſon, in regard of the ſcruple they made of intermixing with ſtrangers; but for a compoſition to be eaſed of that article, they propoſed to give the king hoſtages for the performance of covenants, and five hundred talents over and above, which the king accepted of: Three hundred of them were paid down in part; and the pledges given for the remainder, one of which was the brother of *Hyrcanus*. Upon the finiſhing of this treaty, the works and the battlements were thrown down, the city diſmantled, and the ſiege raiſed.

Hyrcanus, after this, cauſed the monument of *David* (who ſurpaſſed all other kings in riches during his time) to be opened, where he made a ſeizure of three thouſand talents to his own uſe; by the help of which he furniſhed himſelf with foreign mercenaries, being the firſt of the nation that ever entertained an army of ſtrangers. In the next place, he entered into a league with *Antiochus*; invited him and his army into the city, where he gave them a moſt magnificent reception, and followed him afterward with his auxiliaries into the *Parthian* war, as we have it upon the authority of *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* in terms to this purpoſe. "*Antiochus*, upon the routing of *Indates* the *Parthian* general, erected a triumphal arch upon the bank of the river *Lycus*, where he reſted two days at the requeſt of *Hyrcanus* a *Jew*, being juſt at the time of one of their feſtivals, upon which day they made a conſcience of travelling."

Antiochus, in fine, came to a battle with *Arſaces*, the king of the *Parthians*, in which action he loſt both his life and his army. His brother *Demetrius* ſucceeded to the kingdom of *Syria*, being now ſet at liberty by *Arſaces*, upon this invaſion of *Antiochus*.

CHAP. XIII.

Hyrcanus *makes himſelf Maſter of* Idumæa. Demetrius *is Beaten, and Killed. A League betwixt* Alexander Zebina *and* Hyrcanus. Alexander *routed and Slain.*

HYRCANUS, after the death of *Antiochus* marched with his army into *Syria.* In ſix months time he took in *Medaba,* and after that *Semega* and other places thereabouts; and then *Sichem* and *Garizin,* with the land of the *Chuthites,* where the temple ſtood, that was built after the model of that at *Jeruſalem* by *Sanballat,* to gratify his ſon-in-law *Manaſſes,* the brother of the high-prieſt *Jaddus,* which temple was deſtroyed about two hundred years after. *Hyrcanus* took alſo ſeveral ſtrong places in *Idumæa,* as *Adora* and *Mariſſa*; and at laſt, when he maſtered the whole province, made proclamation for all people to depart the land that would not ſubmit to be circumciſed: So that rather than quit the country, they not only complied in the point of circumciſion, but in a conformity alſo to all the other rites and ceremonies of the *Jews*: And that was the firſt time they were reckoned among the *Jews.*

Hyrcanus the high-prieſt being now about to renew a league with the *Romans,* ſent his ambaſſadors to the ſenate, with letters upon that ſubject. Theſe letters being read and debated, an amity was concluded.

While matters ſtood thus with *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt, there was no want of good will in *Demetrius* to pick a quarrel with him, if he had but had ſeconds to ſupport him in it; but for the *Syrians,* and his own ſoldiers, they joined in a confederacy againſt him, making it their requeſt to *Ptolemy,* otherwiſe called *Phyſcon,* the king ot *Egypt,* only to ſend them ſome branch or other of *Seleucus*'s family, and they would ſet him up for king. Upon this application, *Ptolemy* ſent them one *Alexander,* ſurnamed *Zebina,* with a conſiderable body of men. It came to a battle, and *Demetrius* being routed, he fled to his wife *Cleopatra,* who was then at *Ptolemais,* for protection; but the gates being ſhut againſt him, away he went for *Tyre,* where he fell into the hands of his enemies, who then put him to death.

Alexander Zebina being now poſſeſſed of the kingdom of *Syria,* entered into a league with *Hyrcanus,* who was engaged ſome ſhort time after, in a war with *Antiochus Gryphus,* the ſon of *Demetrius.* They brought it to a battle, and it was *Alexander*'s hap to be ſlain in the encounter. *Antiochus,* by this providence, came to be king of *Syria*; but durſt not as yet make any attempt upon the *Jews*; for he heard that *Antiochus Cyzicenus* (a brother he had of his own name) was at that very time drawing an army together againſt him at the town of *Cyzycus.* The father of this man was *Antiochus Soter*; he that was taken priſoner by the *Parthians.* Upon the coming of *Antiochus Cyzicenus* into *Syria,* the brethren were perpetually tearing one another to pieces, and *Hyrcanus* conſequently in the poſſeſſion of a profound peace; for after the ſlaughter of *Antiochus,* he fell off from the *Macedonians,* and had no more to do with them, either as an ally, or a ſubject. But in the days of *Alexander Zebina* every thing went as *Hyrcanus* could wiſh, and yet more ſo in the reign of the two brothers.

CHAP. XIV.

Hyrcanus *beſieges* Samaria. *His Death.*

HYRCANUS marched with an army to *Samaria*, now called *Sebaſte*, ſince it was rebuilt by *Herod*. *Hyrcanus* was ſo irritated againſt the *Samaritans* by the indignities they had put upon the people of *Mariſſa*, (the inhabitants and allies of *Judæa*, though the king of *Syria*'s ſubjects) that he reſolved to attack the place with all the vigour imaginable. He begirt the town with a large ditch, and a double wall of eighty furlongs compaſs, and gave the conduct of the ſiege to his two ſons, *Antigonus* and *Ariſtobulus*, who plied it ſo hard, and kept them in ſo cloſe, that they were forced by extremity to eat carrion: So that in the end they went to *Antiochus Cyzicenus* for relief, who came in haſte upon their requeſt; but being routed by *Ariſtobolus*, and purſued by the brothers as far as *Scythopolis*, he made a very narrow eſcape. The brethren after this action returned to *Samaria*, and renewed the ſiege, which put them upon application to the ſame *Antiochus* once again for ſuccour, who prevailed with *Ptolemy*, ſirnamed *Lathurus*, for a ſupply of ſix thouſand men. With this band of *Egyptians*, *Antiochus* went at firſt ravaging up and down the country of *Hyrcanus*, who was not at that time in a condition to look him in the face. What he aimed at was by this diverſion to draw him from the ſiege, but what with ſurpriſes, deſertions, and other caſualties, he found his party in a ſhort time ſo weakened that he committed the charge of the *Jewiſh* war to *Callimander* and *Epicrates*, and went off from thence himſelf to *Tripoli*. *Callimander* after this ventured upon a raſh encounter, where his people were wholly cut off, and himſelf ſlain: *Epicrates* at the ſame time betraying *Scythopolis* and ſeveral neighbouring towns there for money to the *Jews*: So that there was no poſſibility of relieving the place. *Hyrcanus* had been a full year before *Samaria*, when he took it, and not only made it a heap of rubbiſh, but drew ſeveral trenches of water through it, which ſo diſfigured the face of every thing, that there was not the leaſt mark left of any building that had ever been there.

There goes a wonderful ſtory of this *Hyrcanus*, which ſays, that upon the day of the battle which his ſons had with *Cyzicenus*, it was revealed to him by a voice from Heaven, as he was alone in the temple, and offering incenſe, that his ſons had gotten a freſh victory over *Antiochus*. He went out immediately, and told the people what he had heard, which was confirmed a while after beyond all diſpute.

The *Jews* found this a favourable ſeaſon for them; for the queen *Cleopatra*, upon a difference with her ſon *Ptolemy Lathur*, committed the command of her troops to *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, the ſons of that *Onias* who erected a temple in the territory of *Heliopolis*, after the platform of that at *Jeruſalem*. Theſe two perſons were the queen's adviſers in all ſhe did.

Now the good fortune of *Hyrcanus* drew upon him the envy of the *Jews*, the *Phariſees* eſpecially. The authority of that faction is ſo ſacred among the common people that let them treat their king or their high-prieſt never ſo contemptuouſly, the multitude would be ſure to ſide with them. *Hyrcanus* however, having been trained up in that ſchool, invited them to an entertainment,

ment. So ſoon as good company and good cheer had put them into the humour of a free and eaſy converſation, he addreſſed them to the following purpoſe.

“ I need not tell you that a man of your own principle deſires nothing more than to approve himſelf acceptable to God, and juſt to his neighbour: But if you ſhall find however, that I have in any thing departed from my duty, as it is your part to admoniſh and inſtruct me, I ſhall account it mine to amend and reform.”

This generous candour was received with applauſe.

After ſome ſhort pauſe *Eleazar*, one of the gueſts, a peſtilent, ſpiteful man, ſtood up and brake ſilence. “ Since you are pleaſed,” (ſays he to *Hyrcanus*) “ to profeſs yourſelf ſo great a lover of truth and plain dealing, be but ſo juſt alſo as to lay down your pontificate, and content yourſelf with the character of your civil adminiſtration.”

“ And I beſeech you,” ſays *Hyrcanus*, “ why this propoſal?”

“ Becauſe,” ſays the other, “ we have been told by our elders, that in the days of *Antiochus Epiphanes* your mother was a ſlave.”

Now the report was falſe, and ſo much the more offenſive, as well to the *Phariſees*, as to *Hyrcanus* himſelf. There happened to be in the company one *Jonathan*, *Hyrcanus*'s particular friend, but a *Sadducee*, and conſequently a mortal enemy to the *Phariſees*. This *Jonathan* would needs have it that the caulmny of *Eleazar* was a thing concerted, and that the *Phariſees* were all privy to it. This you will find true, ſays he, if you do but put it to them what puniſhment they think a man may deſerve for ſo ſcandalous a defamation. *Hyrcanus* put the queſtion. Their anſwer was, that they did not find defamation to be a capital crime, and ſo they thought whipping and impriſonment might ſerve for ſatisfaction. This put *Hyrcanus* into a terrible fret, and gave him to underſtand that they had every one of them their part in this infamous reflection upon his family. *Jonathan* plied *Hyrcanus* in this heat, and embittered him againſt the *Phariſees* to ſuch a degree, that he abſolutely renounced the ſect, and went over to the *Sadduces* abrogating all their ordinances and ſtatutes, with a penalty upon thoſe that ſhould preſume to obſerve them.

The remainder of *Hyrcanus*'s life, after the compoſing of this ſedition was happy and quiet, to the very day of his death, which happened in the year of his government thirty one. He left behind him five ſons; and God was pleaſed to honour him with three eminent dignities; the government of the *Jews*, the high-prieſthood, and the ſpirit of prophecy: Foretelling by a divine revelation, that his two eldeſt ſons ſhould not long enjoy the government after the death of their father, which fell out according to his prediction.

CHAP. XV.

Ariſtobulus *crowned King. He ſtarves his Mother; cauſes his Brother* Antigonus *to be Killed; and afterwards dies Himſelf for Grief.*

HYRCANUS being dead, his eldeſt ſon *Ariſtobulus* took up a reſolution of turning the principality into an abſolute monarchy; ſetting the crown upon his own head. This happened four hundred and eighty one years and three months after the return of the *Jews* from the captivity of *Babylon*. He had ſo great a tenderneſs for *Antigonus*, his next brother, that he made him a kind of a partner with him in the government. The other three he kept all this while in bonds; caſting his mother into priſon alſo, whom he looked upon as a competitreſs upon a pretence of claim, *Hyrcanus* having left her at his death the miſtreſs of all he could confer upon her. In ſhort, he ſtarved his mother to death in her confinement, and afterward put *Antigonus* himſelf to death, only upon the malicious ſuggeſtions of evil tongues.

Antigonus having the hap once to return from the army in great pomp and glory, upon the ſolemnity of the feaſt of tabernacles, *Ariſtobulus* at the ſame time lying ſick in his bed, his brother *Antigonus* went up to the temple with his guards about him, in mighty ſplendor and ſtate; only upon the account of religious worſhip, and in the firſt place to offer up his prayers and vows for the health of his brother. The reputation of *Antigonus*, and the magnificence of his parade upon this occaſion, furniſhed fit matter for court paraſites to work upon: They went preſently to the king, with all the virulent pretences and aggravations they could muſter together. "This was not a "behaviour," they ſaid, "that became the "condition of a private man; but rather a "moſt notorious evidence of a deſign upon "the crown." *Ariſtobulus*, tho' he could not believe every thing they told him, could not yet but ſuſpect there might be ſomething in it, and ſo took a middle courſe of providing for his ſafety. He had his apartment in a tower, that hath been ſince known by the name of *Antonia*, where he poſted a guard in a dark place under ground, with particular orders, that they ſhould watch his brother in his paſſage, and that if he came without arms, no body ſhould meddle with him; but if he came armed, they ſhould kill him. So *Ariſtobulus* ſent for his brother to come to him, charging the meſſenger to bid him come without arms: But the queen, and the reſt of the conſpirators tampered with the meſſenger, and bad him tell *Antigonus*, on the contrary, that his brother had heard of a very fine ſuit of arms he had gotten; and that he had a great mind to ſee how they became him. *Antigonus* ſuſpecting no treachery, went immediately armed juſt as the meſſenger found him, to ſhew himſelf. Upon his coming to the tower of *Straton*, the ſoldiers fell upon him in a dark paſſage, and ſlew him. But the moſt wonderful circumſtance of all was the prediction of one *Judas*, a famous prophet of thoſe times, whoſe preſages never failed. This *Judas*, upon the ſight of *Antigonus* coming to the temple, brake out into exclamations among his diſciples, that he was now weary of his liſe; for *Antigonus*, whoſe death he had preſaged upon that very day at *Straton*'s tower, was yet alive, the place ſix hundred furlongs off, and the day more than half over: So that he had utterly loſt the credit of a prophet for ever. While he was in this perplexity for the reputation of his oracle, came the news of *Antigonus*'s being ſlain in a ſubterranean paſſage under the tower. Now this was called *Straton*'s tower, it ſeems, as well as that upon the coaſt; which was afterwards known by the name of *Cæſarea*; and this ſalvo ſet the prophet right again.

The thought of this execrable murder wrought upon *Ariſtobulus* immediately a conſcientious deteſtation of the fact, and enflamed his diſtemper, inſomuch that his agonies increaſing upon him, he fell at laſt into a vomiting of blood; and as one of his ſervants was carrying part of it away in a baſon, by a ſtrange providence he made a ſtumble upon the way, and ſpilt it upon the very blood of his maſter's brother. There was ſuch an out-cry upon this accident, (as if the ſervant had done it on purpoſe) that *Ariſtobulus* himſelf over-hearing it, would not be quiet till they told him the meaning of it; and the ſhyer they were of owning the truth the more eager was he to know it. But in the concluſion, he extorted it from them, and in the horror of an afflicted conſcience entered with groans and tears into an anxious expoſtulation upon it to this purpoſe. "No, "no," ſays he, "the all ſeeing eye of God "hath found me out in my wickedneſs, "and my brother's blood hath already "brought down a vengeance upon me. "How long ſhall this ſhameleſs carcaſe of "mine entertain a life ſo juſtly forfeited to "the aſhes and memory of my dear mother "and brother! Why do I not rather die "once for all, than bleed to death thus drop "by drop, as if my ſufferings could be an "atonement for the foulneſs of a parricide!" With theſe words betwixt his lips he gave up the ghoſt, having governed only one year, under the ſurname of *Philellen*, that is to ſay, a lover of the *Greeks*. He brought many advantages to his country; made war upon *Ituræa*, and added a conſiderable partof it to the territory of *Judæa*, forcing the people, upon pain of baniſhment, to ſubmit to circumciſion, and to live in conformity to the other rites and practices of the *Jews*.

CHAP. XVI.

Salome, *the Widow of* Ariſtobulus, *ſets the three Brothers at Liberty, and places* Jannæus Alexander *upon the Throne.* Alexander*'s Exploits.*

AFTER the death of *Ariſtobulus*, his wife *Salome*, (by the *Greeks* called *Alexandra*) ſet the brothers at liberty, whom her huſband had made priſoners, and placed *Jannæus*, otherwiſe called *Alexander*, upon the throne; the eldeſt, and the moſt temperate of the three. It was his ill hap to incur his father's averſion, almoſt as ſoon as he was born, to the degree of not being ſuffered to appear in his ſight. The reaſon they ſay was this. *Hyrcanus* had a dream one night of God's appearing to him, and that upon his enquiry who ſhould ſucceed him in the government, he was anſwered with the lively repreſentation of the perſon, and ſo the viſion diſappeared. *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus* were his favourites, and *Hyrcanus* finding that neither of them was deſigned by this figure, he applied it to *Alexander*, under the affliction of a double diſappointment, in regard both of the dignity and the fortune falling, as he accounted it, into a wrong hand. Upon this occaſion *Alexander* was ſent away to be brought up in *Galilee*; but the event however anſwered the prediction, for *Alexander*, upon the death of *Ariſtobulus*, entered upon the adminiſtration, and taking off one of the brothers that would have ſupplanted him, treated the other with great honour in the contented ſtate of a private life.

As ſoon as he had ſettled the ſtate to his mind he marched with an army to *Ptolemais*, where he encountered a body of the enemy in the field, beat them into the town, and then cooped them up in it. There was only this place and *Gaza*, of all the ſea-coaſt towns that ſtood out; beſide *Dora*, and the tower of *Straton*, in the hands of *Zoilus*. As for *Antiochus Philometor*, and his brother *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, they were ſo engaged and waſted in a war one with another, that there was no thought of any relief to the people of *Ptolemais* that way. But *Zoilus* ſent them ſome ſort of aſſiſtance, though not much to the purpoſe. The beſieged had no proſpect of any hope but from *Egypt*, and eſpecially from *Ptolemy Lathur*, that had been driven out of his kingdom by his mother *Cleopatra*, and was now withdrawn into *Cyprus*; ſo that they preſently ſent away ambaſſadors to *Ptolemy* to deſire his aid againſt *Alexander*. The king ſet his people immediately upon the equipping of a fleet for this expedition: But while this was doing one *Demænetus*, a perſon of great credit with the citizens of *Ptolemais*, brought the people off from their opinion of the embaſſy, and *Ptolemy* was told as much at ſea upon his paſſage: But however, ſince he was now in motion, he continued his courſe to *Sycamin*, where he landed an army of about thirty thouſand horſe and foot, marching thence to *Ptolemais*, with an intent to ſend an embaſſy to the city; but when he found that they would have nothing to do with him, either by meſſage or by word of mouth, it put him to his wit's end what to do next. While he was in this perplexity, there came to him *Zoilus*, and ſome deputies from *Gaza*, to implore his help againſt the *Jews* and *Alexander*, that were making havock in their country. *Alexander*, upon this, was forced to raiſe the ſiege for fear of *Ptolemy*; and when he ſaw there was no good to be done by downright force, he marched his army back again, and betaking himſelf to his politics, played his game another way. He treated with *Cleopatra* underhand againſt *Ptolemy*, and at the ſame time kept fair with *Ptolemy*, in appearance, under countenance of a friend and ally, propoſing to give him four hundred talents of ſilver, upon condition of delivering up the uſurper *Zoilus* into his hands, and reſtoring to the *Jews* thoſe lands of theirs which he had in poſſeſſion.

Ptolemy, without any heſitation, embraced the friendſhip of *Alexander*, and ſeized upon *Zoilus*; but coming to underſtand that there was an intrigue carried on all this while betwixt *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, he looked upon the league as broken, and without more ado laid ſiege to *Ptolemais*, where the gates were ſhut againſt him. Upon this he divided his army, leaving one part of it before the town to make good the ſiege, and marching off himſelf with the remainder of it, to deſtroy the country of *Judæa*. *Alexander*, on the other hand, to encounter this deſign of *Ptolemy*, levied an army of his own people, ſome ſay of fifty, others of eighty thouſand men, and advanced with it againſt the enemy. *Ptolemy*, in the mean time, taking the advantage of a ſabbath day, fell upon *Aſſochis*, a city of *Galilee*, at unawares, and took it by aſſault, with about ten thouſand priſoners, and a vaſt booty.

CHAP. XVII.

Ptolemy Lathur *gives* Alexander *an Overthrow, and takes* Ptolemais *by Aſſault.* Cleopatra *joins with the* Jews *againſt him, and makes* Chelcias *and* Ananias *her Generals. A barbarous Maſſacre.* Alexander *affronted by his own People, deſtroys ſix thouſand of them, and falls into an Ambuſh. A Rebellion that coſt the* Jews *fifty thouſand Lives.*

AFTER the taking of *Aſſochis*, *Ptolemy* went and attacked *Sepphoris*, where he was repulſed, and from thence marched directly to try a battle with *Alexander*, whom he found about *Aſſophus*, near the river *Jordan*, and encamped juſt over-againſt the enemy. *Alexander* had in van eight thouſand of thoſe called *Hecatontomachi*, armed with braſen bucklers, and *Ptolemy*'s men in the front had the ſame ſort of ſhields. The firſt word of command was to paſs the river that parted the two armies; which *Alexander* did not pretend to oppoſe, in confidence of getting the day, if he could but engage the enemy with the river behind them to cut off their retreat. When it came to the ſhock the fortune of the battle was a while doubtful, and it was fought with great loſs on both ſides, till the victory ſeemed to incline to *Alexander*: But *Philoſtephanus* coming up to their relief, that wing of the *Jews* was overpowered by numbers, and broken; *Ptolemy*'s men preſſing ſo hard upon the fugitives, that their arms were tired, and their weapons blunted with the execution. They ſpeak of thirty thouſand men ſlain in that battle. *Timagenes* in his hiſtory makes them to be fifty thouſand; the reſt either taken priſoners, or ſaving themſelves by flight.

After the purſuit of this bloody victory, *Ptolemy*, in the evening, went into ſome of the *Jews* villages and habitations, and finding them full of women and children, ordered his ſoldiers, without reſpect of perſons, to cut all their throats, and to chop them into pieces, and afterwards to boil them in a cauldron, and eat them; all which was accordingly done, for a terror to thoſe that eſcaped from the battle, when on their return to their habitations they ſhould find they had to do with an enemy that eat human fleſh. The ſame people took *Ptolemais* alſo by aſſault, as we have ſaid elſewhere.

Cleopatra was ſo ſenſible of the overgrown greatneſs of her ſon, *Gaza* reduced, and *Judæa* laid waſte, that ſhe thought it now high time to put a ſtop to his ambition; eſpecially being come to the gates of *Egypt* itſelf, with a deſign upon the kingdom too. Upon this precaution, ſhe muſtered all the ſtrength ſhe was able to make, both at ſea and land; conſtituting *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, two *Jews*, for generals. She ſent the greateſt part of her treaſure with her grandchildren, and her laſt will and teſtament, into the iſle of *Coas*, and ordered her ſon *Alexander* with a powerful navy into *Phœnicia*, to keep that province in obedience, while ſhe herſelf went to *Ptolemais*; and being refuſed admitance, ſhe ordered an aſſault upon the town. *Ptolemy*, upon this, quitted *Syria*, and haſtened away into *Egypt*; flattering himſelf, that coming ſo unexpectedly, and in the queen's abſence too, he ſhould find the country unguarded; but he was much miſtaken in his ſurmiſe. *Cleopatra* had the fortune at this time to loſe *Chelcias*, one of her generals, as he was in the purſuit of *Ptolemy* in *Cœle-Syria*.

Upon *Ptolemy*'s miſcarriage in this attempt upon *Egypt*, the queen ſent a ſtrong detachment after him, that drove him quite out of his country now a ſecond time, and forced him to take up his winter quarters in *Gaza*: She herſelf, in the mean time, taking the city and garriſon of *Ptolemais* by aſſault, where ſhe was highly preſented by *Alexander*, and the preſenter received with a dignity becoming ſo great and generous a queen, to an unfortunate prince.

No ſooner did *Alexander* find himſelf out of the power and fear of *Ptolemy*, but away he went upon an expedition into *Cœle-Syria*; where, after ſix months ſiege, he took *Gadara*, and after that *Amathus*, the ſtrongeſt fort upon the river *Jordan*; and the place where *Theodorus* the ſon of *Zeno*, in an outrage of revenge, fell upon the *Jews* by ſurprize, cut off ten thouſand of their men, and took *Alexander*'s baggage: But this unexpected diſaſter did not yet divert the king from his deſign upon *Raphia*, a ſea-coaſt town, and *Anthedon*, which was afterwards by *Herod* called *Agrippiades*; both which he reduced by force. *Ptolemy* had by this time left *Gaza*, and betaken himſelf to *Cyprus*, his mother *Cleopatra* alſo being gone back to *Egypt*: So that *Alexander* took this occaſion of revenging himſelf upon the people of *Gaza* for calling in *Ptolemy* to their ſuccour againſt him, laid ſiege to the town, and at the ſame time harraſſed their country. While *Alexander* was before the place, *Appollodotus* their commander made a ſally one night with two thouſand mercenaries, and ten thouſand of the citizens well armed, upon the camp of the *Jews*; and ſo long as it was dark, the beſieged had the better of it, upon an apprehenſion of *Ptolemy*'s being come up with relief; but ſo ſoon as ever they had daylight, the *Jews* rallied, and made ſo furious a charge upon the garriſon, that they deſtroyed a thouſand of their men: But the courage of theſe people was proof ſtill againſt all the difficulties of number, force, nay and famine itſelf. And for a further encouragement to this obſtinacy, they were flattered by *Aretas* an *Arabian* king, with the promiſe of a timely ſuccour. But before any ſupply could be brought, *Appollodotus* was killed, and the town taken. This *Appollodotus* was murdered by the hand of *Lyſimachus*, his own brother, out of mere ſpite and envy, for the reputation he had gained among the people. After the fact was committed, he got a party together, and delivered up the city to *Alexander*, who turned his ſoldiers looſe among them, with a commiſſion at large to kill, burn and deſtroy at pleaſure. The magiſtracy of the town happened to be in council when theſe barbarous troops came into the city, and the ſenators, to the number of five hundred, betook themſelves preſently to the temple of *Appollo* for ſanctuary; but they were all ſlaughtered, the town ſacked and levelled; and *Alexander*, after a year ſpent before it, returned to *Jeruſalem*.

Much about this time it was that *Antiochus*, otherwiſe called *Gryphus*, was killed by the treachery of *Heracleon*, in the year of his life forty five, and the nine and twentieth of his reign. His ſon *Seleucus* ſucceeded him, who waged war with his uncle *Antiochus*, called *Cyzicenus*, whom he worſted and took priſoner in a battle, and put him to death. *Antiochus*, the ſon of *Cyzicenus*, whoſe ſurname was *Euſebes*, came a while after to *Arad*, where he was crowned; and making war after this upon *Seleucus*, he beat him at one battle out of all *Syria*, whence he fled for ſafety to *Cilicia*; and arriving again in the city of *Mopſcates*, he laid heavy taxes and impoſitions upon the citizens, at which they took ſuch indignation, that they ſet fire to his palace, and burned maſter and ſervants all together alive.

While *Antiochus Cyzicenus* was in poſſeſſion of the government of *Syria*, there was another *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, that brought a war upon him, wherein he loſt his army and his life: After which his brother *Philip* took the crown to himſelf, and governed part of *Syria*. *Ptolemy Lathur*, ſent for his fourth brother, *Demetrius Eucærus* to *Gnidus*, whom he conſtituted king of *Damaſcus*. *Antiochus* bare up very ſtoutly againſt his brother for the time he lived, but being called upon ſoon after to the aſſiſtance of *Laodice*, the queen of the *Galadenes*, that was then at war with the *Parthians*, he was ſlain in the field with his ſword in his hand: And after his death the government of *Syria* deſcended to his brothers, *Philip* and *Demetrius*.

There was about this time a moſt ſeditious affront put upon *Alexander* by his own people. It was cuſtomary among the *Jews* to march with boughs of citron or palm trees in their hands upon the celebration of the feaſt of tabernacles, and as *Alexander* was upon his preparation to ſacrifice, and aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, the multitude pelted him with citrons, and reviled him with ſuch provoking language, as ſlave, and the like, that in a rage he cauſed ſix thouſand of them to be put to death, and was forced to ſet up a partition of wood about the temple and the altar, to the very place where only the prieſts were admitted, to keep off the crowd. He made uſe of *Piſidians* and *Cilicians* for his mercenaries, but for the *Syrians* he did not love them, and durſt not truſt them.

He got the better, in fine, of the *Arabians*, laid the *Moabites* and *Galaadites* under contribution, and deſtroyed *Amathus* without the leaſt oppoſition from *Theodorus*. He made war alſo upon *Obed* the king of *Arabia*, but falling into an ambuſh near *Gadara* in *Galilee*, he was forced by a preſs of camels into the mouth of a narrow, craggy paſſage, from whence he made a ſhift to clear himſelf, and ſo got ſafe to *Jeruſalem*. This diſaſter of *Alexander*'s was followed with a ſix year's rebellion, which coſt the *Jews* no leſs than fifty thouſand lives. The king was weary of the broil, but the more he ſought for a reconciliation, the further they were from it: Inſomuch, that aſking them at laſt what it was poſſible for him to do to content them, they with one voice bad him cut his own throat; and invited *Demetrius Eucærus* to their aid.

CHAP. XVIII.

Demetrius Eucærus *defeats* Alexander. *Eight hundred* Jews *barbarouſly put to Death by* Alexander. Demetrius *beſieges his Brother* Philip *in* Beræa, *but is Defeated and taken Priſoner, and ſoon after Dies.*

DEMETRIUS *Eucærus*, in conjunction with thoſe that called him in, marched to their aſſiſtance with an army of three thouſand horſe and forty thouſand foot, and encamped near *Sichem*, where *Alexander*, with about ſix thouſand foreign mercenaries and twenty thouſand of his own faction, went out to meet him. The armies being now drawn up, it came to a trial of ſkill betwixt the two parties, whether *Demetrius* ſhould debauch more of *Alexander*'s foreigners to him, (being all *Greeks*) or *Alexander*, on the other hand, gain over more of *Demetrius*'s *Jews* to himſelf. But finding there was no good to be done on either ſide that way, they brought it to a battle, and *Demetrius* got the day: *Alexander*'s auxiliaries doing as much however as it was poſſible for brave men to do; for they died all of them with ſword in hand: And the loſs on the other ſide was alſo very conſiderable. *Alexander* upon this defeat was forced to fly to the mountains for refuge, where, by a ſtrange turn of compaſſion for his misfortune, a matter of ſix thouſand *Jews* came up to him, and joined him. *Demetrius* took ſuch an apprehenſion at this reinforcement, and the inclinations of the people, that he preſently quitted them and retired. But the *Jews* ſtood their ground ſtill, nevertheleſs, and carried on war againſt *Alexander* upon the ſtock of their own reſolution and credit; notwithſtanding that they were perpetually baffled, and cut to pieces as often as they fought. They were forced in the concluſion, with the beſt of their men, to betake themſelves to *Bethama* for protection, where *Alexander* forcing the town, carried the people priſoners to *Jeruſalem*, where he committed the moſt ſhocking barbarites that can be imagined; for as he was feaſting with his concubines, in a turret that had the advantage of a large proſpect, he treated his company with the ſpectacle of the crucifying of eight hundred *Jews*; and before their eyes, whilſt they yet lived, he cauſed their wives and children's throats to be cut. The rigour, in ſhort, was ſo deteſtable, that the *Jews* gave *Alexander* the name of *Thracidas* * for it. There were about eight thouſand of the army however that made a ſhift to get away by night, and ſpent their days afterward in a kind of baniſhment, as long as *Alexander* lived. When this tumult was over, he had a peaceable reign ever after.

Demetrius went from *Judæa* to *Beræa*, where his brother *Philip* was, and with an armyof ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, laid ſiege to the town. *Straton* the prince of the place, and a friend of *Philip*'s, called in to his aſſiſtance *Zizus* an *Arabian* prince, and *Mithridates Sinaces* the *Parthian* general, who with a powerful army attacked *Demetrius*, and preſſed him ſo hard both with darts and arrows, and with drought for want of water, that *Demetrius* with his people were forced to ſubmit to their mercy, himſelf being taken priſoner, and ſent for a preſent to *Mithridates* a *Parthian* king. What *Antiochians* were found in the tents, were left at liberty to go back to *Antioch*. The king of *Parthia* treated *Demetrius* with great honour; but he ſickened ſoon after, and died. *Philip*, after this encounter, repaired preſently to *Antioch*, and entered into the government of the whole kingdom of *Syria*.

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* Becauſe the *Thracians* were remarkably cruel and bloody, as appears from *Thucydides* and other hiſtorians.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Antiochus Dionyſius *makes himſelf King of* Damaſcus. Antiochus *breaks in upon* Alexander*: There paſſes a bloody Battle*; Antiochus *is killed, and his Army routed.* Aretas *choſen King of* Cœle-Syria. *He falls into* Judæa, *and gives* Alexander *an Overthrow.* Alexander *falls ſick.* Alexandra *deplores her Condition to her Huſband; who adviſes her to caſt herſelf wholly upon the* Phariſees, *and ſo he Dies.*

ANTIOCHUS, otherwiſe called *Dionyſius*, and the brother of *Phillip*, took the opportunity of his brother's being then engaged with his army in an expedition againſt the *Parthians;* and having an eye upon *Damaſcus*, got poſſeſſion of the place, and himſelf declared king there. The tidings of this adventure brought his brother *Philip* in all haſte to *Damaſcus*, where, by a ſecret contrivance with *Mileſius*, the governor of the fort, he was quietly received into the town: He gave the officer no reward; but *Mileſius* was even with him for it; for *Philip* being abroad once at the *Circus*, he ſhut the gates upon him, and reſerved the city for *Antiochus*, who, with an army of eight thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, marched directly into *Judæa*. *Alexander*, upon this incurſion, drew a large and deep ditch from *Caparſaba*, now called *Antipatris*, up to the very ſea of *Joppa*, which was the only acceſſible way to the town. He erected a wall alſo with intervals of ſeveral wooden towers, which he carried on for a hundred and fifty ſurlongs in length; and there he waited for *Antiochus*, who ſet fire to theſe wooden contrivances, and ſo paſſed his army into *Arabia*, where the enemy gave way upon the firſt encounter; but advancing forward with a body of ten thouſand horſe, *Antiochus* charging in directly upon them, it came to a bloody diſpute; and preſſing over-eagerly to the relief of one of his wings he was killed, when he was almoſt ſure of the victory. The whole army upon his fall, fled in confuſion to *Cana*, where the greater part of them periſhed for want of bread.

Aretas came next to the government of *Cœle-Syria*, upon the choice of the people of *Damaſcus*, out of a pure ſpite to *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Mennæus*. He entered *Judæa* with an army, overthrew *Alexander* near *Addida;* and then went his way back again.

Alexander went on, and took *Dion* by aſſault; marching thence to *Eſſa*, where *Zeno*'s treaſure lay. He ran firſt three walls about it, and then made himſelf maſter of it by ſtorm; as he did afterwards of *Gaulana*, and *Seleucia*, the vale of *Antiochus*, and the fortreſs of *Gamala*. And in regard there were many grievous miſdemeanors laid to the charge of *Demetrius*, formerly the maſter of theſe places, he diveſted him of his royal authority. When he had ſpent about three years in this courſe of action, he carried his army back again, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Jews*.

The *Jews* were at that time in poſſeſſion of *Syria*, *Idumæa*, and *Phœnicia*; the tower of *Straton* upon the ſea, *Appollonia*, *Joppa*, *Jamnia*, *Azotus Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Raphia*, *Rhinocura*; and in the midland, of *Idumæa*, of *Adora*, and *Mariſſa*; all *Samaria*, and the mountains of *Carmel* and *Itayr*. And beſide theſe, of *Scythopolis*, *Gadara*, *Gaulanitis*, *Seleucia* and *Gabala*. And in the land of the *Moabites*, of *Eſſebon*, *Medaba*, *Lemba*, *Oron*, *Telithon*, *Zara*; and in *Cilicia*, *Aulon* and *Pella*. This laſt they demoliſhed for refuſing to conform to the laws and cuſtoms of the *Jews*. They had likewiſe other conſiderable places in *Syria*, that came but lately to be under their juriſdiction.

Alexander, toward the end of his reign, delivered himſelf up to intemperance and debauch, and drank himſelf into a quartan ague, which held him for full three years; but yet at the ſame time he attended the affairs both of his army and government, which, betwixt the diſtemper of his wine, and the fatigue of his cares, brought him to his end. He died upon the frontiers of the *Geraſens*, at the ſiege of the caſtle of *Ragaba*, on the further ſide of the river *Jordan*.

When the queen *Alexandra* found him out of all hope of recovery, ſhe fell into a paſſionate tranſport of weeping: "Alas! my dear," ſays ſhe, "what will become of your poor helpleſs wife and children now, without ſo much as one friend in the world to truſt to, and left in the hands too of your mortal enemies!"

"Well," ſays *Alexander*, "if you would be ſafe and happy when I am dead, and you and your children quietly ſucceed to the government, mind what I ſay now, and be ſure to follow my counſel. In the firſt place, keep my death concealed from the ſoldiers till the caſtle is taken, and then do you go triumphant to *Jeruſalem* with the news of it, and make your firſt court to the *Phariſees*, as the only means to make yourſelf popular. Go but this way to work, and depend upon it there will be care taken for the decencies of an honourable and a magnificent funeral, and for the ſettling of yourſelf and your children in the exerciſe of your rightful power. Let them but have the ruling of you, and it will be their buſineſs to eſtabliſh you in a peaceable rule over others."

This was the end of his ſpeech and of his life, in the forty ninth year of his age, and in the twenty ſeventh of his reign.

CHAP. XX.

The State of Judæa *under* Alexandra. *She conſults the* Phariſees *about her Huſband* Alexander'*s Body, and the Government.* Alexander *leaves two ſons,* Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus; *and the Regency to the Queen. The Death and Character of Queen* Alexandra.

AS ſoon as the caſtle was taken, *Alexandra* applied herſelf immediately to the *Phariſees*, according to her huſband's deſire, leaving the whole affair of the body, and of the government to their direction. Upon this inſinuation, the *Phariſees*, th greateſt enemies ſhe had in the world, became her greateſt friends; addreſſing themſelves preſently in a harangue to the people upon the glorious exploits of *Alexander*; the irreparable loſs of ſuch a prince; and by theſe rhetorical flouriſhes raiſed the paſſions of the multitude to ſuch a pitch that they thought him worthy of a funeral ſolemnity beyond all that ever went before him.

This prince left at his death two ſons, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, but the regency devolved by his laſt teſtament to his wife *Alexandra*. *Hyrcanus*, the elder brother, was a lover of his eaſe, and a man not qualified for the cares and intrigues of a ſtate. *Ariſtobulus*, on the contrary, was naturally daring and induſtrious; but the mother was the favourite of the people, for the diſlike ſhe ſhewed in her huſband's life-time to his male-adminiſtration. By her aſſiſtance and advice *Hyrcanus* was promoted to the pontificate, not for ſeniority or parts, but for incompetency, as the more manageable fool of the two. Upon the whole matter, the queen did but execute the *Phariſees* orders, and though ſhe ſigned and ſealed, they in fact governed: Nay, the common people had it in charge to pay them all obedience. She appointed alſo the revival of the *Phariſees* ordinances and traditions, which her father-in-law had aboliſhed; and at this rate every thing was done in the queen's name, by the other's power; for at their inſtance exiles were recalled, priſoners ſet at liberty, and the like. In ſome few caſes, 'tis true, ſhe acted by her own proper authority, that is to ſay, ſhe kept a mercenary army in pay, and augmented her forces to ſuch a degree that her neighbours ſtood in awe of her, as appeared by the ſecurity they gave her in hoſtages for their good behaviour.

Her reign, in ſhort, would have been quiet enough, but for the troubleſome importunities of the *Phariſees*, that would be ſtill putting her upon one miſchief or another; as when they preſſed her for juſtice upon thoſe that adviſed the death of the eight hundred perſons before-mentioned, upon which inſtigation *Diogenes* was cut off, and after him divers others, one after another, till at laſt ſeveral of the moſt eminent men concerned went in a body to the queen herſelf, with *Ariſtobulus* at the head of them, who ſhewed in his countenance the diſguſt he had at the proceeding, and that he wanted only power and opportunity to bring his mother to reaſon. His followers took this occaſion of remonſtrating to the queen what proofs they had given their late maſter of their faith and loyalty, through all extremities and hazards. "But," ſaid they, "if you are abſolutely reſolved to indulge the pride and ambition of the *Phariſees*, in preference to all other conſiderations, you may be pleaſed to diſpoſe of us only into caſtles and garriſons elſewhere; for if this be the fate that attends *Alexander*'s friends, we ſhall content ourſelves in any condition to bear our part in the honour of a common calamity."

The queen was ſo hard put to it for an anſwer to theſe expoſtulatory propoſals, that ſhe could not do better than to put the male-contents into ſtrong holds and garriſons, upon condition that *Hyrcania*, *Alexandrias*, and *Machærus*, where ſhe depoſited her jewels, treaſure and rich goods, might be none of them. She ſent her ſon *Ariſtobulus* a little while after this, with an army toward *Damaſcus* againſt *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Mennæus*, a very troubleſome prince to his neighbours, but he returned ſoon after from that expedition without doing any thing of moment.

While things were in this poſture a report came that *Tigranes*, the king of *Armenia*, was fallen into *Syria* with an army of five hundred thouſand men, and with a deſign to march ſuddenly into *Judæa*. *Alexandra* was ſo ſurpriſed at this intelligence that ſhe forthwith ſent ambaſſadors with a compliment and preſents to *Tigranes*, who was at that time before *Ptolemais*. The queen *Selene*, otherwiſe called *Cleopatra*, who had then the government of *Syria*, animated her ſubjects to ſtand upon their guard, and to oppoſe *Tigranes*'s entrance into the country. The ambaſſadors acquitted themſelves ſo well toward the king on the behalf of *Alexandra* and the whole nation of the *Jews*, that he gave them an aſſurance of all good offices in return. In ſhort, he took *Ptolemais*, and was no ſooner maſter of it, but word was brought him of the rout of *Mithridates* by *Lucullus*, his eſcape upon the purſuit into *Iberia*, and that when *Lucullus* ſaw he could not overtake him, he ſtruck off into *Armenia*, where he was at that time ravaging and deſtroying the country. Upon this intelligence *Tigranes* marched off with his army, and went his way home again.

The queen *Alexandra* fell ſome time after this into a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, which gave *Ariſtobulus* as fair an opportunity of playing his own game as his heart could wiſh. So that ſlipping out in the night, and only one ſervant with him, he went by ſtealth to the forts and caſtles, where his father's friends were in garriſon. *Ariſtobulus* had been a long time very diſſatisfied with his mother's conduct; but conſidering her preſent indiſpoſition, and the danger of the whole family's lying at the mercy of the *Phariſees*, in caſe of her death, *Hyrcanus*, the next in ſucceſſion, being their property and creature, and utterly unqualified for the exerciſe of any public charge, he found himſelf more uneaſy under theſe circumſtances than ever. No mortal knew any thing of his deſign but his own wife, whom he left behind him at *Jeruſalem* with his children, and ſo went to *Agada*, where he was very generouſly received by *Galæſtes*, a perſon of eminent quality there.

Alexandra miſſed him the very day after his departure, but ſuſpected nothing of what he was about, till ſhe came to underſtand that three or four fortreſſes were gone over to him. This turn put the queen and the people into deſperate confuſion, for they looked upon *Ariſtobulus* as a perſon likely enough to ſet up for himſelf, and in as fair a poſſibility of carrying his point: Beſide the apprehenſion of being called to a bloody account for the outrageous barbarities they had committed upon ſeveral of his particular friends. In this conſternation they could think of no better expedient than to confine the wife and children of *Ariſtobulus* under a guard in the citadel, near the temple. While this was in agitation, the people came flocking to him in throngs. Briefly, in fifteen days he made himſelf maſter of two and twenty caſtles, and when he had thus ſecured himſelf both of a ſtand and a retreat, he quickly got an army together from *Mount Libanus*, *Trachonitis*, and the princes thereabouts, who were forward enough upon this occaſion to help the ſtronger ſide, in a proſpect of the advantages they might reaſonably expect, for the ſervice of raiſing a new king to the throne. Upon this pinch of affairs, *Hyrcanus*, and the elders of the *Jews*, applied themſelves to the queen for advice and directions what to do. They told her "that *Ariſtobulus*, by virtue of the places he had already taken, was as good as maſter of all the reſt; that they found her, to their great grief, in extremity; but however, ſo long as ſhe lived, they could do nothing without her, even though they ſaw themſelves upon the very brink of ruin."

The queen's reply was, "that not being in condition either of body or mind to charge herſelf with the public, ſhe had laid all thoſe cares aſide, and remitted it wholly to themſelves to conſult the neceſſities of the government. They had the means of defence," ſhe told them, "in their own hands, the ſtrength of the nation entire, and wanted neither men nor money."

Theſe were her laſt words; and ſoon after ſhe died, in the ninth year of her reign, and the ſeventy third of her life. This woman was endued with greater excellency than could be expected from one of her ſex, and expreſſed both in her actions and ordinances how fit ſhe was to govern a kingdom, and how unworthy ſome princes are of the dignities they have amongſt men: For making more account of the preſent than future occurrences, and neglecting all other things in reſpect of thoſe which are requiſite in a moderate government, ſhe never, upon any inſtigation whatſoever, perverted juſtice; notwithſtanding her family fell into ſuch inconveniences, that the ſame ſovereignty which ſhe had obtained by divers dangers and labours, was not long after that ruined and loſt for her ſcarce effeminate deſires. For ſhe gave ear unto thoſe who were ill-affected towards her poſterity, and left the kingdom deſtitute of ſuch as were fit to govern; ſo that the government which ſhe enjoyed in peace during her lifetime, was after her death diſtracted with infinite troubles and calamities, wherewith her family was involved.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK XIV.

From the Year of the World 3898, to 3929.

CHAP. I.

A Battle betwixt Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus. *They come afterward to an Agreement, by which* Ariſtobulus *is to have the Crown.*

IT was in the third year of the *Olympiad* one hundred and ſeventy ſeven, (*Q. Hortenſius*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus*, conſuls,) that *Hyrcanus* took upon himſelf the pontificate; and *Ariſtobulus* immediately made war upon him. They fought a battle at *Jericho*, and a great many of *Hyrcanus*'s ſoldiers deſerted to his brother: Through which accident *Hyrcanus* was forced to fly to the citadel, where the wife and children of *Ariſtobulus* were kept priſoners, (as has been mentioned before) and the remainder of the faction took ſanctuary for a while within the verge of the temple, but ſurrendered themſelves ſoon after. The brothers entered upon a treaty, and came in the concluſion to this agreement: That *Ariſtobulus* ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of the government, and *Hyrcanus* be allowed to live at eaſe and liberty upon his own fortune. This contract was ſigned and ratified in the temple, confirmed with oaths, and concluded with mutual embraces in the ſight of all the people, which being finiſhed, they departed, the one to his palace, the other to his private apartment, under the roof of *Ariſtobulus*.

CHAP. II.

Antipater *perſuades* Hyrcanus *to fly to* Aretas, *King of the* Arabians, *who promiſeth to re-eſtabliſh him in the Kingdom of* Judæa.

THERE was a certain *Idumæan* of *Hyrcanus*'s faction, his name *Antipater*, and a deadly enemy to *Ariſtobulus*. This *Antipater* was firſt call'd by his father's name, *Antipas*; who, they ſay, was preferred by the favour of king *Alexander* and his wife to the government of *Idumæa*, where, by the force of fair words, and large preſents, he made a conſiderable intereſt in the *Arabians*, *Gazæans*, and the people of *Aſkalon*.

Young *Antipater*, ſtanding in ſome awe of *Ariſtobulus*, as well for his power to do him miſchief, as for a grudge there was betwixt them, betook himſelf to the ſecret ways of calumny and detraction, ſaying now and then, "How unreaſonable a thing it was for the younger brother to ſupplant the elder, ſtrip him of his birthright, and uſurp the government to himſelf: Nay, and how mean a thing it was for ſo many noble *Jews* of power and credit to look on and ſuffer it." The very ſame words ſerved him to make uſe of to *Hyrcanus* too, but adviſing him withal, to get out of the way in time, for that the other party had moſt certainly a deſign upon his life. *Hyrcanus* was an open, eaſy man, and having no guile in himſelf, was not apt to ſuſpect it in others: So that this diſcourſe did not work upon him as it was expected it ſhould. His brother *Ariſtobulus*, on the contrary, was fierce and enterpriſing, in the other extreme. *Antipater* ſaw well enough that with all his inſinuations he had not yet gained his point upon *Hyrcanus*, but plying him with freſh cautions and importunities, he prevailed upon him at laſt to apply himſelf for protection to the *Arabian* king *Aretas*, with the offer of his own friendſhip and ſervice, which propoſals ſeemed the more plauſible, in regard that *Arabia* borders upon *Judæa*.

The reſolution being taken, *Antipater* goes his way immediately to *Aretas*, to treat with him about the reception of *Hyrcanus*; and upon the ſecurity both of his oath and honour, that he would not upon any terms deliver him up into the hands of his enemies, *Antipater* went back again to *Hyrcanus* with an account of his buſineſs. When he had been ſome ſhort time at *Jeruſalem*, he took *Hyrcanus* with him one night out of the city, and conducted him to the city of *Petra*, where *Aretas* kept his court: And here he employed his utmoſt credit with the king, in favour of *Hyrcanus*. He followed him ſo cloſe, that at laſt he brought him over: *Hyrcanus* promiſing him at the ſame time that if ever he came to be ſettled in his kingdom by his means, he would give him back again the country and the twelve cities which had been taken from the *Arabians* by his father, that is to ſay, *Medada*, *Naballo*, *Livias*, *Tharabaſſa*, *Agalla*, *Athone*, *Zoara*, *Oronæ*, *Mariſſa*, *Rydda*, *Luſa*, and *Oryba*.

Upon the encouragement of theſe promiſes, *Aretas* advanced againſt *Ariſtobulus* with an army of fifty thouſand horſe and foot; fought, and overcame him: ſo that he was forced to fly for refuge to *Jeruſalem*, where *Aretas* with his whole army attacked him in the very temple, the people unanimouſly joining with *Hyrcanus* againſt *Ariſtobulus*, the prieſts only excepted: *Aretas*, on the other hand, with his *Jews* as well as *Arabians*, puſhing on the aſſault with the utmoſt vigour. While this action was a-foot, the feaſt of unleavened bread coming on, (that which we call the paſchal) the chief men of the *Jews* withdrew themſelves, and went into *Egypt*: At which time one *Onias*, a holy and a righteous man, upon the apprehenſion of a civil war at hand went and hid himſelf. The *Jews* reflecting upon the piety of this man, and how he had obtained rain from God, in an extremity of drought, brought him into the camp, and there made it their requeſt, that as he had formerly delivered them from the judgment of a famine, ſo he would now relieve them from a moſt deſtructive war, by denouncing a malediction upon *Ariſtobulus* and his whole faction. He oppoſed it a great while, till at laſt, being over-ruled by the multitude, he ſtood up, and delivered an ejaculatory prayer to this purpoſe. "Lord! Thou art "the King of Kings; ſince ſo it is that "both we that ſtand here before thee are "thy people, and they that are beſieged in "the temple are thy prieſts; I do humbly "beſeech thee not to hear the prayers of "either of them one againſt the other." Upon which words ſome of the execrable rabble of the *Jews* that ſtood by, ſtoned him to death. This barbarity was followed immediately by a divine juſtice. While *Ariſtobulus* and the prieſts were thus beſet in the temple, the paſchal feſtival came on, at which time, according to cuſtom, the *Jews* offered up a great number of ſacrifices; but the beſieged, not having ſo many as they had occaſion for, deſired their brethren to ſupply them at their own price; and ſo they agreed at one thouſand drachmas a head for each beaſt, and the money to be paid down. *Ariſtobulus* and the prieſts agreed to the price and the conditions, and let down the money to them with a rope and a bag from the temple wall. When the beſiegers had the money, they refuſed to deliver the victims. The prieſts, upon this perfidy, joined in a prayer to God, that this iniquity might not eſcape unpuniſhed. Their prayers were heard, for God immediately ſent a violent tempeſt that deſtroyed all the fruits of the earth through the whole province, and occaſioned ſuch a dearth, that one meaſure of wheat was ſold for fifteen drachmas.

CHAP. III.

Pompey *ſends* Scaurus *for* Syria. Ariſtobulus *falls upon* Aretas *and* Hyrcanus.

POMPEY himſelf was at this time detained in *Armenia*, by the war he had there with *Tigranes*; but in this interim ſent *Scaurus* into *Syria*. When he came to *Damaſcus*, he found the city newly taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*, and ſo he poſted forward without any ſtop toward *Judæa*. As he was upon the way, there came ambaſſadors to him from *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, and both upon the ſame errand, that is to ſay, to deſire an alliance offenſive and defenſive. *Ariſtobulus* offered four hundred talents, and *Hyrcanus* juſt as much. *Scaurus* inclined to *Ariſtobulus*, as the more generous and ſolvent of the two, beſides the terms he inſiſted on were more practicable and eaſy; but he looked upon the other to be poor and hard, his conditions higher than his brother's, and himſelf at laſt not ſo reſponſible; for it was a much harder matter to carry ſo ſtrong and ſo well fortified a city by aſſault, than to beat a vagabond parcel of *Nabathæans* and fugitives, and the rabble not ſo well verſed neither in the art of war. For theſe reaſons *Scaurus* agreed with *Ariſtobulus*, took his money, and diſcharged the ſiege: Ordering *Aretas* to withdraw, upon the peril of being accounted an enemy to *Rome* in caſe of refuſal. *Scaurus*, after this, went back to *Damaſcus*, and *Ariſtobulus* advanced with a mighty army againſt *Aretas* and *Hyrcanus*, and engaging them in a place called *Papyron*, he gave them an overthrow, with the loſs of about ſeven thouſand of the enemy, and *Cæphalius*, the brother of *Antipater*, among the reſt.

CHAP. IV.

Pompey *goes to* Damaſcus. Ariſtobulus *makes him a magnificent Preſent. The Cauſe of* Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus *brought to* Damaſcus. Pompey *gives them a Hearing, and adjourns the Trial.*

UPON *Pompey*'s coming to *Damaſcus* and *Cœle-Syria*, a while after there came ambaſſadors thronging to him from all *Syria*, *Egypt* and *Judæa*. *Ariſtobulus*, above all the reſt, ſent him a moſt glorious preſent, a golden vine of five hundred talents.

There came to *Pompey* not long after this other ambaſſadors; *Antipater*, on the part of *Hyrcanus*, and *Nicodemus* for *Ariſtobulus*, who charged *Gabinius* and *Scaurus* with taking ſums of money, the former three hundred talents, and the other four. *Pompey* appointed the parties to attend him about it. The ſpring coming on, *Pompey* drew out of his winter quarters, and marched to *Damaſcus*, deſtroying the fort of *Apamia*, a fortification of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, by the way, having an eye likewiſe upon the country of *Ptolemy Mennæus*, a wicked man. But he had the good fortune to reedeem himſelf for a thouſand talents, which *Pompey* divided among his ſoldiers. He raiſed the fort of *Lycias* alſo, where *Silas* the *Jew* had gotten poſſeſſion; and ſo paſſing from thence toward *Heliopolis* and *Chalcis*, he took the way of the mountain that lies betwixt them, and ſo into *Cœle-Syria*, and then from *Bella* to *Damaſcus*, where the controverſy betwixt the *Jews* and the princes was brought to a hearing: *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* being at odds one with another, and the common people againſt them both. Theſe latter alledged, that they were not to be governed by kings, but by God's prieſts, according to the laws and conſtitutions of their country. They did not deny the ſacerdotal extraction of the two brothers; but they charged them with a deſign of enſlaving the people, and ſubverting the fundamentals of government.

Hyrcanus inſiſted upon it, that he being the elder brother, *Ariſtobulus* had violently ſeized upon his hereditary dignity and eſtate;

and depriving him of the prerogative of his birthright, reduced him to the condition of a penſioner at his mercy and allowance.

Ariſtobulus pleaded, on the other hand, that *Hyrcanus* was not ſet aſide with any thought of uſurpation or encroachment, either upon his title, or upon his inheritance, but purely for incapacity for the neceſſary offices of government. " Now this I am " ready to make good," ſays he, " by ſeve- " ral witneſſes here;" producing at the ſame time a company of huffing ſparks in the vanity of their dreſs and trappings, fitter for a maſquerade than to give teſtimony in a court of juſtice.

Pompey, upon the hearing of all parties, was in his judgment againſt the intemperate proceeding of *Ariſtobulus*, but gave them however for the preſent a fair diſmiſſion, with a promiſe that ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould have reduced the *Nabathæans* into order he would come over to them, and do ſomething farther in it, requiring them in the mean time to behave themſelves peaceably. He treated *Ariſtobulus* with compliment and reſpect, for fear he might take umbrage, and obſtruct him in his paſſage, which notwithſtanding came to paſs, for he went preſently to *Delion*, and ſo to *Judæa*, without regarding any further what *Pompey* had ordered him.

CHAP. V.

Pompey *Affronted.* Ariſtobulus *withdraws to* Jeruſalem. Pompey *beſieges the Temple.*

THIS way of proceeding provoked *Pompey* to ſuch a degree, that he took his army and marched with them directly toward *Ariſtobulus*, paſſing by *Pella* and *Scythopolis*, till he came to *Coreæ* upon the entrance into the very heart of *Judæa*, where he found, upon the top of a mountain, a ſtrong caſtle called *Alexandrion*: And being told that *Ariſtobulus* had made choice of that place for his retreat, he gave him a ſummons to come down and ſpeak with him; which he was prevailed upon to do for fear of being engaged in a war with the *Romans*. After that formality was over, *Ariſtobulus*, with *Pompey*'s leave, went back again to the caſtle; and this he did again and again, to keep fair with *Pompey*: But this did not hinder him yet from putting himſelf into a poſture of defence in caſe of the worſt, out of a jealouſy he had of *Pompey*'s declaring for his brother. *Pompey*, after this, ordered him to deliver up all the caſtles that he was maſter of, and to ſignify ſuch his will and pleaſure to the governors under his own hand, that there might be no room left for excuſe. *Ariſtobulus* did as he was appointed, but took it ſo heinouſly that he went away forthwith to *Jeruſalem*, to prepare for war. It was not long before *Pompey* at the head of his army, marching againſt him, was met upon the way with an expreſs from *Pontus*, giving him an account of the death of *Mithridates*, who was ſlain by his ſon *Pharnaces*.

Pompey had the firſt camp near *Jericho*, a place famous for date trees, and where alſo groweth that balm which is the moſt precious of all other ointments, diſtilling from a little a little ſhrub, which is opened and ſlit by a ſharp cutting ſtone.) The next morning he moved toward *Jeruſalem*. *Ariſtobulus* by this time repented himſelf of what he had done, and went out to meet him, offering him a ſum of money, the command of the town, and whatever ſatisfaction he ſhould further deſire, for the preventing of a war. *Pompey* accepted his propoſals, and ſent *Gabinius* with a body of men into the city to receive the money: But the gates were ſhut againſt him; the fault being laid upon the ſoldiers that would not ſtand to the agreement. *Pompey* was ſo incenſed at this affront that after he had committed *Ariſtobulus* to priſon he went in perſon againſt the city, which was very ſtrong by ſituation, and well fortified, only it lay a little expoſed toward the north, where there was a large and a deep valley about the temple, and a ſubſtantial ſtone wall to encompaſs it.

CHAP. VI.

Pompey, *after a three Months Siege, takes the Temple of* Jeruſalem *by Aſſault, and forbears to plunder it. He leſſens the* Jews *Power. He leaveth* Scaurus *to command his Army; carrieth* Ariſtobulus *Priſoner to* Rome, *with* Alexander *and* Antigonus *his two Sons, and his two Daughters.* Alexander *makes his eſcape out of Priſon.*

WHILE *Pompey* was before the town ſome of the citizens were for yielding, others (who were of *Ariſtobulus*'s faction) for holding out, eſpecially conſidering that *Ariſtobulus* was kept a priſoner. The latter prevailing, poſſeſſed themſelves of the temple, and broke down the bridge between that and the city; while the other party not only gave entrance to the army, but delivered up both city and palace into the hands of *Pompey*, who preſently ſent away *Piſo* his lieutenant with part of his army to take charge of both, which he did effectually, by fortifying the houſes and buildings of the temple that were next at hand. When things were come to this paſs, *Pompey*, in the firſt place, made them a propoſal of peace, but upon their refuſal to treat, he provided for an aſſault, *Hyrcanus* ſupplying him very frankly with what he had occaſion for. The north ſide of the temple being the weakeſt quarter, *Pompey* propoſed to begin his attack there It was encompaſſed with high towers, and a forced ditch, over and above the aforeſaid valley. Upon the city ſide, toward *Pompey*'s ſtation, there was no paſſing, now the bridge was down, for crags and precipices, but the *Romans*, with infinite labour, filled up the ditch with timber and other materials, and ſo raiſed platforms and ramparts, to ſuch a prodigious height, that with engines of battery which they brought from *Tyre*, they played great ſtones upon the temple wall; and yet if it had not been for our ſeven days ſabbath the *Romans* would have had much ado to have gained their point: for obſerving that we made no oppoſition, they employed the ſabbath wholly upon preparations for the action of the next day, without attempting any manner of violence then. This temple was taken upon a faſting day, in the third month of the ſiege, the hundred and ſeventy ninth *Olympiad*, *Caius Antonius* and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being conſuls. Upon the enemies forcing the place, they put every man to death before them: And all this cruelty was not enough yet to deter thoſe officiating at the altar from going on with their devotions; accounting it the leſs evil of the two, to fall into the hands of an unmerciful enemy, than to abandon their holy profeſſion, or fail in the leaſt ſcruple of obedience and reſpect to their country's rites and ceremonies. The enemy fell to work with their engines upon the great tower, till by repeated battering they ſhook it to pieces, and brought it down to the ground, carrying away a great part of the next wall along with it in the ruins. This breach was no ſooner made, but the enemey preſſed in crowds to enter it. The firſt that mounted was *Cornelius Fauſtus*, the ſon of *Sylla*, with his company; after him, upon another quarter, the centurion *Furius*, with his men, and *Fabius* then, betwixt them both, with another ſtrong party. The place was all covered with dead bodies; ſome were killed by the *Romans*, others by conſent diſpatched one another; ſome caſt themſelves down headlong from the walls, and others ſet fire to the houſes over their heads, rather than to be ſpectators of the barbarities that were committed. There were ſlain twelve thouſand *Jews*, and not many *Romans*. *Abſalom*, the uncle and father-in-law of *Ariſtobulus*, was made priſoner. Theſe outrages were accompanied alſo with ſeveral indignities to the very myſteries of our religion, by the admittance of prophane perſons into the place, and to the ſight of thoſe privacies, which none but prieſts had ever been eye-witneſſes of before. *Pompey* and his train were of the number that came in there, where they found a golden table, a candleſtick, and cups of the ſame metal; varieties of incenſe, and perfumes in abundance, beſide about two thouſand talents of ſilver in the ſacred treaſury: But he looked upon all this proviſion as ſacred; and out of a veneration he had for holy things, he not only forbore touching or ſeizing any of it, but ordered the officers of the temple next day to purge the place, and to offer ſacrifices according to their own cuſtoms and ordinances. He reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the high-prieſthood, cut off the heads of the incendiaries of the faction that were the promoters of the war, and took care to ſee *Fauſtus*, and others that behaved themſelves bravely upon the aſſault, rewarded according to their deſerts. As for *Jeruſalem* itſelf, he made it tributary to the *Romans*, and reduced all the places that he found the *Jews* poſſeſſed of in *Cœle-Syria*, confining alſo that populous nation within certain limits. He cauſed *Gadara*, (lately deſtroyed) in favour of his freed-man *Demetrius*, who was born there, to be rebuilt; and as for *Hippon*, *Scythopolis*, *Dion*, *Samaria*, *Mariſſa*, *Azotus*, *Jamnia*, and *Arethuſa*, being inland places, he delivered them up into the hands of their former inhabitants, together with other places that were ruined by the war; but for the maritime towns, as *Gaza*, *Joppa*, *Dora*, and *Straton*'s tower, *Pompey* made them all free, and annexed them to the province. This tower of *Straton*, when it came afterward to be rebuilt by *Herod*, and beautified with ſtately ports and temples, changed the ancient name for *Cæſarea*.

Pompey, after this, committed the government of *Cœle-Syria* as far as *Euphrates* and the borders of *Egypt*, to *Scaurus*, with two *Roman* legions, while he himſelf haſtened to *Rome* by the way of *Cilicia*, carrying *Ariſtobulus* along with him a priſoner, with his two ſons, and two daughters; but *Alexander*, one of the ſons, made his eſcape; and *Antigonus*, the younger, with his father and his ſiſters were carried to *Rome*.

CHAP. VII.

Scaurus *marches againſt* Petra; *and comes to a Compoſition with* Aretas, *to the high Satisfaction of both Parties.* Gabinius's *Expedition againſt* Alexander, *(the Son of* Ariſtobulus) *whom he overthrows in Battle, and takes from him the Caſtle of* Alexandrion *and ſeveral other Places.*

THE paſſage to *Petra*, the capital of *Arabia*, is very craggy and difficult, inſomuch that *Scaurus*, upon his march thither with an army, was forced to ravage the country thereabouts to provide bread for his ſoldiers. *Antipater*, by the order of *Hyrcanus*, furniſhed him with corn and other neceſſaries out of *Judæa*; and being well known to *Aretas*, *Scaurus* ſent him upon an embaſſy to him, and prevailed on him for a compoſition of three hundred talents, to ſave his country from ruin, which put an end to the war, even before it was begun, to the great ſatisfaction of *Scaurus*, as well as of *Aretas*.

Alexander, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, falling into and galling *Judæa* with frequent incurſions, ſome time after this *Gabinius* was ſent from *Rome* into *Syria*, with the commiſſion of general, wherein he performed many memorable exploits. *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt was not now in a condition to make reſiſtance, though he had it in his thought to repair and re-edify the walls of *Jeruſalem* that *Pompey* had deſtroyed, but the *Romans* would not ſuffer him to go forward with it. *Alexander* made a ſhift in a ſhort time to get together ten thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe: He ſtored and fortified the caſtle of *Alexandrion* near *Coreæ*, and *Machærus*, on the borders of *Arabia*. *Gabinius* advanced to fight him: *Alexander* drew off to be nearer *Jeruſalem*, where they came to a battle, in which *Alexander* had about three thouſand men killed, and as many taken. *Gabinius* after this laid ſiege to the caſtle of *Alexandrion*. The beſieged kept a ſtrong out-guard under the walls of the caſtle, which the *Romans* attacked, and cut off a great many of them, *Marcus Antonius* behaving very bravely upon that occaſion. *Gabinius*, leaving part of his army to attend the ſiege, went himſelf to take a view of the reſt of the country, and to give order for the rebuilding of what cities had been deſtroyed, as *Samaria*, *Azotus*, *Scythopolis*, *Anthedon*, *Raphia*, *Dora*, *Mariſſa*, *Gaza*, and divers other places: Having put the country into this order, he returned to *Alexandrion* in proſecution of the ſiege; where *Alexander* took the opportunity of begging pardon by his ambaſſadors, and reſtoring into his hands the caſtles of *Hyrcania*, *Machærus*, and *Alexandrion*, which he accepted of, but raſed them all to the ground. After this there came to him the mother of *Alexander*, who was a well-wiſher to the *Romans*, her huſband and the reſt of her children being then priſoners at *Rome*. *Gabinius* denied her nothing; and after the ſettling of her affairs, *Hyrcanus* was brought to *Jeruſalem*, and reſtored to the office and exerciſe of his prieſthood. There were then conſtituted five courts of juſtice, and a diviſion made of the whole province into five equal parts: So that ſome went for law to

Jeruſalem, others to *Gadara*, and others alſo to *Amathus*, *Jericho*, or *Saphora*, which is a city of *Galilee*. They came by this means to be delivered from the tyranny they complained of, and ſo returned to the form of an ariſtocracy again.

CHAP. VIII.

Ariſtobulus *makes his Eſcape from* Rome. *He is routed by the* Romans, *and a ſecond time taken Priſoner.* Alexander *is defeated by* Gabinius, *and loſes ten thouſand* Jews.

UPON the flight of *Ariſtobulus* from *Rome* to *Judæa*, with an intent to repair and fortify *Alexandrion* afreſh after the late ruins, *Gabinius* ſent a body of men thither under the command of *Siſenna*, *Antonius*, and *Servilius*, to maintain the place, and to endeavour the ſecuring of *Ariſtobulus* himſelf; for there came great numbers of the *Jews* flocking over to him, and in particular *Pitholaus*, the governor of *Jeruſalem*, with a thouſand men well armed: He marched with a body of eight thouſand men, to attempt the taking of *Machærus*. The *Romans* came up with him and fought him, gave him a terrible overthrow, and killed five thouſand upon the place. *Ariſtobulus*, upon this rout, with a thouſand men, fortified the caſtle as well as he could, but in two days it was carried by aſſault; himſelf grievouſly wounded, and carried away priſoner, with his ſon *Antigonus*, his companion in his eſcape, and brought to *Gabinius*, by whom he was now ſent a ſecond time priſoner to *Rome*, having been three years and a half both in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom and of the pontificate, and acquitting himſelf with great honour in both charges: But the ſenate ſet his children at liberty howe-ever, upon the intimation of *Gabinius*, that he had promiſed the mother as much, upon the delivery of ſuch and ſuch caſtles: So that they were ſent back again free to *Jeruſalem*.

Gabinius was now entered upon an expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and gotten over the river *Euphrates*, when upon ſecond thoughts he bent his courſe toward *Egypt*, for the reſtoring of *Ptolemy*. *Antipater* furniſhed him for this enterpriſe with corn, arms, and money, and brought over a great many of the *Jews* about *Peluſium* into an alliance with him, this *Peluſium* being the very key to *Egypt*.

At his return *Gabinius* found *Syria* all in an uproar; for *Alexander*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, having made himſelf maſter of the kingdom, harraſſed the country with a powerful army, and forced a great many of the *Jews* over to his party, killing all the *Romans* he could come at in his paſſage, and beſieging the reſt upon the mount of *Garizin*, that fled thither for ſanctuary. *Gabinius* finding the *Syrians* in this diſorder, ſent *Antipater*, being a man of known prudence and integrity, to deal with them, and to try if he could bring them to their wits again. He brought off ſeveral of the revolters, but *Alexander* himſelf was not to be moved: For having gotten together an army of thirty thouſand *Jews*, his reſolution was to puſh it to a battle with *Gabinius*. They fought at the mount *Itabyr*, and the *Jews* loſt ten thouſand men.

Matters being thus ſettled in *Jeruſalem*, the victor marched againſt the *Nabathæans*, and gave them a notable overthrow, diſcharging two noble *Parthians*, *Mithridates* and *Orſanes*, that came over to him for protection. *Gabinius* having now acquitted himſelf with honour in all his commiſſions, went back to *Rome*, and *Craſſus* ſucceeded him in his command.

CHAP. IX.

Craſſus *rifles the Temple, contrary to his Oath. He and his Army cut to Pieces by the* Parthians.

CRASSUS, being now upon the preparative for a war with the *Parthians*, came to *Judæa*, and not only ſeized the two thouſand talents that *Pompey* made a conſcience of ſo much as meddling with, but pillaged the temple of eight thouſand talents more. He carried away with him alſo a wedge of gold of three hundred minas, reckoning every mina, according to the *Jewiſh* computation, at two pounds and an half. *Eleazar* the prieſt, who had the keeping of this holy treaſure, delivered it up to *Craſſus*; this bar of gold was lodged in a wooden beam, made hollow on purpoſe to receive and conceal it, and no mortal was privy to the ſecret but *Elezar*, who ſeeing *Craſſus*'s heart wholly ſet upon plunder, delivered up this wedge as a compoſition for all the reſt; for there were hangings alſo of an ineſtimable value faſtened to this timber, and other rich ornaments for the ſervice of the temple, which were all likewiſe in *Eleazar*'s cuſtody. And he did not deliver this bar of gold at laſt, but upon the ſolemn oath of *Craſſus*, that he would not meddle with any thing elſe. Notwithſtanding which he rifled the temple, and ſtript it to the bare walls.

When *Craſſus* had done his pleaſure in *Judæa*, he advanced againſt the *Parthians*, and gave them battle, where he was cut off himſelf, and his whole army: But *Caſſius* made his retreat into *Syria*, where he put a ſtand to the progreſs of the *Parthians*, who were now grown inſolent upon their ſucceſs. He went afterward to *Tyre*, and ſo to *Judæa*, where he took *Tarichcæ* by aſſault, and thirty thouſand priſoners, *Pitholaus*, *Ariſtobulus*'s friend among the reſt, whom he cauſed to be put to death, by the advice of *Antipater*, who was a perſon very conſiderable with the *Idumæans*, upon account of a match with an *Arabian* lady of a moſt illuſtrious extraction: Her name was *Cypron*, and by her he had four ſons, *Phaſael* and *Herod*, (afterward king,) *Joſeph* and *Pheroras*, and an only daughter, *Salome*.

CHAP. X.

Ceſar *diſcharges* Ariſtobulus. *He is Poiſoned.* Alexander'*s Head cut off by* Pompey'*s Orders.* Peluſium *taken by* Mithridates.

WHEN *Ceſar* came a little after this to be maſter of *Rome*, and to find the city abandoned by *Pompey* and the whole ſenate, who all ſhifted away beyond ſea upon the fright, he bethought himſelf of ſetting *Ariſtobulus* at liberty, and diſpatching him away into *Syria*, with the command of two legions to keep that province in order. But *Pompey*'s faction in a ſhort time diſpatched him by poiſon, and the *Ceſareans* took care of the funeral. His body was kept embalmed with honey for a long time, until *Antonius* ſent it to *Judæa*, to be entombed amongſt the kings and princes.

Scipio cauſed the head of *Alexander*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, to be cut off, by the order of *Pompey*, for ſeditious practiſes of former date againſt the *Romans*, and the execution was done at *Antioch*. *Ptolemy Menæus*, the governor of *Chalcis* near *Libanus*, diſpatched his ſon *Philippion* to the widow of *Ariſtobulus* at *Aſkalon*, commanding her to ſend him her ſon *Antigonus*, and her daughters, one of whom, whoſe name was *Alexandra*, *Philippion* fell in love with, and married her; but he being afterwards ſlain, his father *Ptolemy* himſelf took her to wife, and provided for the family.

Antipater was a man of great authority in *Judæa*, and one that after the overthrow and death of *Pompey* did *Ceſar* many conſiderable ſervices, at the inſtance of *Hyrcanus*, in his war upon *Egypt*; for *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian*, being forced to ſtop once at *Aſkalon*, becauſe there was no paſſing for him by *Peluſium* with ſuccours that he had for *Ceſar*, *Antipater* joined him with an armed body of three thouſand *Jews*, and brought in ſeveral of the prime men of *Arabia*, and effectually all *Syria*, to his aſſiſtance: There were *Jamblicus* a prince of the country, and his ſon *Ptolemy*, and *Tholemy* of *Libanus*, the ſon of *Sohemus*, with the cities, almoſt in general, who came in a kind of emulation to ſerve him, and he accounted himſelf happy who could preſent himſelf firſt. *Mithridates* advanced out of *Syria* into *Peluſium*, where the inhabitants refuſing him entrance, he ſat down before the place, aſſaulted it, and battered a piece of the wall down: *Antipater* was the firſt man that bravely entered the breach, and was ſo well ſeconded in the action, that the town was taken upon it. But as *Antipater* and *Mithridates* were haſtening away to *Ceſar*, the *Egyptian Jews*, in the country of *Onias*, oppoſed their paſſage, till by the power and intereſt of *Antipater*, as their countryman, but eſpecially upon the ſight of a letter from *Hyrcanus*, the high-prieſt, to them, they were prevailed upon to be fair to *Ceſar*, and to ſupply them upon their march with whatever they might have occaſion for.

At a place called *Delta*, and upon a ſpot of ground known by the name of *the Jews Camp*, *Mithridates* and *Antipater* came to a battle with the enemy, the former commanding the right wing, and the other the left. *Mithridates* was ſo hard preſſed that his men gave way, and the diſorder was very near coming to a total rout: But *Antipater* came to his relief, reſcued his friends, put an almoſt victorious enemy to flight; and called in *Mithridates* to take his part of the booty, who loſt about eight hundred men, and *Antipater* not above fiſty.

Upon the report of this action, *Mithridates* gave *Ceſar* frankly to underſtand, that he was indebted both for the preſervation of the army, and for the glory of that day, to the bravery of *Antipater*, which *Ceſar* was ſo ſenſible of, that throughout the whole courſe of the war, he was ſure to be employed upon a poſt of honour ever after.

So ſoon as this was over, *Ceſar* went back again into *Syria*, treating both *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater* with a ſingular grace and reſpect: The one he confirmed in the pontificate, and the other he made a freeman of *Rome*, with all the privileges of the city. Some will have it that *Hyrcanus* was perſonally in this war, and came actually into *Egypt*. *Strabo* the *Cappadocian* tells us as much out of *Aſinius*.

About this time came *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, with a complaint to *Ceſar*, that his father had been poiſoned by a faction, and that a brother of his had his head chopped off at *Scipio*'s inſtigation: Setting forth that he was diſinherited and ejected; and preſented himſelf as an object of his compaſſion. He accuſed alſo *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, for uſurping upon the liberties of the nation, and particularly for wrongs done to himſelf; but *Antipater*, being then preſent, wiped off theſe reproaches, by expoſing the turbulent and ſeditious humour of *Antigonus*; and how buſy he was in all factious cabals to embroil the public peace: Not forgetting to remind *Ceſar* of his own merit. As to *Ariſtobulus*, he ſaid he was always known to be a profeſſed enemy to *Rome*, ſo that the *Romans*, in keeping him a priſoner, did no more than what neceſſity of ſtate obliged them to do. And then as to *Scipio*'s beheading his brother, he was convicted of ſeveral robberies, and it was no more than a capital puniſhment for a capital crime.

Ceſar, upon a full hearing of *Antipater*'s diſcourſe, pronounced *Hyrcanus* to be high-prieſt, gave *Antipater* his choice of any command he had a mind to, and conferred upon him the lieutenancy of *Judæa* over and above.

CHAP. XI.

Ceſar *gives* Hyrcanus *leave to rebuild* Jeruſalem. *An Alliance betwixt the Senate of* Rome *and the* Jews. *A League betwixt* Athens *and the* Jews.

THE walls of *Jeruſalem* lying at this time all in rubbiſh, juſt as they were left upon *Pompey*'s breaking them down, *Hyrcanus* requeſted *Ceſar* for leave to ſet them up again, which was immediately granted, and letters diſpatched away to the conſuls at *Rome*, for the entering of the reſolution in the records of the capitol.

This was in the ninth year of the pontificate and principality of *Hyrcanus*, and in the month of *Panemus*.

This prince of the *Jews* had great honour done him alſo by the republic of *Athens*, in acknowledgement of their obligations to him; for they ſent him a decree, to this following purpoſe:

“For aſmuch as *Hyrcanus*, the ſon of *Alexander*, and high-prieſt and prince of the *Jews*, hath upon all occaſions both public and private, given proof of a ſingular affection, both for our nation in general, and the citizens of *Athens* in particular: And foraſmuch as we have received credible information from *Theodoſius* the ſon of *Theodorus* of *Sunium*, of the virtue of the ſaid excellent prince, and of his friendly diſpoſition to do us all good offices, we have reſolved to preſent him with the honorary acknowledgment of a crown of gold; and to erect a brazen ſtatue to him in the temple of the people and the graces, for the fame of his memory; and to have it notified by proclamation at the exhibiting of any new ſhow, in all theatres and places of public exerciſes, and ſpectacles in honour of *Bacchus*, *Minerva*, *Ceres*, &c. that we have preſented him with this crown out of a veneration for his virtue. And we do further will and require all our governors and magiſtrates, to be aiding and aſſiſting in the effectual improvement of theſe our conceſſions to the beſt advantage of our friends and aſſociates, ſo long as this amity ſhall continue betwixt us.”

When *Ceſar* had ordered his matters in *Syria*, he went back again with his navy, and *Antipater* along with him; who immediately upon his return to *Jeruſalem*, gave orders for the repairing of the walls that *Pompey* had thrown down; taking a tour at the ſame time up and down the province, to try what might be done with menaces and fair words, towards the keeping of a divided and factious people quiet.

CHAP. XII.

Phaſael *and* Herod *made Governors of* Jeruſalem *and* Galilee.

ANTIPATER took an occaſion from the natural heavineſs of *Hyrcanus* to contrive away for the advancing of his own family and fortunes by putting his two eldeſt ſons *Phaſael* and *Herod* into two eminent commands; the former into that of *Jeruſalem* with the adjoining country, and *Herod* his ſecond ſon into the government of *Galilee*, being at that time fifteen years of age; but of ſuch a pregnancy of wit, and ſo enterpriſing a ſpirit, that his youth did not at all hinder him from ſearching out honorable occaſions for ſo heroical a diſpoſition to work upon. The borders of *Syria* were very much infeſted with robbers, ſo that the firſt inſtance of his valour was upon that vagabond troop of highway-men, wherein he took *Ezechias*, their commander, priſoner, with ſeveral of their companions, and put them all to death. By the fame of this exploit, he became known to *Sextus* the kinſman of *Ceſar* the great; who had then the adminſtration of *Syria*: Beſide that it kindled an emulation in *Phaſael* likewiſe, to do ſomewhat that was great too, after the example of his brother; and he applied himſelf accordingly to the arts of popularity, as the moſt likely way for the compaſſing of his end.

Phaſael was a man of a public ſpirit and made for buſineſs, affable in his converſation, and ſo temperate in the exerciſe of his power, that never any good man was hurt by it: Which was the cauſe of *Antipater*'s being treated by the whole nation, rather as an abſolute prince than as a proxy. This over-grown greatneſs of *Antipater* and his family, and his vaſt revenue in money from *Hyrcanus*, created ſo ſpiteful an envy againſt him among the great men of the *Jews*, that they began to look upon him with an evil eye, eſpecially when they came to find what an intereſt he had made, not only among the people of *Rome*, but in the good opinion of the emperors themſelves. They told a ſtory of him, how he got money from *Hyrcanus* for the uſe of the *Romans*, and then engroſſed the thanks for it to himſelf. But that which moſt of all terrified the princes of the *Jews*, was the violent, daring, ambitious humour of *Herod*, who governed after a tyrannical manner; inſomuch that, in the heat of this indignation, they went openly to *Hyrcanus* with a complaint againſt *Antipater*.

“How long,” ſaid they, “ſhall every thing go to wreck thus, and you take no notice of it? Do not you perceive all this while how the dignities, profits and prerogatives of royal power, are wholly ſhared betwixt *Antipater* and his two ſons, and that you yourſelf have only the empty title of a prince? Have a care of being over ſecure. You miſtake yourſelf if you look upon theſe ſparks to be any longer your deputies, for they are effectually your maſters. What was *Herod*'s outrage upon *Ezechias* and his companions, but an affront to public juſtice? For it is no better than direct murder by our law, to put any man to death, let him be never ſo great a villain, without the formality of a trial.”

What with this diſcourſe, and the clamour of mothers, that day after day, in the temple, called out both to prince and people for juſtice upon *Herod*, for the murder of their children, *Hyrcanus* was at laſt prevailed upon to appoint a day of hearing, and try the cauſe indifferently betwixt *Herod* and his accuſers before a bench of judges. *Herod* appeared upon the firſt call; but attended with ſuch a train as might ſecure himſelf, without affronting the court. *Sextus Ceſar*, having at that time the command of *Syria*, wrote a letter to *Hyrcanus* in *Herod*'s favour, and not without menaces, if they did not acquit him, which was no hard thing to obtain, for *Hyrcanus* loved him as his own fleſh and blood.

When *Herod*, with his people about him, had ſtood a long time facing the court, and not one mouth opened againſt him, it put the whole congregation to their wits end what to think of that profound ſilence, till in the concluſion there ſtood up one *Sameas*, a man too juſt to be corrupted, and too innocent to fear any thing, and delivered himſelf in terms to this purpoſe:

“This is the firſt time that ever I ſaw a priſoner at the bar behaving himſelf in ſuch a huff of vanity and confidence. It has been the practice formerly of perſons in his condition to demean themſelves with ſome regard to the reſignation that becomes men in the hands of the law: But we have a criminal here that ſtands in a poſture to make public juſtice more dangerous to the court than to the malefactor. But I do not blame him ſo much neither, for conſulting his own ſafety, before that of the law and the government, as I do thoſe that ſuffered him to go on in thoſe liberties, that is to ſay, the king and the judges. Take notice, however,” ſays he, turning to the judges. “of what I am about to tell you: God is a God of righteouſneſs and power: And the time will come, when this very man that you are now ſtickling to bring off in favour of *Hyrcanus*, ſhall be the ruin of you, both king and judges.”

Hyrcanus, finding it was likely to go hard with *Herod*, adjourned the court till the next day, and gave him a private hint to get out of the way. *Herod*, upon this, withdrew to *Damaſcus*, for fear of *Hyrcanus*, as he pretended;

ended; and upon ſome diſcourſe with *Sextus Ceſar*, he publickly declared, that if ever they cited him again to that court, he would diſclaim their juriſdiction. This contempt put the judges in a rage, and they endeavoured to perſuade *Hyrcanus* that his ruin was the very bottom of the deſign: But tho' he himſelf perceived it, he had not the reſolution to make any uſe of the precaution to his advantage. *Herod* was by this time ſafe under the protection of *Sextus Ceſar*, and ſettled alſo in a purchaſe of the government of *Cœle-Syria*. This was the firſt thing that opened *Hyrcanus*'s eyes, for fear of any miſchief that way: For *Herod* was ſo exaſperated at the indignity of being expoſed to a trial, that he marched againſt him with an army, and if it had not been for the importunities and the interceſſions of his father and his brother, he had moſt certainly fallen upon *Jeruſalem* itſelf, but by their entreaties they pacified him, and diverted him from his purpoſe.

Ceſar being now returned to *Rome*, was preparing for an expedition into *Africa*, againſt *Scipio* and *Cato*, and ſaluted upon the way by ambaſſadors from *Hycranus*, to ſolicit the renewing of a former league of friendſhip.

We might in this place take notice of the honours our people have from time to time received from the *Roman* emperors, and the alliances that have paſſed betwixt us, to the end that the whole world may ſee what opinion the kings of *Europe*, as well as *Aſia*, have ever had of the faith and courage of the *Jews*; all which we ſhall paſs over as not eſſential to our hiſtory.

After the death of *Ceſar*, *Marcus Antonius* and *Publius Dolabella*, being then conſuls, called a ſenate, and gave an audience to the ambaſſadors of *Hyrcanus*, upon the ſubject of their inſtructions and deſires, ſtruck up a new league with them, and came to a reſolution at laſt in favour of all their demands. This *Dolabella*, having received letters from *Hyrcanus*, took an occaſion from thence to ſend diſpatches all over *Aſia*, and particularly to *Epheſus*, the metropolis of that province, in terms much to this effect:

The general *Dolabella*, to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of *Epheſus*, greeting.

" Whereas we are given to underſtand
" by *Alexander* the ſon of *Theodorus*, and
" ambaſſador of *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt
" and prince of the *Jews*, in the name of
" the ſaid *Hyrcanus*, that the *Jews*, being
" tied up by the religion, laws, and conſti-
" tutions of their country, not to bear arms,
" travel, or ſo much as provide themſelves
" neceſſaries for life, upon the day of their
" ſabbath, are thereby rendered incapable
" of attending the duties and ſervices of the
" war: We do therefore order and ap-
" point, according to what our predeceſſors
" have done before us in the ſame caſe, that
" the ſaid *Jews* be from this time forward
" exempted from all military charges, and
" permitted the liberty of meeting, worſhip-
" ping, and ſacrificing, according to their
" own rule and way. And hereof you are
" to cauſe due notice to be given through all
" the cities of your province.

Given in Court the 18th day of September.

We find theſe privileges granted to our people by *Dolabella*, at the inſtance of *Hyrcanus*: And *Lentullus* the conſul pronouncing upon the whole matter, in form, that the citizen *Jews* in *Epheſus* ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, with an immunity from all offices and impoſitions relating to the war.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

A deſperate Sedition in Syria. Sextus Ceſar *mnrdered by* Cæcilius Baſſus. Caſſius *and* Brutus *aſſaſſinate* Ceſar.

ABOUT this time it came to paſs, that the eſtate of *Syria* was ſore troubled upon the occaſion that enſueth: *Cæcilius Baſſus*, one of *Pompey*'s followers, laid an ambuſh for *Sextus Ceſar*, and ſlew him, and ſeizing upon his army, uſurped the government: Whereby there aroſe great war near *Apamia*. For *Ceſar*'s captains marched out againſt *Cæcilius*, with great force, both of horſe and foot, to whom *Antipater* ſent his ſons with forces to ſecond them, in honour to the memory of his illuſtrious benefactors, accounting himſelf bound both in honour and juſtice to take his revenge upon the murderer of ſo generous a friend. Now whereas this war continued a long time, *Marcus* came and ſucceeded *Sextus*. And *Ceſar* was ſlain by *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, with other conſpirators, in the midſt of the ſenate, after he had commanded three years and ſix months, as appears by the whole current of hiſtorians.

CHAP. XIV.

The Death of Ceſar *followed by a Civil War.* Caſſius *enters into a Faction, and joins with* Herod *in horrible Oppreſſions.*

UPON the death of *Ceſar*, the ſenators and the leading men of *Rome* preſently formed themſelves into parties and factions, till the confuſion brake out into a civil war. *Caſſius* got poſſeſſion of the army in *Syria*, which was then before *Apamia*, raiſed the ſiege, and brought over *Marcus* and *Baſſus* into his intereſt, took his progreſs from place to place, picking up men, money and arms, wherever he came, but oppreſſing *Judæa* above all the reſt, by an impoſition of between ſeven and eight hundred talents of ſilver. In the hurry of this broil and diſtraction, *Antipater* committed the care of levying one part of this money to his two ſons, and the reſt of it to *Malichus*, together with ſome others. *Herod* began with the moſt acceptable preſents to *Caſſius*, of the contribution of *Galilee*, as the firſt fruits of his ſervice; but for ſeveral cities under other governors, they were expoſed to ſale, people, places and all, to him that would give moſt, particularly the cities of *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, and *Thamna*, where the inhabitants, by *Caſſius*'s order, were ſold by auction: And he was ſo exaſperated againſt *Malichus* upon this occaſion, that if *Hyrcanus* had not pacified him with a compoſition of a hundred talents out of his own coffers, by the hands of *Antipater*, it would have coſt *Malichus* his life.

So ſoon as *Caſſius* was gone off with his treaſure, *Malichus* entered into a practice againſt the perſon of *Antipater*, reckoning upon it that if he were once out of the way *Hyrcanus* would find himſelf more eaſy and ſecure in his government. *Antipater* had ſuch an apprehenſion however of this deſign upon him, that he forthwith paſſed the river *Jordan*, and put himſelf at the head of as many *Jews* and *Arabians* as he could get into a body; but *Malichus*, who was a bold and a cunning fellow, finding himſelf ſuſpected, went to *Antipater* and his ſons, barefaced, and cleared himſelf of the jealouſy by the dint of downright perjury. "Can any body imagine," ſays he, "that I ſhould be ſo errant a fool, as to entertain ſo much as the leaſt thought of a plot, or a conſpiracy, when at the ſame time *Phaſael* had the command of *Jeruſalem*, and *Herod* that of the arms and magazines?" So that by this impudence, tho' he failed of his main end, he made his peace with *Antipater*.

CHAP. XV.

Antipater *Poiſoned at the inſtance of* Malichus. Herod *revenges his Father's Death upon* Malichus.

MARCUS had at this time the government of *Syria*, and coming afterward to hear of new practices of *Malichus* in *Judæa*, had certainly put him to death, if it had not been for the interceſſion of *Antipater* on his behalf. But imprudent *Antipater* ſaved *Malichus* to his own miſchief: For when *Marcus* and *Caſſius* had gotten an army together, they gave *Herod* the command of it both by ſea and land, and at the ſame time made him governor of *Cœle-Syria*, with a further promiſe of the kingdom of *Judæa*, ſo ſoon as the war ſhould be over with *Anthony* and the younger *Ceſar*, (afterward *Auguſtus*. This promotion of *Herod* put *Malichus* into ſuch an apprehenſion of *Antipater*, that he got him poiſoned for a ſum of money, by *Hyrcanus*'s butler, one day at his Maſter's table; and thereupon, with a guard of ſoldiers about him, took poſſeſſion of the city. This was the end of *Antipater*, a juſt and a good man, and a true lover of his country.

Herod and *Phaſael* reſented this barbarous practice upon the perſon of their father, as they ought to do; but *Malichus* had the confidence however to forſwear all and ſtand upon his juſtification. The two brothers were both agreed in the determination of a revenge, but the queſtion was in what manner to bring it about. *Herod* was for doing it at the head of an army, but *Phaſael* rather by ſtratagem and ſurpriſe, for fear of embroiling the people in a civil war: So he carried it fair to *Malichus*, without diſcovering any ſuſpicion he had of him for th murder; employing himſelf at the ſame time upon the erecting of an illuſtrious monument to the honour of his dead father. *Herod* came about this time to *Samaria*, and finding every thing in great diſorder, he made it his buſineſs to ſet matters to rights again. There came on ſoon after this, a ſolemn feſtival at *Jeruſalem*, upon which occaſion *Herod* advanced with his army toward the city, where *Malichus* in a dread on the other hand earneſtly preſſed *Hyrcanus* not to give him admittance, who was accordingly prevailed upon to refuſe him entrance, upon a pretext that it would be a prophanation of the holy religion to communicate in their ceremonies, and worſhip with ſtrangers. But *Herod* made light of this interdiction, and got into the town by night. This ſurpriſe ſtartled *Malichus*, but he had the wit yet to ſtick to his diſguiſe of tears and exclamations for the loſs of his dear friend *Antipater*, and at the ſame time to provide a guard under-hand for the ſecurity of his perſon. *Herod*'s friends under theſe circumſtances had no better expedient than to encounter his pretence of ſorrow and affliction, on the one hand, with an artificial ſemblance of friendſhip and confidence on the other.

The character of *Malichus* was ſo well known to *Caſſius*, that he ordered *Herod*, immediately upon the news of *Antipater*'s death, to revenge it upon the head of the murderer, privately commanding the troops alſo that were then at *Tyre* to his aſſiſtance. Upon the taking of *Laodicea* afterward by *Caſſius*, and the people thronging to him with money and preſents, *Herod* made no doubt of an opportunity to gain his point upon that occaſion: But as *Malichus* was upon the way near *Tyrus* in *Phœnicia*, his heart miſgave him, and that apprehenſion put him upon other meaſures. He had a ſon at that time an hoſtage in *Tyre*, and he thought that if he could but ſteal him away into *Judæa*, the *Jews* might be tampered to a revolt, and he himſelf take his advantage, while *Caſſius* was engaged in a war with *Anthony*, to poſſeſs himſelf of the government. The project was bold and well enough contrived, if *Herod*'s wonderful ſagacity and precaution had not diſappointed it, by ſending out ſeveral officers beforehand to meet *Malichus* and his train upon the way, under a pretext of inviting them to a collation, which they did accordingly, and falling upon him on the ſea ſide of the town, they there diſpatched him with their daggers. The horror and ſurpriſe of this action ſtruck *Hyrcanus* ſpeechleſs, but upon coming a little to himſelf, and enquiring into the particulars, *Herod* put an end to his curioſity, by telling him that it was all done by the command of *Caſſius*: Whereupon *Hyrcanus* ſeemed highly to approve the juſtice of the vengeance for the murder of *Antipater*, upon ſo lewd a man, and ſo treacherous an enemy to his country.

Upon the departure of *Caſſius* out of *Syria*, there followed great troubles in *Judæa*. For *Felix*, with the troops that were under his command in *Jeruſalem*, made an attack upon *Phaſael*, and the people betook themſelves to their arms in his defence. *Herod*, upon this, applied himſelf to *Fabius* the governor of *Damaſcus*, with a deſign to aſſiſt his brother, but was prevented for the preſent by a fit of ſickneſs, that put him out of condition to ſerve him. *Phaſael* however had the good fortune to force *Felix* for ſanctuary into a ſtrong hold, from whence afterwards he diſmiſſed him under compoſition.

Phaſael reproached *Hyrcanus* with ingratitude, in ſiding with his enemy, after ſo many obligations as he had laid upon him; for the brother of *Malichus* had at that time gotten ſeveral fortified places into his hands, and *Maſada* among the reſt; which was looked upon as a fort in a manner impregnable; but *Herod* upon his recovery took them all back again, and after ſuffered him to depart, upon articles of agreement betwixt them.

CHAP. XVI.

Antigonus, Ariſtobulus's *Son, gets an Army.* Herod *overcometh him, and returneth Triumphing to* Jeruſalem: *He marries* Hyrcanus's *Grand-Daughter* Mariamne, *Daughter of* Alexander, Ariſtobulus's *Son.*

ANTIGONUS, *Ariſtobulus*'s ſon, got an army together, and hired *Fabius*: *Ptolemy Menæus* adopted *Antigonus* for being of his near relations. He was alſo aſſiſted by *Marion*, who by the favour of *Caſſius* had gotten the command of *Tyre*, and the power of all *Syria* into his hands, having put garriſons into ſeveral places of it, and taken poſſeſſion of three places in *Galilee*, which bordered with his country. But *Herod* marched forth againſt him, quickly diſpoſſeſſed him of them all, and graciouſly diſmiſſed thoſe *Tyrians* that had the keeping thereof, beſtowing preſents on ſome of them, for the love and affection he bare to their city.

This done *Herod* came and encountered with *Antigonus*, fought with and overcame him, before he had ſcarcely entered upon the marches of *Judæa*, and drove him from thence.

Being returned in triumph to *Jeruſalem*, he was received by *Hyrcanus* and the whole people with every inſtance of affection, honour and eſteem, that they could poſſibly ſhew him: For being now upon the point of a match with *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Alexander*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, and of *Alexandra*, the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, he was looked upon as a branch of the family. The marriage was conſummated ſoon after, and he begat on *Mariamne* three ſons and two daughters.

Before *Mariamne* he had alſo married a wife of his own nation, who was called *Doris*, on whom he begat *Antipater* his eldeſt ſon.

CHAP. XVII.

Caſſius *routed by* Anthony *and* Auguſtus. *The beginning of* Anthony's *love for* Cleopatra. *He is very ſevere againſt ſome* Jews *that accuſed* Herod *and* Phaſael.

AFTER the defeat of *Caſſius* at *Philippi*, by *Anthony* and *Auguſtus*, *Ceſar* went his way into *Gaul*, and *Anthony* into *Aſia;* who was complimented upon his march in *Bithynia* with embaſſies and applications from ſeveral parts; and among others, he was encountered with complaints and accuſations againſt *Phaſael* and *Herod*, from many eminent perſons among the *Jews*; ſuggeſting that *Hyrcanus*, though he had the name of a governor, was in effect but a mock prince: for that the two brothers had uſurped the authority and adminiſtration to themſelves.

Herod pleaded ſo well for himſelf, and ſeconded his reaſons with ſuch a ſum of money, that his adverſaries could not be ſo much as heard againſt him. Upon *Anthony*'s coming up to *Epheſus*, ambaſſadors were ſent from *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt, and the whole body of the *Jews*, with a crown of gold, ſupplications and preſents; deſiring that their countrymen that were carried away priſoners by *Caſſius* contrary to the rules of war might be ſet at liberty, and their lands reſtored to them, that had been wrongfully taken away; deſiring *Anthony*'s letters to the provinces in their favour to to this purpoſe. *Anthony* preſently granted their petition, and wrote to *Hyrcanus* and to the *Jews*, and likewiſe diſpatched an edict to the *Tyrians*, to that purpoſe.

Anthony, paſſing after this into *Syria*, was met and complimented by *Cleopatra* upon the way, in *Cilicia*, where he fell deſperately in love with her. Application was alſo made to him by about an hundred eminent perſons of the firſt quality of the *Jews*, with complaints and accuſations againſt *Herod* and *Phaſael*; bringing along with them a ſelect choice of the beſt ſpeakers they had for their advocates. *Meſſala* was of counſel for the two brothers, being likewiſe ſeconded by *Hyrcanus;* who was at this time by marriage become father-in-law to *Herod*. The cauſe was tried at *Daphne;* where, upon a full hearing of both ſides, *Anthony* put it to *Hyrcanus*, which of the two was beſt qualified for the office of a governor; who made anſwer, that he took *Herod* to be the more competent adminiſtrator of the two. *Anthony* had ſo great a tenderneſs and reſpect for the two young men, upon the ſcore of paſt kindneſs received from their father *Antipater*, who took him into his protection when *Gabinius* made war upon *Judæa*, that he conferred upon them both the dignity of *Tetrarchs*, and committed *Judæa* to their care. He wrote ſeveral letters alſo in their favour, and impriſoned fifteen of the moſt violent of their proſecutors, with a reſolution to have put them all to death, if *Herod* by his mediation had not diverted the execution: But they were no ſooner diſmiſſed from their embaſſy, but they entered into new practices againſt the life of their preſerver, immediately upon their return; and drawing together to the number of a thouſand perſons of the faction, they reſorted in a body to *Tyre*, to wait for *Anthony*'s coming thither. But *Herod* and his brother had already made ſo powerful an intereſt by the force of money and preſents, that *Anthony* ſent his orders to the magiſtracy of the place, to aſſiſt *Herod* in the ſupport of his authority, and to do juſtice upon the *Jewiſh* ambaſſadors, as a parcel of ſeditious innovators, that were in a deſign to overturn the government. *Herod* gave yet a ſecond inſtance of his humanity and good nature, in repairing to the deputies as they were advancing up to the city, and adviſing them by all means to withdraw themſelves in time: *Hyrcanus* joining with *Herod* in the ſame advice, and deſiring them to retire, for fear of what miſchief might befal them if they perſiſted in that appeal. But they kept on their way till they were ſet upon and overborn by multitudes of both *Jews* and inhabitants; great numbers of them being killed and wounded, and the reſt diſperſed, which put a final end to that controverſy: Not but that the common people went on ſtill exclaiming againſt *Herod*'s proceedings, which irritated *Anthony* to that degree, that he commanded all the priſoners to be put to death.

In the year following, *Pacorus* the ſon of the king of *Parthia*, and *Barzapharnes* a prince of the country, made themſelves maſters of *Syria*; and *Ptolemy Mennæus* dying at the ſame time, his ſon *Lyſanias* ſucceeded him, having contracted a particular friendſhip with *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, by the means of *Barzapharnes*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Antigonus *deals with the* Parthians *to depoſe* Hyrcanus, *and to put* Herod *and his Brothers to Death.* Pacorus *and* Barzapharnes *join againſt* Judæa. Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael *are perſuaded to repair to* Barzapharnes.

ANTIGONUS contracted with the *Parthians* for a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, upon conditions that they would depoſe *Hyrcanus*, and receive him for their governor in his ſtead, and at the ſame time put *Herod* to death, and all his party. The ſum agreed upon was not depoſited; but the *Parthians* however entered upon the undertaking, and marched with an army againſt *Judæa*; *Pacorus* by the way of the coaſt, and *Barzapharnes* thorough the inland. The *Tyrians* ſtood upon their guard againſt *Pacorus*, and kept him out of the city; but the people of *Sidon* and *Ptolemais* opened their gates and received him. He detached, upon this, a party of horſe upon the ſcout, under the command of the king's cup-bearer, whoſe name was alſo *Pacorus*, to diſcover the ſtate of the country, and to ſecond *Antigonus*.

The *Jews* of *Mount Carmel* ſided with *Antigonus*, who was perſuaded to puſh forward, even to *Jeruſalem* itſelf, which he did accordingly by the help of ſeveral ſtrong reinforcements, and prepared to aſſault the king's palace. *Herod* and *Phaſael*, with a conſiderable body of their friends, fell upon them in the market-place, and beating them from their poſt, they fled into the temple. *Herod* clapped a guard of ſoldiers into the adjoining

joining houſes, for the better ſecurity of the place: But the multitude breaking violently in upon them, and ſeeing they were deſtitute of aid, burned both them and the houſes wherein they were. *Herod* had his revenge for this cruelty very ſoon after, in a defeat he gave them, with a very great ſlaughter. They continued ſkirmiſhing from day to day till toward the feaſt of pentecoſt, which *Antigonus* and his party expected with great impatience, becauſe of the mighty concourſe of people that reſorted thither upon that ſolemnity. The time being come, there were ſeveral thouſands gathered together, and the city as well as the temple was crowded with them, all but the palace, which *Herod*, with a ſmall party, maintained; the charge of the walls and outworks being committed to *Phaſael*. The enemy having poſted themſelves in the ſuburbs, *Herod* made a deſperate ſally, wherein he did great execution. *Phaſael* acquitted himſelf too in this action like a man of honour.

Pacorus, at the inſtance of *Antigonus*, with a ſmall party, entered the city, upon a pretence to keep the people quiet, and put a ſtop to the tumult; but with a deſign, in truth, to advance *Antigonus* to the government. *Phaſael*, after this, treated them with great reſpect, and *Pacorus* requited the civility with a practice upon his life, which was carried on under colour of an embaſſy to *Barzapharnes*; which *Phaſael* was eaſily prevailed upon to undertake, though ſo much againſt *Herod*'s opinion, that he was abſolutely for cutting off *Pacorus*, and the whole crew that came along with him, to prevent a worſe miſchief: However, *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* put themſelves upon their journey, with *Pacorus* to conduct them, leaving a guard of two hundred horſe with *Herod*, and ten of theſe people that they call freemen. Upon their arrival at *Galilee*, the commanders of the neighbouring garriſons came out in their arms to meet them, and none forwarder than *Barzapharnes*, with fair words and promiſes to bid them welcome. *Phaſael* and his train were conducted to a quarter on the ſea ſide, where being given to underſtand that the *Parthians* were to have a thouſand talents and five hundred women of *Antigonus* for this piece of ſervice, he began to have an apprehenſion of foul play: Beſide he had notice given him of a deſign upon him that very night, and that there was a guard of ſoldiers in readineſs to ſeize upon his perſon. And the plot had certainly been put in execution, if they had not waited for the intelligence of *Herod*'s being ſecured at *Jeruſalem* by the *Parthians*, as it was concerted among themſelves; for if the other two had been taken off firſt, *Herod* might have had time enough, they thought, to give them the ſlip, and ſhift for himſelf. The information of this contrivance was quickly found to be true, by the coming up of the guards that were to do the exploit. Upon this diſcovery ſeveral of *Phaſael*'s people were at him immediately to take horſe and away; *Ophellius* eſpecially, who by the means of *Saramella* had detected the conſpiracy, and living near the ſea, offered him the convenience of ſhipping to carry him off: But *Phaſael* was too generous to abandon his friends in their diſtreſs, ſo that he choſe rather to go directly to *Barzapharnes*, and charge him point blank with the indignity of ſo diſhonourable a practice, which he accordingly did in theſe words:

“If money,” ſays he, “be what you want, *Phaſael* methinks ſhould be better able to gratify you that way than *Antigonus*, beſide the ſcandalous barbarity of ſo horrid a violence upon the perſons of ambaſſadors, in oppoſition to all the laws of good faith, hoſpitality and nations.”

The barbarian denied the whole matter with an oath: It was all but a fancy, he ſaid, and ſo went his way to *Pacorus*.

CHAP. XIX.

Barzapharnes *detaineth* Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael *Priſoners; and ſendeth to* Jeruſalem *to ſecure* Herod, *who retireth by Night, with his Men and his relations: He is ſet upon by the way, but getteth always the upper hand.* Phaſael *killeth himſelf.*

B*Arzapharnes* had no ſooner turned his back, but a party of ſoldiers took up *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* with exclamations in their mouths againſt ſo barbarous a practice. An eunuch was diſpatched away at the ſame time alſo, for the apprehenſion of *Herod*; but he had got an intimation of the deſign, and went and expoſtulated the matter with *Pacorus*, who gave him for anſwer that he knew nothing at all of the buſineſs. But having heard ſo much of his brother's ill uſage, and being alſo confirmed in his ſuſpicion of the *Parthians*, by the opinion of *Alexandra*, the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, a woman of ſingular prudence, and whoſe daughter he was to marry, *Herod* governed himſelf by her advice. Upon this occaſion the *Parthians* laid their heads together what courſe to take, and gave themſelves time till next day to conſider of it; but *Herod*, reflecting upon the deſperate hazard of ſtaying any longer among thoſe people, bethought himſelf of giving them the ſlip that very night, and ſo taking the opportunity of the duſk of the evening, he reſolved to attempt his eſcape. He took along with him all the troops he had about him, provided waggons, and horſes for his mother, ſiſter, and his contracted miſtreſs *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Alexander*, and niece of *Ariſtobulus*, with her mother, the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, her youngeſt brother, and the reſt of his company and family; and marched away all together toward *Idumæa*, and were well advanced upon the way before their enemies took notice of it.

Herod maſtered his misfortunes by his invincible courage, and did all that was poſſible to do, to keep up the hearts of his companions. There fell out an unlucky accident, by the overturning of a waggon, which put his mother in extreme danger of her life. This diſaſter made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, (for fear leaſt the enemy in purſuit ſhould ſurpriſe him during theſe delays) that he had certainly caſt himſelf upon the point of his own ſword, if his friends about him had not laid hold of him and prevented it. He was, betwixt force and ſhame, brought to better reaſon, and thereupon immediately betook himſelf to the care of his mother, proſecuting his journey to the caſtle of *Maſſada* with all the ſpeed he could, the *Parthians* preſſing upon him in his paſſage, with whom he had many ſkirmiſhes, but ſtill got the better of it. Nay, the very *Jews* were upon the purſuit of him too, and when he was got about three ſcore furlongs in his way from *Jeruſalem*, they formally attacked him, but were put to the rout. When he came afterward to be king of *Judæa*, he erected a famous palace upon that ſpot of ground where he obtained this victory, and built a village near the place, which he called by the name of *Herodium*. Coming afterwards to *Reſa* in *Idumæa*, he was met by his brother *Joſeph*, and they two conſulted how to eaſe themſelves of that vaſt multitude of uſeleſs people in their train. The caſtle of *Maſſada*, that they pitched upon for their retreat, was too little for the whole body: So they diſmiſſed nine thouſand of their people to provide the beſt they could for themſelves up and down in *Idumæa*, furniſhing them with neceſſaries for their entertainment, till they could find ſome quarter to ſettle in. As for thoſe that were fit for action, and his near relations, *Herod* took them along with him into the caſtle, where he diſpoſed of the women and their families, to the number of about eight hundred perſons; and leaving them a competence of proviſion, he haſtened away to *Petra*, the capital city of *Arabia*.

By break of day the *Parthians* made ſpoil of all that *Herod* had left in *Jeruſalem*, as well in the city as the palace, ſaving only three hundred talents in caſh of *Hyrcanus's*, which they left behind them untouched, and divers conſiderable pieces of *Herod's* too, beſide what goods and treaſure he had tranſported into *Idumæa*, to be out of harm's way. And the *Parthians* were not content with the plunder of the city, without depopulating the country alſo, beſide the laying of *Mariſſa* in rubbiſh.

Antigonus being now put into poſſeſſion of the government by the king of *Parthia*, *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* were delivered up to him in bonds. But the eſcape of the women was yet a great diſappointment to him, for the *Parthians* were by contract to receive the women with the money. *Hyrcanus* being at this time a priſoner, *Antigonus* ordered both his ears to be cut off, deſigning by that maim to put him into a legal incapacity for the honour of the pontificate; not knowing but that a popular faction ſome time or other might otherwiſe reſtore him to the government.

But there was nothing greater in this extroardinary juncture, than the generous magnanimity of *Phaſael*, who, when he found that he was certainly to die, and his hands manacled, beat out his own brains againſt a ſtone wall, and ſo ended his life, (with as great honour as may be imagined in ſuch a deſperate eſtate) depriving his enemy of that power and cruelty which he intended to practiſe, in tyrannizing over him at his pleaſure. It is ſaid that the wound, though very deep, not being judged mortal, *Antigonus* ſent ſurgeons to dreſs it, giving them orders privily that they ſhould put poiſon into the ſame inſtead of remedies, whereby he might die. He lived however long enough to underſtand that his brother *Herod* had eſcaped from his enemies, which made him endure his death with far greater chearfulneſs and conſtancy, ſeeing that he left behind him ſuch a man as would revenge his death and puniſh his enemies.

CHAP. XX.

The King of Arabia's *Ingratitude towards* Herod. *He is commanded out of* Arabia, *flieth into* Egypt, *and from thence repairs to* Rome.

HEROD, though ſurrounded with almoſt inſuperable misfortunes, yet his reſolution and ſenſe of things ſeemed rather the ſtronger and ſharper for the difficulties he had to encounter. His firſt application was to *Malchus* the king of *Arabia*, to borrow a ſum of money now in his diſtreſs, not doubting of a friendly return from a prince already indebted to him for many ſignal obligations. He had heard nothing as yet of the death of his brother, and his preſent buſineſs was to provide himſelf with three hundred talents for his immediate ranſom, taking a ſon of *Phaſael*'s, of about ſeven years, along with him, as a pawn to the *Arabians* for the ſecurity of their money. Upon this point of time, there came meſſengers from *Malchus* with orders to *Herod* to depart the country, for that the *Parthians* were abſolutely againſt the receiving of him. His anſwer was, that he did not come to be either a trouble or a charge to any body, but only to treat about ſome important affairs of his own. The coarſeneſs of this uſage was looked upon to be only a trick of ſome of the great ones, to avoid the payment of a juſt debt, and to cozen *Herod* of the treaſure that *Antipater* had depoſited in their hands.

Herod found it his beſt courſe to be gone, ſo away he went toward *Egypt*. He was told next day at *Rhinocura* of the death of his brother. *Malchus* was by this time become ſenſible of his ingratitude, and haſtened after *Herod*, to make him ſome amends, but could not overtake him, for he was gone a great way before toward *Peluſium*; and when he came thither, the ſhip that was bound for *Alexandria* would not take him in: Whereupon he diſcourſed the magiſtrates of the place, who, out of a reverence to the dignity of his former character, conducted him with great reſpect into the city, where he was generouſly entertained by *Cleopatra*, and not without earneſt invitations to make a longer ſtay there: But his heart was ſo ſet upon going to *Rome*, that nothing was ſufficient to divert him from his purpoſe.

He went aboard for *Pamphylia*, and after a terrible tempeſt, with much ado got ſafe to *Rhodes*, where he met with *Sappimas* and *Ptolemy*. He found the town ſo miſerably harraſſed by the war with *Caſſius*, that he contributed out of the ſmall remainder of his fortune toward the repair of the ruins. Here he took ſhipping with his friends for *Italy*, taking *Brunduſium* in his way, and from thence to *Rome*, where he was no ſooner arrived, but he gave *Anthony* an account of all his adventures in *Judæa*.

CHAP. XXI.

Herod, *through* Anthony'*s and* Auguſtus'*s aſſiſtance, is declared King of the* Jews, *at* Rome. Antigonus *beſieges* Maſſada, *defended by* Joſeph, Herod'*s Brother.*

THE hearing of all theſe alterations that had befallen *Herod* gave *Anthony* a moſt compaſſionate tenderneſs for him. He called to mind alſo the good offices he had formerly received from *Antipater*, *Herod*'s father, and the ancient friendſhip that had paſſed betwixt them, not forgetting at the ſame time the ſum of money he was to have upon his advancing *Herod* to be king, as he had before made him a tetrach. This was all in *Herod*'s favour, but what ſtruck the main ſtroke at laſt was the averſion *Anthony* had to *Antigonus*, whom he looked upon as a buſy, turbulent ſpirit, and a profeſſed enemy to *Rome*: So that even out of ſpite to *Antigenus*, he reſolved to befriend *Herod* all he could. *Auguſtus* agreed with *Anthony* in the promoting of *Herod*'s requeſt. The matter was ſoon after brought before the ſenate, where *Meſſala* and *Atratenus* preſented *Herod* with a ſingular recommendation to their eſteem, upon the account both of his own and his father's ſervices and good affections to the ſtate of *Rome*, reproaching *Antigonus* on the other ſide as a public enemy, not only for paſt miſdemeanors, but for his late acceptance of the government from the hands of the *Parthians*, in contempt of the *Romans*. When this harangue had put the ſenate in a heat, *Anthony* gave his opinion, that conſidering the ſtate of the preſent war with the *Parthians*, they could not do better than to conſtitute *Herod* king of *Judæa*, and the motion paſſed the aſſembly without any oppoſition. This great work was but ſeven days doing, and *Herod* diſpatched away out of *Italy* with his royal commiſſion.

Upon the breaking up of the ſenate, *Anthony* and *Ceſar* took *Herod* out betwixt them, accompanied with the conſuls and the ſenators, who conducted him to the capitol, where they were to ſacrifice in form, and to depoſit the ſenatus-conſulta, or their decrees. *Anthony* gratulated the new king upon his acceſſion to his authority with a moſt magnificent treat, upon the firſt day of his reign, in the *Olympiad* one hundred and eighty four, *C. Domitio Calvinus*, (now the ſecond time) and *C. Aſinius Pollio*, conſuls.

In the interim of *Herod*'s abſence, *Antigonus* preſſed hard upon his friends in the caſtle of *Maſſada*, where they had plenty of all ſorts of proviſions, ſave only of water, which they wanted to ſuch a degree that *Joſeph*, with a party of two hundred choice men, had reſolved to force their way thorough the enemy to get to the *Arabians*, being well informed that *Malchus* had heartily repented of his late behaviour to *Herod*: But in this nick of time there fell ſo prodigious a ſhower of rain, that it filled all their ciſterns and receptacles for waters, and upon this ſupply they ſtood to their defence.

While this was doing *Ventidius*, a *Roman* general, drove the *Parthians* out of *Syria*, and went afterward into *Judæa*, under pretence of a deſign to help *Joſeph*, but in truth to ſqueeze money out of *Antigonus*, which he did abundantly upon drawing his troops toward *Jeruſalem:* And having gained his point he carried the greater part of them off again, leaving only a ſmall remainder under the command of *Silo,* for the better colour of the cheat; for *Antigonus* was forced to a compoſition with him too, for fear he might be troubleſome before the arrival of the *Parthians,* whom he expected to come up to his ſuccour.

CHAP. XXII.

Herod *marches towards* Antigonus. *He beſieges* Jeruſalem, *but cannot take it. He draws all* Galilee *under his Subjection.*

HEROD was now come back out of *Italy* as far as *Ptolemais,* with a conſiderable body, and upon his march by the way of *Galilee* toward *Antigonus. Silo* and *Ventidius* had orders brought them alſo from *Anthony* by *Gellius,* to aſſiſt *Herod* in the taking poſſeſſion of his kingdom. But *Ventidius* was at that time taken up in quieting the tumults that an incurſion of the *Parthians* had raiſed in ſeveral of the cities. And *Silo* kept in *Judœa,* having been corrupted by *Antigonus. Herod*'s army increaſed mightily upon the march: *Galilee* was in a manner wholly for him. What he was the moſt intent upon, was the raiſing the ſiege of *Maſſada,* to ſet his friends and relations at liberty; but *Joppa* was a block in his way, and would be ſuch a check upon him in his advance to *Jeruſalem,* that there was no leaving ſo ſtrong a place behind him. *Silo* upon this diſlodged his army, and marched thitherward, and being purſued by the *Jews, Herod* charged in upon them with a ſmall party, routed them, and ſaved *Silo,* when he was juſt falling into their hands. *Herod* after this made himſelf maſter of *Joppa,* and went to the relief of his friends in *Maſſada,* where the people came over to him in abundance. *Antigonus,* in the mean time, laid ſeveral ambuſhes in his way, though with little effect, for *Herod,* as ſoon as ever he had raiſed the ſiege of *Maſſada,* relieved his friends, and taking the caſtle of *Reſa,* he advanced directly toward *Jeruſalem* with *Silo*'s troops, and a great number of citizens that ſtood in awe of his power, to attend him. He encamped with his army upon the weſt quarter of the town, where the defendants galled him all that was poſſible with arrows, darts and ſtrong ſallies. *Herod* cauſed proclamation to be made that he had no other end in that enterpriſe than the public good, nay, that he was ready to grant them an indemnity, let the crime have been ever ſo notorious. *Antigonus* made anſwer, that it was very unjuſt to pretend the ſetting of *Herod* upon the throne, a private man, and an *Idumœan;* that is to ſay, but half a *Jew,* which was a practice directly againſt the law and right of ſucceſſion. This conteſt betwixt *Herod* and *Antigonus* grew ſo hot that *Antigonus* commanded his men to force the enemy off from the walls. It was no longer any doubt after this but that *Silo* was corrupted for he had ſo tampered with divers of his familiar acquaintance among the ſoldiers, that they broke out into clamours for money and proviſions, and into outcries for more commodious winter quarters; for *Antigonus*, they ſaid, had made ſuch havock up and down in the country thereabouts, that there was no living upon it. This mutinous extravagance put the army into ſuch a diſtemper that the ſoldiers were ready to lay down their arms and be gone; but *Herod*, on the other hand, made uſe of the authority of *Ceſar*, *Anthony*, and the ſenate, by whoſe commiſſion he was now come thither, and encouraged both officers and ſoldiers to ſtand their ground, and to depend upon him that they ſhould want nothing. Immediately upon this he ſent out his commiſſaries to provide them all neceſſaries, and left *Silo* no farther pretence of complaint, for they were preſently ſupplied with vaſt quantities of proviſions beyond imagination: *Herod* having ordered his friends at *Samaria* to lay up ſtores of corn, wine, oil, cattle, and all other neceſſaries at *Jericho*, and from thence to ſupply the army. *Antigonus* preſently diſpatched away parties up and down the fields and paſſes, to way-lay and intercept the foragers; who according to their orders, diſpoſed of their detachments about *Jericho*, and the crags of the mountains, where they were very careful to watch the convoys. *Herod*, on the other ſide, with ten companies, marched ſtraight forward to *Jericho*, where he found the town abandoned; and five hundred of the inhabitants, with their families, fled to the mountains, whom he took and diſcharged again. The *Romans* rifled the city, and the king left a garriſon in the place, and went back, aſſigning his army their quarters in his new conqueſts, as *Idumæa*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*; *Antigonus* prevailing alſo with *Silo*, by the force of money, that part of the *Roman* army might be quartered in *Lydda*, which was done to make a friend of *Anthony*. So that the *Romans* were now at eaſe in both peace and plenty.

But *Herod* ſent away his brother *Joſeph* into *Idumœa*, with a thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, and went himſelf to *Samaria*, where he provided for his mother, and the reſt of his kindred that he brought from *Maſſada*, and ſo marched for *Galilee* to take in ſome garriſons which were then in the poſſeſſion of *Antigonus*. Coming up to *Sephoris*, in a deep ſnow, he found the place wholly abandoned, and proviſions in great plenty. The country thereabouts, not far from *Arbela*, being infeſted with robbers, that from the mountains terribly annoyed the neighbourhood, *Herod* commanded out a ſquadron of horſe, and three companies of foot to ferret them out of their hiding places. Forty days after ſending this detachment, he marched againſt them with his whole army: Whereupon they drew out, and made ſo brave a charge upon him, that *Herod*'s left wing gave way, till by a reinforcement, with *Herod* himſelf at the head of it, he brought his own men on again, and put their adverſaries to a total rout, purſuing the victory as far as the river *Jordan*. This overthrow brought all *Galilee* over to *Herod* in time, ſaving only thoſe that ſheltered themſelves in the receſſes of the mountains. The work being now over *Herod* ordered the common ſoldiers a hundred and fifty drachmas a man for a reward, and the officers more in proportion; and after this they were all diſmiſſed to their winter ſtations.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The art Herod *uſed againſt ſeveral of the* Jews *of* Antigonus*'s party, who had hid themſelves in Dens.* Ptolemy *Slain.*

ANTHONY was now at *Athens*, and *Ventidius* in *Syria*, where he ordered *Silo* to join him with the auxiliary troops of the *Parthians*, but ſtill to aſſiſt *Herod* in the firſt place. *Herod* however ſent away *Silo* and his people to *Ventidius*, and marched himſelf againſt the rovers that lay lurking in their hiding holes up and down the hills. The rocks were ſo ſteep and craggy, and ſo ſtraight that it was almoſt impoſſible to come at them, and theſe caves ſerved them and their families both for their retreat and their habitations. The king, upon the view of the place, finding that there was no good to be done by ſcaling from below, or by creeping, or ſtealing down upon them from above, made uſe of this invention. He cauſed ſeveral cheſts to be framed, and let down by a machine with iron chains from the top of the hills, and theſe caſes to be filled with ſoldiers, armed with lances, darts, and hooks, either by attack to deſtroy them in their dens, or to draw them out, and caſt them down headlong, as the caſe ſhould require. One of theſe boxes being let down juſt upon the entrance into a cavern, and not a man of them daring to ſhew his head out of the vault, a ſoldier ſtarted up with his ſword and buckler, and catching hold of the chain that upheld the coffer with both hands, he ſlipped down into the cavity of the rock. In one of theſe receſſes he killed ſeveral with his darts, and plucked others out with his hooks, where he met with any reſiſtance, and threw them down the cliffs: Some at a farther diſtance he diſpatched with his lance, and then betook himſelf to his cheſt again. The cries of the wounded frighted the reſt to the laſt degree of deſperation, but night coming on put a ſtop to the execution. The king, in the mean while, having offered an indemnity to all that would lay down their arms, and come in to him, they ſubmitted in great numbers.

On the day following they plied the attack in the ſame manner as before, and putting fire to the combuſtible matter they had in the caves, they ſet all in a flame, and ſmothered their adverſaries in their holes. There was among the reſt an old man, with his wife and ſeven ſons, who begged leave of him, in that hopeleſs extremity, to deliver themſelves up to the enemy: The man planted himſelf at the mouth of the cavern, and as his wife and ſons advanced to get out ſtabbed them all one after another, caſting their bodies down the precipice, and himſelf after them, preferring death to ſlavery; but in his laſt moments inveighing againſt *Herod*, with ſcandalous reflections on the meanneſs of his extraction. This was the end of the war between *Herod* and theſe rovers.

This adventure being now over, and the government of that quarter given to *Ptolemy*, *Herod* marched away with ſix hundred horſe and three thouſand foot into *Samaria*, with a deſign to bring *Antigonus* to a deciſive battle; but *Ptolemy* was ſet upon and ſlain by a party of thoſe people that had formerly put *Galilee* in diſorder. Upon the committing of this outrage, they betook themſelves to the bogs, crags, and other places of difficult acceſs, for refuge, and from thence they robbed and ravaged the whole country: But *Herod*, at his coming back, ſoon reduced them, and ſet a fine of a hundred talents upon the cities that were ſuſpected to favour them.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Parthians *overthrown. The cruelty of* Machæras *to the* Jews. Herod *offended at it.* Herod *joins* Anthony *before* Samoſata; *and is very honourably received by him.* Antigonus *delivers up the Place.*

THE *Parthians* having by this time received a great overthrow, with the loſs of their king *Pacorus* in the battle, *Ventidius* ſent *Machæras* to *Herod* with a reinforcement of two legions and a thouſand horſe: Who having been dealt and tampered with by *Antigonus*, was abſolutely for going to him, under a pretext of giving intelligence and making diſcoveries, notwithſtanding that *Herod* was utterly againſt it, and ſo he went his way; but finding upon his approach that *Antigonus* was ſo far from truſting him that he ordered his people to keep him off with ſlings and darts, this gave him ſufficiently to underſtand that *Herod* was in the right, and himſelf in a great miſtake. Hereupon he returned to the city *Emmaus*, in a furious rage, putting all the *Jews* to the ſword that he found in the way, without diſtinction of friend or foe. *Herod* was ſo irritated at this barbarous way of proceeding, that he went preſently to *Samaria* to inform *Anthony* of this outrage, and give him to underſtand that he was in condition good enough himſelf to deal with *Antigonus* without need of any ſuch aſſiſtants as did more miſchief to their own party than to the enemy. As he was going forward *Machæras* poſted after him, and overtook him, preſſing him earneſtly either to put a ſtop to his journey, or at leaſt to leave *Joſeph* his brother behind, for to carry on the war together againſt *Antigonus*. *Herod* upon his importunity granted him his requeſt, and forgave what was paſt, leaving the army under the command of *Joſeph*, with expreſs orders not to run any unneceſſary hazard, nor to enter into any miſunderſtanding with *Machæras*.

Matters being thus ſettled, he marched with an auxiliary body of horſe and foot to to join *Anthony*, who was at that time before *Samoſata* upon the river *Euphrates*. At his coming to *Antioch*, he found great numbers of people that would fain have gone in to *Anthony*, if they could have got to him; but the ways were ſo beſet with troops of bloody *Barbarians*, that there would have been no coming at him if *Herod* had not put himſelf at the head of them, and undertaken both for their conduct and protection: So that they proſecuted their march, and when they were advanced within two days journey of *Samaſota* they fell into an ambuſh of the enemy's horſe that lay cloſe behind the buſhes upon the entrance into the *Champain*, to prevent any ſuccours from going that way to *Anthony*. They ſuffered the front to paſs forward on to the plain, without either diſcovery or interruption; but upon *Herod*'s coming up with the rear, they fell furiouſly upon him with a matter of five hundred horſe, and broke through the firſt rank: But the king preſſing violently upon them with his guards, beat them from their ground, rallied his own ſcattered troops, and followed the execution till he made himſelf maſter of the booty they had taken, in priſoners, horſes, mules, carriages, and all the baggage, which was very conſiderable: This being done, *Herod* continued his journey to *Anthony*, but not without other encounters upon the way.

Anthony having heard of his exploits, ſent out the flower of his troops to receive him upon his approach to the town, with all honour and reſpect imaginable, both for his perſon and his ſervices, embracing him upon his arrival, celebrating and admiring him for his virtue, and treating him with a dignity anſwerable to the royal character that he himſelf had conferred upon him. In a ſhort time after this, *Antigonus* delivered up the place, and in ſo doing put an end to the war. *Anthony* gave the government of the province and the command of the army to *Soſius*, with orders to aſſiſt *Herod* upon all occaſions; and ſo went himſelf into *Egypt*. *Soſius* hereupon ſent away two legions with the king toward *Judæa*, for the guard of his perſon, and marched after them himſelf with the reſt of his army.

CHAP. XXV.

Joſeph *cut to Pieces.* Galilee *revolts.* Herod'*s foreboding Dreams. He is preſerved at* Jericho *by a ſtrange Providence.*

WHILE theſe things were doing, *Joſeph* was ſlain in *Judæa* for want of obſerving *Herod*'s order when he went to *Anthony*. He marched out toward *Jericho* with his own troops, and five companies of *Machæras*'s, with a deſign to get in the harveſt, and he encamped upon the mountains. Now the *Romans* with him being but raw and undiſciplined ſoldiers, the enemy ſurpriſed and routed them, entirely deſtroying ſix companies, and cutting *Joſeph* to pieces, fighting manfully at the head of them. *Antigonus* being maſter of the field, and finding *Joſeph* among the dead bodies, cauſed his head to be cut off, and his brother *Pheroras* redeemed it at fifty talents. This rout was followed with the revolt of *Galilee*, and with drowning as many of *Herod*'s friends as they could lay hold of in the lake, beſide divers ſeditious commotions in *Judæa*; *Machæras* in the mean while fortified the caſtle of *Gath*.

The ſad ſtory of theſe calamities was brought to *Herod* at a place called *Daphne*, the ſuburbs of *Antioch*, which was the leſs ſurpriſing to him for that he had a little before ſome foreboding dreams, which manifeſtly pointed at the death of his brother. He went from thence for *Mount Libanus*, and taking eight hundred men of the place along with him, and a *Roman* legion, he advanced to *Ptolemais*, and paſſing forward by night through *Galilee* he was ſet upon, but beat the enemy back into the caſtle they came out of but the day before, and immediately inveſted the place, diſpoſing his troops early next morning for an attack; but there fell in that very nick of time ſo violent a tempeſt, that he was forced to draw off. Juſt as this happened comes another legion to *Herod* from *Anthony*, which put the garriſon in ſuch a fright that they quitted the place, and ſtole away in the night. *Herod* thought the time long till he had avenged the blood of his brother, and ſo made all the haſte he could to *Jericho*, where he treated with great magnificence all the princes of the place upon his arrival. When ſupper was juſt over, and the company gone, *Herod* retired into his own apartment, without leaving one creature in the eating room: So ſoon as ever the place was empty the roof fell flat to the ground into the parlour, without any farther miſchief; which was looked upon as a ſingular providence that watched over *Herod*, in the delivery of him from ſo imminent a danger.

CHAP. XXVI.

Herod *defeats* Pappus. Herod*'s ſurpriſe in the Bath. He lays Siege to* Jeruſalem.

THE next day ſix thouſand enemies came down from the top of the mountains to fight with him who had affrighted the *Romans*; and their forlorn hope chaſed *Herod's* ſoldiers with darts and ſtones, and even wounded *Herod* himſelf in the ſide with an arrow. *Antigonus*, at this time, out of an oſtentation, as if he had men to ſpare, ſent *Pappus* away to *Samaria* with ſome troops under his command; and while he and *Machæras* were deſigning upon one another, *Herod* got poſſeſſion of five towns, put two thouſand men to the ſword that were in garriſon there, and leaving them all in aſhes, went back to look after *Pappus*, who was then encamped at a place called *Iſanas*, where he was joined with great numbers that came over to him from *Jericho* and *Judæa*, but *Herod* in a battle gave them a total rout, doing execution upon them in revenge of his brother's death, in the very town they fled to for ſanctuary.

The miſerable remainder of their broken troops fled in ſuch diſorder, that if it had not been for a furious tempeſt at that very time, the victors had marched directly up to *Jeruſalem* in that heat, and put an end to the war. For *Antigonus* was already upon the point of reſolving to abandon the city. It was now late in the evening, and *Herod* having ordered his ſoldiers to go to ſupper, retired into his chamber to refreſh himſelf after the fatigue of the battle, and as he was ſtark naked, and only one perſon to wait upon him, three ſoldiers ſtarted out with ſwords in their hands, and croſſing the room in haſte, ruſhed out at the door. Theſe were people that had hid themſelves in the houſe, it ſeems, for fear of the enemy, in the heat of the outrage; and ſo ran away in a fright to ſave themſelves, without ever dreaming of any violence upon the king, whom they might eaſily have deſtroyed. The body of *Pappus* being found among the ſlain, *Herod* the next day ordered his head to be ſtruck off, and ſent it to

Pheroras, as a kind of conſolitary revenge for his brother *Joſeph*, whom *Pappus* put to death with his own hand.

So ſoon as the hurry was over, *Herod* marched away with his army, and encampnear *Jeruſalem*, taking up his quarter upon the temple ſide of the town, as *Pompey* had done long before him. When he had made the neceſſary preparations for beſieging the place in form, he went to *Samaria* to conſummate his marriage with *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Alexander*, and the grandchild of *Ariſtobulus*, (to whom he had been contracted, as has been ſaid before) leaving officers behind him to carry on the ſiege in his abſence.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod, *aſſiſted by* Soſius, *a* Roman *General, takes* Jeruſalem *by Force. He buys the Plunder from the Soldiers, in favour of the City.* Soſius *takes* Antigonus *Priſoner, and carries him in Bonds to* Anthony.

WHEN the marriage ceremony was over *Soſius* ſent away his troops before him, and ſoon after followed them himſelf. The king returned alſo from *Samaria* with an enforcement of about thirty thouſand men, which being joined, the whole army drew together toward the walls upon the north quarter of the town, to the number of eleven regiments of foot and ſix thouſand horſe, over and above the auxiliaries they brought from *Syria*. The two generals were *Soſius* and *Herod*, the former employed by *Anthony* as an aſſiſtant, the other acting upon his own account.

The *Jews* within were bold and numerous, for the whole nation of them in effect was gotten into the town, where they made a very obſtinate defence, animating their companions with emphatical outcries of "The temple of the Lord, the temple "of the Lord." Neither were they wanting in their endeavours, by frequent excurſions and ravaging the country, to diſtreſs the beſiegers: But *Herod* quickly put a ſtop to this inconvenience, partly by the ambuſhes he laid to entrap the pillagers, and partly by the commiſſaries and convoys he employed far and near, for the ſupply of the camp. The ſeaſon was ſo fair and favourable, and ſo many hands at work, that the pioneers had by this time finiſhed the approaches, and the beſiegers were now advanced to the battery. The beſieged, on the other hand, made a ſtout reſiſtance, oppoſing ſtratagem to ſtratagem. They made a great many deſperate ſallies, and ſet fire to the enemy's works; and their courage was nothing inferior to that of the *Romans*, though in military knowledge and experience the *Romans* had the advantage of them. As faſt as one wall was thrown down, the defendants ſupplied it with a retrenchment that ſerved for another. They counterwrought mine againſt mine, and met and fought many times under ground in the very work. This was their bravery in defiance of a formidable enemy before the town, and a ſtarving want of neceſſaries within the wall, for they were now in the ſabbatical year, when it was not lawful for them to till the ground. Upon the fortieth day after breaking ground, twenty brave fellows mounted the firſt wall, and after them a centurion of *Soſius*'s. The ſecond wall was taken fifteen days after, and ſeveral galleries about the temple ſet on fire, which *Herod* invidiouſly imputed to *Antigonus*, to make him odious to the people. Upon taking the out quarter of the temple, and the lower town, the *Jews* betook themſelves into the middle of the one and the upper part of the other: And for fear the *Romans* ſhould interrupt them in their daily ſacrifices, they deſired leave of *Herod* by their ambaſſadors, only to bring in ſo many beaſts as ſhould be neceſſary for that ſervice. *Herod* readily granted their requeſt: But finding that they were more and more violent for *Antigonus*, he fell on immediately with his whole ſtrength, and took the city by aſſault. The *Romans* were ſo exaſperated at the oppoſition and the delay, and the *Herodian Jews* alſo ſo embittered againſt thoſe of the other party, that they put all to the ſword without mercy, ſparing neither age or ſex: Nay, the temple itſelf was no longer a ſanctuary to thoſe that fled into it.

In this extremity *Antigonus* came down from the tower, and caſt himſelf at the feet of *Soſius*, who, inſtead of *Antigonus*, ſaluted him by the name of *Antigona*, in contempt of ſo effeminate a ſpirit. But he did not treat him afterwards like a woman, for he was put in chains, and ſecured under the cuſtody of a guard.

But *Herod*'s work was not yet done, for his mercenaries were ſo preſſing to pry into the temple, and the very ſanctuary itſelf, that all *Herod* could do by his authority, fair words, threatenings, and force itſelf, was little enough to reſtrain them. He kept off the ſoldiers alſo from pillaging all he could, by expoſtulating the matter with *Soſius*, that if they went on killing and ſpoiling at that rate, the *Romans* would find him the king of a deſert rather than of a people. *Soſius* made anſwer, that it was a thing of courſe, upon the taking of a place by aſſault, to allow the ſoldiers the advantage of the booty. *Herod* told him, that as to what concerned the ſoldiers, he would compound himſelf for the plunder, and gratify them to their ſatisfaction, which he did accordingly. He was, in ſhort, ſo generous to the common ſoldiers, ſo bountiful to the officers, and ſo magnificent in his preſents to *Soſius*, that the city was redeemed, and all parties, in concluſion, very well ſatisfied.

This happened in the conſulate of *Marcus Agrippa*, and *Canidius Gallus*, *Olympiad* one hundred and eighty five, in the third month, and upon the day of a ſolemn faſt, being the very anniverſary of their deſtruction by *Pompey*; for the city was taken upon the very day of the taking it ſeven and twenty years before.

Soſius, upon this, dedicated unto God a golden crown, and ſo went from *Jeruſalem*, taking *Antigonus* his priſoner along with him in bonds to *Anthony*. *Herod* had a jealouſy in his head, that perhaps *Anthony* would not take away his life, and that in caſe of his appearing at *Rome*, and putting in his claim to the government before the ſenate, *Antigonus* being of the royal blood, and himſelf but a *Plebeian*, *Herod* did not know what might come of it. Under this proſpect he found himſelf very uneaſy, and ſo prevailed with *Anthony*, for a mighty ſum of money, to have *Antigonus* diſpatched: And that being done *Herod*'s heart was at reſt.

Thus ended the reign of the *Aſmonæan* family, after a hundred and twenty ſix years poſſeſſion of the government. This family was famous both for their nobility, and alſo by reaſon of their ſacerdotal dignity, and for the noble actions and exploits which their anceſtors had atchieved for the *Jewiſh* nation; but they loſt their authority through their mutual factions. Which ſovereignty was derived to *Herod*, *Antipater*'s ſon, who was ignoble by birth, and of mean friends, who were ſubjects and vaſſals to kings.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK XV.

From the Year of the World 3929, to 3955.

CHAP. I.

Five and forty of Antigonus's *Men put to Death, and himſelf beheaded at* Antioch.

AS ſoon as *Herod* came to the exerciſe of his royal authority over *Judæa*, he made it his buſineſs to promote and to provide for thoſe of the city in the firſt place, that took part with him while he was in the condition of a private man. But for thoſe of the oppoſite party, hardly a day paſſed without a capital execution upon ſome or other of them. *Pollio* the *Phariſee*, and his diſciple *Sameas*, were highly in his favour for the good offices they did him, in adviſing the citizens when he lay before the town to open the gates and receive him. This was that *Pollio* that formerly foretold to *Hyrcanus* and the reſt of the judges, upon the queſtioning of *Herod* for his life, that if they acquitted him the time would come when he ſhould as certainly take away their lives, as they might then take away his. This prediction was verified in the event.

No ſooner was *Herod* in poſſeſſion of the city, but he got together all the royal furniture, with the rich booty in goods, gold and ſilver, that had been taken away by the wealthy citizens, and had it all carried to the palace, out of which he made a mighty preſent to *Anthony*, dividing the reſt among his friends and favourites. He ordered alſo forty five principal men of *Antigonus's* intereſt to be put to death, and a guard ſet at their ſeveral doors to wait for the bringing out of the bodies, and to inſpect whether they were dead or not, and to take care that they carried out nothing elſe. In caſe of diſcovering any gold or ſilver it was all brought to the king; and, in a word, they ſaw no end of their miſery. They were in the hands of a griping and a neceſſitous prince, and all they were worth in the world was too little to ſatisfie his avarice. They were alſo in their ſabbatical year, and conſequently no harveſt to ſupply their wants.

Anthony having at this time *Antigonus* a priſoner, had ſome thoughts of expoſing him in chains for the honour of his triumph. But when he heard that the *Jews* began to be mutinous, and out of the averſion they had for *Herod* to favour *Antigonus*, *Anthony* ſtruck off his head at *Antioch*.

CHAP. II.

Phraates, *King of the* Parthians, *lets his Priſoner* Hyrcanus *return into* Judæa; Herod, *to make ſure of him, contributeth hereunto, and giveth the High-Prieſthood to a Man of no account.* Alexandra, Herod*'s Mother-in-law, and* Ariſtobulus's *Mother, addreſſeth herſelf to* Cleopatra, *to obtain this Function for her Son, through* Anthony*'s means.* Herod *diſcovers it, gives that Employment to* Ariſtobulus, *and feigneth to be reconciled to* Alexandra.

HYRCANUS being at this time in the hands of the *Parthians*, news was brought him of *Herod's* promotion to the government, upon which intelligence he made his court to the new king, and we are now to ſhew how he came to obtain his liberty, and to return.

Hyrcanus being brought priſoner to *Phraates*, the king of *Parthia*, he had ſo great a reſpect for his illuſtrious blood and quality, that he immediately ordered his chains to be taken off, and allowed him the freedom of the city of *Babylon*, where he had the ſame reverence paid him, not only by the *Jews* of that city, but by thoſe, likewiſe on the other ſide of *Euphrates*, as if he had been their governor and high-prieſt; ſo that his preſent condition was not very uneaſy to him. But when he came to underſtand that *Herod* was advanced to the government, he flattered himſelf with the hope of mighty things that *Herod* would do for him now upon this elevation, as an acknowledgment to the preſerver of his life and honour. So that he reſolved within himſelf to make a journey to him, but not without the formality of adviſing firſt with ſome of his confidents about it. Upon conſulting together he found all his friends unanimouſly poſitive againſt his going; but the paſſion *Hyrcanus* had for his own country made him deaf to all good counſels. *Herod* gave *Hyrcanus* an invitation alſo by letter to come over to him, and take his part in the government, deſiring him likewiſe to move *Phraates* and his brethren the *Jews*, not to envy him the comfort of ſo great a bleſſing; for now was the time, he ſaid, to ſhew his gratitude to the perſon he ſtood indebted to, both for his bread and for his life. He ſent alſo *Saramalla* upon an embaſſy to *Phraates* with magnificent preſents, to ſweeten him on the behalf of *Hyrcanus*, his worthy patron and dear friend. But this was all grimace; for *Herod* being a crafty and a ſuſpicious prince, and an uſurper to boot, his buſineſs was to ſecure himſelf againſt all poſſible changes of ſtate, and upon that conſideration either to get *Hyrcanus* into his power, or out of the world, as afterwards he did.

Hyrcanus being, in fine, diſcharged by *Phraates*, and amply ſupplied with money and neceſſaries by the *Jews* in *Babylon* for his journey, he went his way to *Jeruſalem*, where he was received with all the marks of ſingular honour and reſpect: There was nothing, in ſhort, omitted, that might conduce to his eſtabliſhment, ſaving only that *Herod* was ſo over-ſolicitous in that particular, that it proved the occaſion of a dangerous breach in the family; for he was ſo cautious of having any man of an honourable extraction advanced to the pontificate, that he ſent to *Babylon* for one *Ananel*, a perſon of mean and obſcure condition, and made him high-prieſt. *Alexandra*, the wife of *Hyrcanus* and widow of *Alexander*, the ſon of king *Ariſtobulus*, by whom ſhe had a ſon called *Ariſtobulus*, after his grandfather's name, and a daughter, *Mariamne*, a woman of admirable beauty, and the wife of *Herod*: This *Alexandra* laid it extremely to heart to ſee her ſon thus affronted, and the high-prieſthood uſurped by one from abroad, while her ſon was yet living. In this diſcontent ſhe wrote by a certain muſician to *Cleopatra*, to beg the pontificate of *Anthony* for her ſon: But *Anthony* never minding the matter, it ſo happend that one *Gellius*, being at that time in *Judæa* about ſome affairs of his own, happened to ſee *Ariſtobulus* and *Mariamne*, whom he looked upon to be two of the moſt graceful beautiful perſons that ever his eyes beheld; inſomuch that he highly complimented *Alexandra* upon it, and recommended it to her to make a preſent of their pictures to *Anthony*, as the way to ſecure herſelf of any good office that lay in his power to do her. Upon this conſideration ſhe ſent the pictures; and *Gellius*, who had a mind to inveigle *Anthony* into a paſſion for *Mariamne*, made the matter yet more than it was, with hyperbolical and extravagant flouriſhes, and that they looked like angels in human ſhapes. It would not have been either handſome or honeſt in *Anthony* to ſend for the wife of a prince that was his friend, and he was not willing neither to give *Cleopatra* any juſt ground of jealouſy; but he wrote however to *Herod* how glad he ſhould be to ſee *Ariſtobulus* upon any fair occaſion. *Ariſtobulus* was at that time but fifteen or ſixteen years of age, and *Herod* did not think it ſafe to ſend a delicate charming youth to the perſon of all men living the moſt abandoned to unnatural luſts, as was *Anthony*. So that *Herod* put him off with this pretence, that the *Jews* were ſo ſeditious, and ſo bent upon change and the experiment of another king, that if *Ariſtobulus* ſhould but ſtir out of the kingdom, it would blow up all in a flame.

When he had fobb'd *Anthony* off with this anſwer, he managed his matters ſo as to keep civilly fair with the young man and *Alexandra*; his wife *Mariamne* preſſing him over and above at every turn, to do her brother right in his buſineſs of the pontificate, urging withal that it was his own intereſt ſo to do, for the very duty of the office would excuſe him beyond all exception from taking the journey. *Herod*, upon this, calling ſeveral of his friends about him, fell into to a bloody invective againſt *Alexandra*, telling them that ſhe was entered into a ſecret conſpiracy againſt him, and that ſhe wrought by the means of *Cleopatra*, who was to engage *Anthony* to diſpoſſeſs himſelf of the government, and transfer it to her ſon. "But "upon the whole matter," ſays he, "I "am ready to forget and to forgive all theſe "injuries; and to ſhew the reverence and "tenderneſs I have for my mother, and "the reſt of her relations, I will immediately veſt her ſon in the exerciſe of the "office; and I had done it ſooner too, "when I put *Ananel* into it, if the other "had been of age to execute it." This ſtudied ſpeech put *Alexandra* into the greateſt confuſion imaginable, between the joy of ſeeing her buſineſs done, and the trouble of finding herſelf ſuſpected: So that burſting out into a paſſionate tranſport of tears and proteſtations, ſhe gave this further account of her behaviour. "That as to the high-"prieſthood, ſhe had ſuch an indignation "for the affront put upon her ſon in that "particular, that ſhe left no lawful means "to do him right unattempted; but as to "any deſign ſhe had of raiſing him to the "throne, ſhe was ſo far from any thought "that way, that if the thing were offered "her ſhe would refuſe it. But as the caſe "then ſtood, ſhe was ſo ſenſible of the "king's grace and goodneſs to herſelf in the "perſon of *Ariſtobulus*, that he ſhould ever "find her moſt dutiful for the future: And "if upon any punctilio of honour, or of "haughtineſs of mind, ſhe might have paſſed the preciſe bounds of reſpect and mo-"deration, ſhe begged his pardon for it." This diſcourſe put a ſeeming end to the controverſy, for they ſhook hands, and in appearance parted friends.

CHAP. III.

Herod *depoſeth* Ananel *from the dignity of the High-Prieſthood, and conferreth it upon* Ariſtobulus; *he cauſeth* Alexandra *to be ſeized on, and* Ariſtobulus, *when they were about to make their eſcape, by going to* Cleopatra; *he feigneth a Reconciliation with them, and afterwards cauſeth* Ariſtobulus *to be Drowned, beſtowing a coſtly Funeral on him.*

THE king immediately depoſed *Ananel* from the pontificate, and by this expedient thought to ſet all right in the family; but it ſtill ran in *Herod*'s head that *Alexandra* would be no longer quiet than till ſhe had an opportunity of compaſſing her ends. In this humour he confined her to the palace, and abſolutely forbid her meddling in any public buſineſs, ſetting ſo many guards upon her that ſhe did not the leaſt thing in the world but the king had notice of it. This odious way of proceeding went to the very heart of her, inſomuch that ſhe reſolved rather to endure any thing than the plague of ſo ſcandalous a jealouſy. In this diſtreſs ſhe ſent the whole ſtate of her caſe in a letter to *Cleopatra*, together with an application to her for advice and relief; who gave her for anſwer an invitation to get away privately with her ſon, and to come over to her into *Egypt*. She could not but approve of the counſel, and ſo bethought herſelf of the following method of putting it in execution: She ordered two coffins to be provided, and herſelf and her ſon to be put into them, appointing the ſervants that were privy to the contrivance to ſee them carried out by night, and put aboard a ſhip that lay ready near at hand to tranſport them into *Egypt*. There was one *Sabbion*, who was looked upon to be *Alexandra*'s friend, and ſo mortal an enemy of *Herod*'s that he was ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been a party in the plot for the poiſoning of *Antipater*. A ſervant of *Alexandra*'s, whoſe name was *Æſop*, making no doubt of *Sabbion*'s being privy to the deſign, blabbed the whole ſtory to him, and the other, laying hold of this occaſion for the redeeming his credit with *Herod*, went and acquainted him with the whole intrigue. *Herod* let them go on without any noiſe, till they came to the point of execution, and then ſurpriſed them in the very act of making their eſcape. *Herod* was yet ſo gracious as to forgive her this attempt, not out of any motion of tenderneſs and generoſity, but for fear of *Cleopatra*'s power with *Anthony*, in caſe he ſhould provoke her to a revenge. But after all this external fairneſs toward *Alexandra*, the death of the young man ſome way or other was a thing reſolved upon; only it was to be a work of time to prevent ſuſpicion or diſcovery.

The feaſt of tabernacles now drawing on, *Herod* diſpoſed himſelf to make merry with the people: But while this paſſed there fell out an unlucky circumſtance, that put him upon the execution of his murderous purpoſe ſooner than he intended. *Ariſtobulus* was at this time between ſeventeen and eighteen years of age, tall and lovely, and the very picture of his grandfather: And as he was advancing toward the altar in his pontifical robes, to officiate according to the law, he diſcharged his part with ſo wonderful a grace, that the eyes and hearts of the ſpectators were all ſet upon him, inſomuch that they could not forbear expreſſing the love, honour and eſteem they had for him, in a thouſand good wiſhes, prayers and acclamations. Now they never conſidered that the magnifying of the one was a kind of derogating from the other, and that *Herod*'s envy would underſtand it ſo, which effectually it did, and the jealouſy he contracted upon it, haſtened the young man's ruin. Upon the breaking up of the feſtival *Herod* took his part of a treat with *Alexandra* at *Jericho*, where he took *Ariſtobulus* aſide, as in point of complaiſance, and to bear him company in his little diverſions and pleaſures. The weather was too hot for any ſtirring exerciſe, ſo that they quickly gave over their play, and withdrew into the cool ſhade, by certain large fiſh ponds there at hand, where ſeveral of their acquaintances and ſervants were bathing themſelves. *Ariſtobulus* was tempted by *Herod* to make one of the party, and ſo plunging into the pool for company, ſome of *Herod*'s inſtruments took the opportunity of ducking and dipping him ſo long, under a pretence of only paddling and fooling with him, that in the end they kept him down, and drowned him.

This was the deplorable end of *Ariſtobulus*, in the eighteenth year of his age, and the firſt of his office, which was then immediately reſtored to *Ananel*. This was ſo public a loſs that the whole city was in tears for it; but the chief mourner was *Alexandra*, and it was an aggravation of her calamity, that though ſhe was convinced of the malicious treachery of the fact, ſhe was yet glad to keep her tongue quiet, for fear of a worſe miſchief, and checked her paſſion, in hope that if ſhe could but ſurvive the ſenſe of that barbarous murder, without diſcovering what ſhe knew of the contriver of it, ſhe might yet live to have the opportunity of a revenge, wherefore ſhe carried it without ſeeming to underſtand any thing of the matter: But *Herod* made it his buſineſs to poſſeſs people that he had no hand in it, and in his looks, words and behaviour, acted the part of a forlorn, ſorrowful wight, ſo to the life, that a body would have thought his very heart had been breaking in good earneſt.

As to the matter of pomp and expence toward the ſolemnity of the funeral, there was nothing left undone either in the adorning of the hearſe, or in the embalming of the body, that might advance the magnificence of the ceremony; and this courſe he took, as the moſt likely to ſoften the women and make them eaſy.

CHAP. IV.

Alexander *ſends* Cleopatra *the ſtory of the Murder; who preſſes* Anthony *for Juſtice upon the Murderer.* Anthony *ſends for* Herod, *and* Joſeph *adminiſters in his Abſence, with Orders to put* Mariamne *to Death, in caſe* Anthony *deſtroys* Herod; *who appeaſes* Anthony *by Preſents.* Herod *puts* Joſeph *to Death, and impriſons* Alexandra. Cleopatra'*s unſatiable Ambition and Avarice. She murders her Brother and Siſter.*

BUT there was no working upon the embittered ſpirit of *Alexandra,* neither was the ſourneſs of her cankered melancholy capable of any other relief than that of a revenge. With this proſpect ſhe ſent *Cleopatra* an account of *Herod*'s perfidious practice upon the life of her miſerable ſon. *Cleopatra* contracted ſo generous a compaſſion for her upon this occaſion, that ſhe eſpouſed her intereſt as her own; preſſing and plying *Anthony* with perpetual importunities, to ſee juſtice done upon the author of ſo barbarous a murder. *Anthony* laid the thing to heart; and coming to *Laodicea,* ſent for *Herod* to know what he had to ſay for himſelf about the death of *Ariſtobulus* *Herod* at all hazards reſolved to appear, and in truth there was no avoiding it. So he committed the care of his government in his abſence to his uncle *Joſeph,* and gave him privately in charge if *Anthony* ſhould put him to death, he ſhould immediately deſtroy *Mariamne;* for he doted upon his fair wife to that degree that it was worſe than death to him to think of any other man's enjoying her when he ſhould be gone. Having diſpatched his orders, away he went to *Anthony,* but with a ſad and a foreboding heart.

While *Joſeph* was in the adminiſtration, he took care of his truſt, and made frequent viſits to *Mariamne,* partly upon buſineſs, and partly out of reſpect. *Joſeph,* as they were together, would ever and anon be taking occaſion to extol *Herod,* as the moſt tender uxorious huſband upon the face of the earth. The women ſhook their heads, *Alexandra* eſpecially; but *Joſeph* grew ſo over-zealous upon it, that he betrayed a ſecret he was entruſted with before he was aware; inſiſting upon it as an infallible argument of *Herod*'s affection for *Mariamne*, "that as he could "not live without her, ſo he was reſolved "that death itſelf ſhould never part them." Now the women did not underſtand theſe words as an evidence of his love, but an intimation of a tyrannical purpoſe he had taken up, in caſe of his own death, not to ſuffer them to ſurvive him.

There was at this time a rumour raiſed and ſpread about the town by ſome ill-willers to the king, that *Anthony* had cauſed *Herod* to be put to the queſtion, and after that to death. The whole court was ſtartled at it, and the women above the reſt: Inſomuch that *Alexandra* put it to *Joſeph* to fly for protection to the *Roman* legion under *Julius*, that was then quartered without the city, and to take them along with him, for if there ſhould come to be any broils in the palace, the *Romans* would take care of them; or if ever *Mariamne* ſhould but come into the ſight of *Anthony*, he would deny her nothing that ſhe ſhould aſk him, though it were the kingdom itſelf, and all the royal privileges ſhe could pretend to.

While this affair was under deliberation, there came letters from *Herod* that quite deſtroyed the former intelligence; for *Herod*, it ſeems, was no ſooner come to *Anthony*, but by the force of preſents, and fair words, he brought him ſo far over to his intereſt that *Cleopatra* had no longer any power with him to his diſadvantage. *Herod* made oſtentation in his letters alſo, of the honours *Anthony* had done him; how he called him to his council, and to his ſolemn feaſts, in deſpite of all the calumnies of *Cleopatra*, that had a deſign upon the government herſelf, and did all ſhe could to ruin him: But *Anthony*, he ſaid, was a prince of honour, and that they might expect him back again in a ſhort time better eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and in the aſſurance of *Anthony*'s friendſhip, than ever: *Cleopatra* being quite taken off, by the acceptance of *Cœle-Syria* as a preſent from *Anthony*, upon condition never to trouble him again about *Judæa*.

This anſwer put an end to the deſign they had of ranging themſelves under the protection of the *Romans*, which was not kept ſo ſecret yet but *Herod* got an inkling of it: Who ſo ſoon as *Anthony* was advanced upon his expedition againſt the *Parthians*, returned to *Jeruſalem*, where his ſiſter *Salome* and his mother informed him of the whole matter. Nay, and his ſiſter went ſo far, as to charge her own huſband, *Joſeph*, and *Mariamne*, with the privacy of a love intrigue together: This put *Herod* into ſo furious a tranſport of jealouſy and indignation, (for he loved *Mariamne* as he did his own ſoul) that he had much ado to contain himſelf within the compaſs of ſobriety and good diſcretion. But, upon ſecond thoughts, he took *Mariamne* aſide, and queſtioned her about this familiarity with *Joſeph*. She purged herſelf by all that was poſſible for an innocent woman to ſay in her own defence. The king, in fine, betwixt the power of his wife's charms, and that of his own paſſion, ſoftened by little and little, and not only acquitted her of the calumny, but acknowledged himſelf convinced of her unſpotted integrity, deſiring her pardon for making ſuch a charge againſt her. Theſe endearments, in concluſion, brought them to tears and embraces, and the more diffident *Mariamne* appeared of the good faith of *Herod*'s affection, the more ſolicitous was he ſtill to confirm her in the aſſurance of it. "Yes, yes," ſays ſhe, "a notable ſign of "a loving huſband indeed, to order the "putting of his innocent wife to death, in caſe he ſhould happen to die himſelf!" At theſe words he flung himſelf out of her arms in a rage, tearing his hair, and crying out like a mad man. "It is now as clear as "the ſun," ſays he, "that *Joſeph* has cor-"rupted my wife, for nothing leſs than the "power of ſuch a confidence could ever "have extorted from him a ſecret that was "committed to him with ſo much caution "and truſt." In this impotency of paſſion he had it in thought to ſtrike *Mariamne* to the heart, but he overcame, though with ſome difficulty, that provocation. As for *Joſeph*, he commanded him immediately to be put to death, without ſo much as hearing him; and *Alexandra* at the ſame time to be impriſoned, as the root of all this miſchief.

About the ſame time there happened troubles and revolutions in *Syria*; for *Cleopatra* continually ſolicited and importuned *Anthony*, and whetted on his diſpleaſure againſt all; perſuaded him to remove them from the governments, and beſtow the ſame on herſelf. As *Anthony* loved her extremely, ſhe was in great eſtimation and credit with him; and being in her own nature inclined to covetouſneſs, ſhe abſtained from no kind of corrupt dealing and wickedneſs: For knowing that the kingdom ſhould deſcend unto her brother, ſhe cauſed him to be poiſoned, when he was but fifteen years old; as for her ſiſter *Arſinoe*, ſhe cauſed her to be ſlain by *Anthony*'s means, being at her prayers in the temple of *Diana* in *Epheſus*. Moreover, in what place ſoever ſhe underſtood that there was any hope to get money, whether it were in robbing of temples, or in breaking open of ſepulchres, ſhe would be poſſeſſed thereof, neither was there any religious place ſo ſacred from whence ſhe took not away the ornaments. There was not any thing ſo profane and prohibited which ſhe laid not hands on to ſatisfie her unbridled avarice. Neither was the whole world ſufficient enough to content this ſtately lady, who was ſo much a ſlave to her own deſires, and her inordinate appetite, that all the riches in the world were not able to ſatisfie the ſame. For this cauſe ſhe conſtantly importuned *Anthony* to take from others, to be liberal towards her; and therefore entering into *Syria* with him, ſhe preſently contrived how ſhe might get it into her poſſeſſion; and cauſed *Lyſanias*, *Ptolemy*'s ſon, to be put to death, objecting againſt him that he had private intelligence with the *Parthians*. She begged *Jewry* alſo at *Anthony*'s hands, and required him beſides that to diſpoſſeſs the kings of *Arabia*. He was ſo was poſſeſſed by this woman, that he ſeemed not only to be bewitched with her words, but alſo enchanted by her poiſons, to obey her in whatſoever ſhe thought fit; yet he was aſhamed to commit ſuch manifeſt injuſtices, leſt being ſo far over-ruled by her, he ſhould happen to offend in matters of more conſequence. Leſt therefore either by denying her he ſhould diſoblige her, or by condeſcending to her demands he ſhould ſeem to be the wickedeſt man alive, he deducted a ſeveral portion of both their dominions, and preſented her with the ſame. He gave her likewiſe thoſe cities that are ſituate between the flood of *Eleutherius* and *Egypt*, except *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which he knew to be free cities of long continuance; although by earneſt ſolicitation ſhe thought to ſeize theſe alſo.

CHAP. V.

Cleopatra *a luſtful, ſhameleſs Woman.* Herod *is for putting her to Death, but his Friends oppoſe it.*

WHEN *Cleopatra* had ſettled her affairs, and ſeen *Anthony* as far *Euphrates*, upon his expedition into *Armenia*, ſhe came back again, and took *Apamia* and *Damaſcus* in her way to *Judæa*, where ſhe was honourably received by *Herod*, who treated with her for the revenue of that part of *Arabia* and *Jericho*, that had been granted her: The latter being a place famous for balſam, which is the moſt precious of all gums, and likewiſe for the faireſt palm-trees in the world. Upon this occaſion ſhe ſet all her wits at work to engage *Herod* in an amour, and being a woman naturally luſtful and ſhameleſs, ſhe did as good as meet him half way. Now *Herod*, when he came to ſee the proſtituted impudence of her behaviour, it gave him ſuch a horror, that he reſolved, if ever it came to the point, directly to turn her off, and affront her. The queſtion was now (and he conſulted his friends about it) whether it might not be his beſt courſe to make ſure of this vile woman while he had her, for it would be both a ſatisfaction to thoſe ſhe had abuſed heretofore, and a ſecurity to thoſe ſhe might otherwiſe abuſe hereafter: Nay, and *Anthony* himſelf would be the better for it too, for ſhe was the common enemy of all mankind, and would be falſe to himſelf too, if ever he ſhould come to ſtand in need of her. *Herod* was abſolutely for taking her off, but thoſe about him no leſs poſitive againſt it, as a thing below the dignity of a prince to run ſo great a hazard for. His friends, in fine, betwixt the ſtrength of their arguments, and the credit of their counſels, brought *Herod* over to an acknowledgment of his miſtake, and ſo diverted him from his deſperate intent: Upon which change of mind, he complimented *Cleopatra* with rich preſents, and conducted her to *Egypt*.

Armenia being now over-run by *Anthony*, he ſent *Artabazes*, the ſon of *Tigranes*, a priſoner into *Egypt*, with the princes, his ſons, and made a preſent of them to *Cleopatra*, together with the precious booty he had taken there. *Artaxias*, the eldeſt ſon of *Artabazes*, who fled out of the country at the breaking out of the war, ſucceeded to his father, but was afterward driven out again by *Archelaus*, and the emperor *Nero*, who put *Tigranes*, the youngeſt brother of the family, into his place.

As to the revenue of the country that *Anthony* had given to *Cleopatra*, *Herod* made punctual payment of it, for he well knew that women were not to be provoked, and that it was his intereſt to keep fair with her. The *Arabians*, conſidering that *Herod* had the levying of the tax, made due payment for ſome time, at the proportion of two hundred talents a year; but this did not laſt long, for they fell off by degrees, till it fell in the end to leſs than half.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Herod *intends to go to aſſiſt* Anthony *againſt* Auguſtus ; *but* Anthony *deſires him to follow on his deſign againſt the* Parthians: *He enters their Country, and overcomes them in a Battle ; but is defeated in another.*

HEROD would certainly have revenged himſelf by a war upon the *Arabians* for this breach of faith, if the *Romans* had not prevented him ; for the battle of *Actium* was now drawing on, which in all likelihood would put an end to the competition that was then on foot betwixt *Auguſtus* and *Anthony* for the empire. This happened in the *Olympiad* one hundred and eighty ſeven. *Herod* having been now a long time (by the ſavour and bounty of *Anthony)* the maſter of a rich and populous country in peace and plenty, with men, money, corn, cattle, &c. in abundance, he levied a powerful army, and marched with it toward the aſſiſtance of his patron ; but *Anthony* telling *Herod* that he had no need of it, appointed him rather to march back with it againſt the *Arabians*, whom he looked upon to be a faithleſs people. *Herod*, upon this order, drew off his army back again, and ſoon after fell into *Arabia* with a formidable body of horſe and foot, taking his march toward *Dioſpolis*, where the *Arabians*, having intelligence of his motions, were ready to encounter him. The two armies engaged, and after a bloody battle the *Jews* carried the day. After this they got together another great army at *Cana* in *Cœle Syria*. *Herod*, upon notice of their march, drew the greater part of his troops that way too, propoſing to encamp and fortify, and there to wait the firſt fair opportunity of breaking in upon the enemy. But the ſoldiers were ſo animated with their former ſucceſs, that nothing would ſerve them but they muſt fall on immediately : Nay, ſuch was their impatience that there was no keeping them in order without it. The king was ſo well pleaſed with the alacrity of his men, that he reſolved to encourage the humour while it was upon them. So he put himſelf immediately at the head of his army with ſword in hand, giving the word of command to march and fall on, and only to act after his example. They advanced upon this with ſo much bravery, that the *Arabians* were ſtruck at the very ſight of it, before ever it came to the ſhock. They made ſome little ſhew however of a faint reſiſtance upon the firſt encounter, but preſently gave way, and the greater part of them fled.

This rout had done the *Arabians* buſineſs once for all, if *Athenion*, *Cleopatra*'s general in that quarter, had not taken advantage of that diſorder. This *Athenion* had a mortal averſion to *Herod*, and ſtood in a kind of neutrality, but with his men in order and drawn up, attending the iſſue of the battle. If it had gone for the *Arabians*, *Athenion* would have been quiet ; but finding them to be worſted, and the *Jews* not only wearied out with the action, but careleſs and ſecure in the confidence of a certain victory, *Athenion*, with a conſiderable body of the natives, attacked the *Jews* by ſurpriſe, diſperſing them without much difficulty, and in the purſuit over bogs and crags, which the *Jews* were not acquainted with, did great execution. Upon this defeat the *Arabians* took heart, rallied, and reinforced the battle, following the chace with ſo terrible a ſlaughter that a very ſmall party of this great army got off. *Herod* was forced after this diſaſter, to betake himſelf to depredations and incurſions upon the *Arabians*, and to encamp in in the faſtneſſes of the mountains, without daring to expoſe his army to the fate of a battle; but this time was not utterly loſt however, for the keeping of his men in breath and exerciſe, and inuring them to all the duties of military diſcipline, put them in condition to atone in ſome degree for the honour they had loſt.

CHAP. VII.

A dreadful Earthquake in Judæa. *The* Jews *ſue for a Peace, and the* Arabians *put their Ambaſſadors to Death.*

IN the ſeventh year of the reign of *Herod*, and the year of the famous battle of *Actium*, there happened in *Judæa* the moſt dreadful earthquake that ever had been heard of. It devoured a great number of their cattle; and there periſhed ten thouſand men in their towns, by the ruins of the houſes that were overturned; but the ſoldiers in the open air eſcaped better, becauſe there was nothing over their heads to fall upon them. It is not to be imagined how proud and inſolent the *Arabians* grew upon the news of this calamity, which, how dreadful ſoever in the truth, was yet further aggravated in the report, for they computed upon it that *Judæa* was totally depopulated, their cities and their people ſwallowed up, and the nation no longer in a condition to make head againſt them. In this diſtreſs they ſent their ambaſſadors to the *Arabians* to ſue for a peace; who not only ſeized and put them to death, but ſoon after advanced with an army againſt the *Jews*, who were ſo broken-hearted in the ſenſe of the hopeleſs ſtate of their affairs, that they gave all for loſt. The king did all that was poſſible to ſupport and encourage them in this abandoned deſperation, by courting and cajoling them into a neceſſary reſolution of defending themſelves. There were ſome, even of the more generous ſort of his people, that while the remembrance of theſe misfortunes were freſh in their minds, were not to be dealt with by counſel or reaſon: But *Herod* having brought them to a more tractable temper by this frank way of proceeding, delivered what he had to ſay by way of comfort and encouragement to the army in a ſet ſpeech, which had ſuch an effect that it ſet the *Jews* on fire to be in action.

CHAP. VIII.

The Jews *give a terrible overthrow to the* Arabians, *who are obliged to take* Herod *for their Protector.*

HEROD, taking the *Jews* in the fighting humour, ſacrificed in form, and marched away immediately toward the *Arabians* beyond *Jordan*, where he encamped. There was a caſtle betwixt the two armies, which both parties had an eye upon, as a place of great advantage, in caſe either of decamping, or of a battle. The firſt point in diſpute was the gaining of this poſt, which began in a ſkirmiſh at a diſtance, with darts and lances; but drawing nearer one another by degrees, it came in the end to a cloſe engagement, with loſs of men on both ſides, till in the concluſion the *Arabians* turned their backs and quitted the field. This ſucceſs put the *Jews* in ſuch heart that they puſhed them to their very trenches, where for a while they made a ſhew of reſiſtance, till at laſt, after a long conteſt and a great deal of blood ſpilt, they were put to a total rout, and with ſo great a ſlaughter that they loſt five thouſand of their number, the reſt making away to their camp, but with a miſerable proſpect before them, for they had neither victuals nor drink to keep life and ſoul together. And in this deplorable condition the *Jews* cooped them up ſo cloſe, that there was no room left either for relief or eſcape.

In this extremity they ſent out a requeſt to *Herod* by their deputies, that he would either grant them a peace, or but the charity of cold water to quench their parching thirſt: But *Herod* was ſo bent upon his revenge that he would not gratify them in any thing that they deſired.

Within five days after this, a matter of four thouſand of them came out, and offered themſelves to captivity and chains, to avoid the more inſupportable calamity of a raging drought. On the ſixth day all the reſt made a ſally by conſent, and attacked the beſiegers, chuſing rather a preſent certainty of death, than to expoſe themſelves with infamy to the lingering torment of it. In this deſperation they iſſued out of their camp, but without either ſpirits or ſtrength anſwerable to ſuch an action, ſeeking death as the only eaſe their condition was capable of. There fell ſeven thouſand of them upon the firſt encounter; and this overthrow taught them to their coſt that *Herod* was a great captain, and thereupon they delivered themſelves up to his protection.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Herod *puffed up with a cheap Victory.* Anthony *defeated at* Actium. Herod *puts* Hyrcanus *to Death.* Herod *goes to* Ceſar, *and commits his Government to his Brother* Pheroras.

THIS victory elevated *Herod* to ſuch a degree of vanity, that away he went back again to *Jeruſalem*, in the full poſſeſſion of his uttermoſt wiſhes: But in the very rapture of this imaginary eſtabliſhment of his fortune, he received ſuch a damp, by the news of *Anthony*'s being defeated at *Actium* by *Auguſtus*, that he gave himſelf over as a loſt man, and friends and foes were all of the ſame opinion; and that *Auguſtus* would never forgive any man that had been ſo great a friend to *Anthony*. It ran in *Herod*'s head that *Hyrcanus* being the only ſurviving branch of the royal family, it would be much for his intereſt to have him taken out of the way, whatever might become of himſelf, with reſpect to *Ceſar*. While he was conſidering what to do, the very family of *Hyrcanus* furniſhed him with an occaſion to bring him to a reſolution. This ſame *Hyrcanus* he knew to be a man of a ſoft eaſy nature, one that had ever been averſe to buſineſs, leaving all things to chance, and a contented creature in all conditions; but his daughter *Alexandra*, on the contrary, was a woman of an aſpiring, turbulent ſpirit, impotent in her paſſions, and manifeſtly overjoyed in the hope ſhe had of a change. This woman was continually preſſing and tampering with her father to bethink himſelf of ſome way to deliver his family from the perſecutions of *Herod*, and to provide in time for his own ſecurity. Her advice was, that he ſhould write to *Malchus*, at that time governor of *Arabia*, deſiring him, if there ſhould be occaſion, to receive him into his protection. For if it ſhould be *Herod*'s hap to fall under the diſpleaſure of *Ceſar*, he could not fail of being reſtored to his dignity, having an indiſputable right of title, and the good will of the people, clearly on his ſide. *Hyrcanus* for ſome time gave little attention to this counſel, but being ſolicited day and night after the ſame manner, he ſuffered himſelf to be overborn in the end, by the importunity of a woman; and ſo wrote to the *Arabian*, committing the charge of the letter to one *Doſitheus*, in ſubſtance to this purpoſe: “That he would ſend him “a party of horſe-men to the lake *Aſphaltitis*, three hundred furlongs from *Jeruſalem*.” This letter was the rather entruſted to *Doſitheus*, as a confident both of *Hyrcanus* and *Alexandra*, and in regard that he was looked upon as an enemy to *Herod*, not only for the putting of his kinſman *Joſeph* to death, but for the ſake of his brothers that were diſpatched ſome time before by *Anthony* at *Tyre*. But all this was not enough yet to keep *Doſitheus* true to his truſt: But he rather choſe to make an intereſt with *Herod*, and went and ſhewed him the letter, who gave him thanks for the good office, deſiring only that he ſhould ſeal it up again and carry it to *Malchus*, and receive his anſwer; for it would much concern him, he ſaid, to ſee how the other behaved himſelf upon it. *Doſitheus* acquitted himſelf punctually of his commiſſion, and brought back with him the *Arabian*'s anſwer, which was to this effect: "That he was ready to entertain himſelf and his family, and that if "he brought the whole party of the *Jews* "along with him that were in that intereſt, "they ſhould be all welcome; that he "would ſend him a convoy for their ſafety; and, in fine, that he was ready to "ſerve him to all manner of purpoſes." *Herod*, upon the receipt of this letter, called *Hyrcanus* to him, and aſked him whether he held any intelligence with *Malchus* or not? who ſaid, None at all: And thereupon *Herod* produced the letter, had it read publickly, and ordered *Hyrcanus* to be put to death. Many are of opinion, after all, that he died innocent; for he was known to be one of the mildeſt and moſt inoffenſive creatures that ever was heard of: So modeſt and temperate, that he was not guilty of one raſh action in the whole courſe of his life, no not ſo much as in the liberties of his youth, or the exerciſe of his authority, for he governed altogether by the advice of *Antipater*, the father of *Herod*. He was now upwards of eighty years of age: *Herod* ſafe in the eſtabliſhment of his power, and himſelf on the wrong ſide of *Euphrates*, having left his friends behind him, and all this in ſubmiſſion to his dominion. Now for *Hyrcanus* to attempt a thing in appearance ſo impracticable, and otherwiſe ſo contrary to his genius and inclination, no mortal can pretend to believe, or that there was any thing more in the whole ſtory, than a mere practice and contrivance of *Herod*'s.

This was the end of *Hyrcanus*, after a ſtrange variety of fortune, in a long and a troubleſome life. He was advanced to the pontificate in the reign of his mother *Alexandra*, upon whoſe deceaſe, after nine years execution of his office, he ſucceeded to the government. In three months after this he was driven out by his brother *Ariſtobulus*, but reſtored after that by *Pompey*, to the poſſeſſion of all his dignities, which he enjoyed for the ſpace of forty years. He was once again then dethroned by *Antigonus*, had his ears cut off, and was carried away priſoner to the *Parthians*. He had not been there long, till he was ſet at liberty, and came back again, promiſing himſelf mighty matters from the friendſhip of *Herod*; who was ſo far from anſwering his expectations, that on the contrary, after ſo many turns and croſſes of a vexatious fortune, he cauſed him to be put to an infamous death, in the extremity of his old age.

As ſoon as *Herod* had made ſure of *Hyrcanus*, he went his way preſently to *Ceſar*, but without any thought of favour from him, toward a man that had ſo heartily eſpouſed the cauſe of *Anthony*. He had a ſtrong ſuſpicion of *Alexandra*, and not knowing what advantage ſhe might make of his abſence, toward the ſtirring up of the people to a rebellion, he lodged the government in the hands of his brother *Pheroras*, diſpoſing of his mother *Cypris*, with the ſiſter and other relations, into the caſtle of *Maſſada*, appointing his brother, in caſe any miſchief ſhould befal him, to maintain his poſt, and continue the adminiſtration in his own name. As to his wife *Mariamne*, he placed her in *Alexandrion*, with her mother *Alexandra*, there being ſo great a feud betwixt his wife, his mother and his ſiſter, that there could be no thought of their living quietly together. He put the government of the fort into the hands of a couple of tried and truſty friends, *Joſeph* his treaſurer, and *Sohemus* an *Ituræan*, under a pretext of doing honour to theſe princeſſes; but with private order, ſo ſoon as ever they ſhould come to be certainly informed of any violence upon his perſon, immediately to deſtroy them both, and to the uttermoſt of their power, ſecure the government to his ſons and to his brothers.

CHAP. X.

Herod *ſpeaks ſo generouſly to* Auguſtus *that he obtains his Favour: He accompanies him into* Egypt, *and receiveth him with ſuch extraordinary Magnificence, that it put him in repute with all the* Romans.

AS ſoon as *Herod* had given all neceſſary orders, he haſtened away to *Rhodes* to find out *Ceſar* there. Upon his arrival he took off his crown, and laid it aſide, but the reſt of his royal robes he kept on. Upon *Ceſar*'s admitting him to his audience, he made a frank report of matter of fact, without any apology.

"I am not come hither, great *Ceſar*," ſays he, "to diſavow the ſacredneſs of a friendſhip I have ever had for *Anthony*; and I ſhall take a farther freedom to declare, that he ſhould have been maſter of the world, if I could have made him ſo. 'Tis true I was not perſonally in the laſt battle with him, for my commiſſion called me away againſt the *Arabians*; but at the ſame time I ſerved him to the utmoſt of my power with money and proviſions; and I was ſorry I could do no more; for ſuch was the tenderneſs I had for *Anthony*, and ſuch my obligations to him, that I reckoned my life as much at his devotion as my fortune: But ſince I could not be with him at *Actium*, I muſt yet juſtify myſelf, that I had ſtill the ſame affection for his perſon and cauſe, after that fatal day, that I had before: Neither did I ſo much as waver, at this change of fortune, toward changing of my party. Nay, in thoſe occaſions, when I could not aſſiſt him with my arms, I never failed to ſerve him with my advice, which was to cut off *Cleopatra* in time, and ſeize her kingdom into his own hands, as the only courſe in nature to preſerve him. And if he had taken this precaution, I dare appeal to *Ceſar* himſelf, whether he would not have thought it reaſonable to have treated with him at this inſtant upon fairer terms; but he choſe rather to go another way to work, and for want of conſideration, advanced your intereſt inſtead of his own. Now if you ſhall think the worſe of me for taking part with *Anthony*, becauſe you were his profeſſed enemy, this ſhall not hinder me yet from owning and juſtifying the ſervices I have done him, and the reſpect I have ever had for him. But if you ſhall be pleaſed now to conſider the quality, the friendſhip, abſtracted from the circumſtances of the perſon, you will find in the faith and gratitude of the caſe, ſomewhat perhaps that may encourage you to make trial of it yourſelf; for whether it be to *Ceſar*, or to *Anthony*, the dignity of the character will be ſtill the ſame."

Theſe words of *Herod*'s were delivered with an air ſo generous, and accompanied with ſo moving a grace, that *Auguſtus*, who had in him naturally a greatneſs and benignity of mind, was not able to reſiſt the charms of his very defence: Inſomuch, that treating him with ſingular inſtances of humanity and eſteem, he deſired him to take up his crown again, and be the ſame friend for the future to himſelf, that he had formerly been to *Anthony*; giving alſo to underſtand that *Capidius* had made him ſenſible of the good offices *Herod* had done him in the matter of the gladiators. *Herod* found theſe fair words followed with anſwerable effects; as the reinſtating of him in his kingdom, with a decree of the ſenate to ſecure him in the poſſeſſion of it, and all this done by the ſpecial favour and procurement of *Ceſar*, which was a felicity ſo much beyond *Herod*'s expectation that nothing could be more ſurpriſing to him. Upon this eſtabliſhment he attended *Auguſtus* into *Egypt*, treating himſelf and his friends upon the way with a magnificence of pomp and preſents, ſuitable to the perſon and the obligation. He did what he could with *Ceſar* on the behalf of *Alexander*, a friend of *Anthony*'s, toward the gaining of his pardon; but *Auguſtus* having bound himſelf by a ſolemn vow not to ſpare him, his requeſt could not be granted.

The *Jews*, that upon this turn gave *Herod* for loſt, were in ſuch an amazement at his coming back greater than he went out, that they looked upon him as a perſon under the care of a peculiar providence, that turned all his perils and diſgraces to his advantage.

When *Ceſar* was upon his return out of *Egypt*, *Herod* went out to meet him at *Ptolemais*, where he treated him with an incredible ſtate and expence, and not only himſelf, but his whole army too, whom he ſupplied with all manner of neceſſaries. Upon this occaſion *Ceſar* took him, in a friendly way of familiarity, with him, inſomuch that they two rode together commonly, while their troops were drawing out, which gave him a mighty reputation among the ſoldiers. *Herod* preſented *Ceſar* with eight hundred talents, and gave ſo univerſal a ſatiſfaction, that they paid a greater veneration to the dignity of his mind than to that of his crown.

CHAP. XI.

Herod's *Family in great Diſorder.* *The death of* Anthony *and* Cleopatra. Herod *goes to* Auguſtus, *who enlargeth his Dominions.*

HEROD at his return to his kingdom found a diſordered family, and his wife and mother-in-law greatly out of humour, for they loooked upon themſelves rather as priſoners in that caſtle, than as there depoſited for the ſecurity of their perſons. *Mariamne* was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with an opinion that all her huſband's countenances of love to her were only diſguiſe and pretext for his own convenience. But what ſhe took the moſt heinouſly was her huſband's reſolution not to ſuffer her to ſurvive him, in caſe of his death: So that ſhe had no other way of ſafety left her, unleſs ſhe could ſweeten her keepers: *Sohemus* eſpecially, for her life was manifeſtly in his hands. He ſtood his ground a while, and kept true to his truſt; but upon the women's plying him with favours and fair words, he gave way by little and little, and in the end diſcloſed the whole ſtory of *Herod*'s inſtructions, looking upon him at this time, as out of play. The thought of theſe repeated practices, one after another, upon the life of *Mariamne*, gave her ſuch a diſguſt for her huſband, that ſhe made it her daily prayer that he might never come alive back again; ſuch was the dread and horror ſhe had at the very thought of living with him: And this ſhe acknowledged a while after, when ſhe could diſguiſe the matter no longer.

Herod was ſo full of his new and unexpected honour and preferment, that he thought the time long till he brought *Mariamne* the firſt tidings of it himſelf, which he did with all the tenderneſſes of kiſſes and embraces, as the woman in the world he had the greateſt value for. But while he was amplifying upon the ſtory of his good fortune, his wife was looking careleſly about her all the while, without giving any heed to what he ſaid. The ſlight indeed was a little too open; but ſhe being a woman of candour and ſincerity, gave to underſtand by her countenance that *Herod*'s good news and careſſes were rather troubleſome to her than agreeable: So that his wife's averſion to him was by this time ſo manifeſt, that what with indignation to ſee his love ſo deſpiſed, and what with the confuſion he was in between the tranſports of his rage and his affection, ſuch was his diſtraction that he was like a man torn to pieces upon the competition. But what he moſt of all dreaded was, that in taking a preſent revenge upon his wife, he might draw a worſe miſchief upon his own head in the conſequence, when he ſhould come to find afterward that he could not live without her.

While *Herod* was labouring in this reſtleſs anxiety of thought how to behave himſelf toward *Mariamne*, his mother and ſiſter took an opportunity of interpoſing by calumnies, and other ill offices, to inflame the outrageous, jealous humour of her huſband againſt her. *Herod* became every day more and more uneaſy, and by degrees harſher to her: And as *Mariamne* on the other hand made no difficulty of diſcovering her diſcontents, ſo *Herod*'s extreme affection came by little and little to be tranſported into an embittered hatred, inſomuch that he might probably have put her to extremities out of hand, if it had not been for the news juſt at that inſtant of the death of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, and of *Ceſar*'s being at that time in the poſſeſſion of *Egypt*. Upon this intelligence, *Herod* haſtened away to *Auguſtus*, leaving things at this paſs in his family, and recommending *Mariamne* to *Sohemus* over again, with acknowledgments of his former care and fidelity, and the grant of a command in *Judæa* for a gratification. Upon this congreſs in *Egypt*, *Ceſar* treated *Herod* with ſtill more freedom and confidence than before, and with divers inſtances of a ſingular eſteem and reſpect: He preſented him with the four hundred *Gauls* that had been of *Cleopatra*'s guard; putting him into poſſeſſion of that part of the country that *Anthony* had beſtowed upon *Cleopatra*, with the additional government of *Gadara*, *Hippen*, and *Samaria*, and toward the ſea, of *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Joppa*, and the tower of *Straton*, which was no ſmall acceſſion of power and ſplendor to his royal ſtate.

CHAP. XII.

Mariamne *a froward Woman. She is put to Death.* Alexandra *endeavours to acquit herſelf of the crimes with which* Mariamne *is charged.*

WHEN *Herod* had waited upon *Ceſar* as far as *Antioch*, he went back again to *Jeruſalem*, where he found himſelf as miſerable at home, as he had been fortunate abroad; for no mortal ever doated upon a woman as he did upon *Mariamne*, and with an honourable paſſion too; but his love did not meet with a return on her part, not but that ſhe was a perſon loyal all this while to a ſcrupulous chaſtity, but withal ſo freakiſh by fits that ſhe forgot all reſpect for her huſband's patience, authority, or power, even to the reproaching of him ſometimes beyond meaſure. Theſe feuds went forward for a whole year after *Herod*'s coming back from *Ceſar*, and increaſed daily, till in the end the following contrivance was was put in execution. The king took an occaſion once in the heat of the day to repoſe himſelf, where a kind fit taking him, he called for *Mariamne*: She went in to him, and upon his careſſing of her, made no other return to all his dalliances, importunities, and prayers, than that of a contemptuous ſcornful repulſe, minding him at the ſame time with bitterneſs of the death of her father and her brother. *Herod* was ſo incenſed with this affront, that ſtarting up in a rage, he had much ado to forbear laying violent hands upon her. His ſiſter hearing a kind of buſtle, kept the butler in readineſs to diſcharge himſelf of a commiſſion that ſhe had given him ſome time before; which was to go to the king with a ſtory, how *Mariamne* had been dealing with him to aſſiſt her in the preparing of a love potion for him, and had directed him, if the king ſhould aſk what was in it, that he ſhould only ſay, that it was of *Mariamne*'s ordering, and for the ingredients that he knew nothing of them, his part being only to preſent it; but in caſe the king made no further enquiry, he ſhould ſay nothing neither, and there would be no hurt done. The butler addreſſing himſelf to *Herod*, with a face of gravity and buſineſs, gave him to underſtand that *Mariamne* had been tempting him with money and rewards to provide a philter for him. The butler finding the king to be ſtartled at it, told him further, that having ſuch a potion offered him, and not knowing what might be in it, he thought it the ſafeſt way, both for his majeſty and himſelf, to wait upon him with this information. *Herod* was ſufficiently nettled already, but the ſurpiſe of this diſcourſe made him directly outrageous; ſo that he ordered immediately the putting a particular confident of *Mariamne*'s to the torture. As to the points he was queſtioned upon, there was nothing to be extorted from him; but letting fall ſome words in the anguiſh of his pains, hinting that it was ſomewhat *Sohemus* had told *Mariamne* that made her ſo uneaſy, *Herod* burſt out into an exclamation while the words were yet between his lips, that *Sohemus*, who had ever been ſo faithful a ſubject and a patriot to his prince and to his country, would never have betrayed ſuch a ſecret as this was, but in the confidence and endearments of a laſcivious embrace. In this very inſtant he appointed *Sohemus* to be ſeized and put to death, ſummoning his wife to anſwer for herſelf in a court of juſtice, before a cabal of his own creatures for her judges. The charge exhibited againſt her was a pretended conſpiracy to poiſon the king. *Herod* was fiercer and fouler upon her, both in words and in actions, than ſtood with the dignity of a tribunal of juſtice: And perceiving how he was inclined, they all pronounced her guilty after his example. But yet neither *Herod* nor the people about him were for precipitating the execution, but rather to keep her in priſon; only *Salome* and her faction were for diſpatching her out of hand, and the king was the more eaſily prevailed upon to agree to it, for fear of a revolt, as they ſuggeſted, when the people ſhould underſtand that the queen was yet living.

Alexandra, after this proceeding againſt her daughter, might reaſonably enough expect that her own turn would be next: So for fear of the worſt, ſhe abandoned her reputation to ſave her life, and fell ſo low that her behaviour was become a ſcandal to her character. She was ſo over-zealous to purge herſelf of any confederacy with her daughter, that ſhe made it her buſineſs to blacken her in all companies. Nay, the hypocriſy was ſo groſs, that every body looked upon it as ridiculous, in the forced affectation of ſo many extravagant outrages, ſuch as flying in the face of her daughter, and the like: But *Mariamne*, as they were leading her to her execution, paſſed by all theſe intemperances without one word of reply, or the leaſt perturbation, more than in her countenance, for the ſhameful part her mother had in ſo ſo frantic a ſcene. She demeaned herſelf all the way, in ſhort, with a ſerene conſtancy of ſpirit, and without ſo much as changing colour upon the approach or apprehenſion of death. She died, in fine, as great as ſhe lived, firm and fearleſs to her laſt moment.

CHAP. XIII.

Herod's *miſerable eſtate after* Mariamne's *Death. He falleth dangerouſly Ill.* Alexandra *endeavours to make herſelf Miſtreſs of the two Forts of* Jeruſalem. *She is put to Death.*

THE paſſion *Herod* had for *Mariamne* in her life-time was become much more unruly and importunate now ſhe was dead, for he did not love his wife at the common rate of other huſbands, but with ſuch a paſſion of dotage too, that he grew rather fonder of her, the worſe ſhe uſed him. In his reflections now upon what he had done, he broke out not only into unkingly, but unmanly exclamations, with *Mariamne*'s name ſtill in his mouth, and her blood crying for vengeance. In the agony of this horror, he did all that was to be done by wine, company, feaſting, and variety of other entertainments, to divert his melancholy, but when he ſaw all would not do, he threw up the care of his government, fell by degrees to be light-headed and talk idly; and in his raving fits he would ever and anon be calling for *Mariamne* to be brought to him. While he was in this diſtemper, a terrible plague broke out in *Jeruſalem*, and every body looked upon it as a juſt judgment for the murder of the innocent queen. The king growing worſe, withdrew himſelf into a ſolitary retreat, and had it given out that he was gone a hunting. He had not been long in this retirement till he fell into ſo deſperate an illneſs, with a violent inflammation and a deadly pain in the head, that he ſcarce knew what he did. The common methods of remedy did him more hurt than good, inſomuch that his caſe was little leſs than deſperate. This was at *Samaria*, now called *Sebaſte*

When *Alexandra*, who was at this time at *Jeruſalem*. came to underſtand how it was with *Herod*, ſhe ſet her wits at work how ſhe might get ſome of the ſtrong forts into her hands; and ſhe had an eye upon two of them in particular, the one joining cloſe to the temple, the other in the city, conſidering that whoever is poſſeſſed of theſe towers has the people at their mercy. For the *Jews* will rather part with their lives than with their religion; and as they cannot live without their daily ſacrifices, ſo whoever commands theſe turrets hath it at choice whether they ſhall have any ſacrifices or no.

Alexandra, in purſuance of her deſign, applied herſelf to the governors of theſe forts after this manner: "You well know," ſays ſhe, "that the king is at this preſent in a miſerable extremity; and therefore pray deliver theſe two fortreſſes into the poſſeſſion of the king's wife's mother and the children of *Herod* and *Mariamne*, for otherwiſe the ſucceſſion may come to be tranſported into another family; and in caſe of his recovery, the government cannot be lodged in ſafer hands than thoſe of his neareſt relations."

They could not be prevailed upon to take this for a reaſonable requeſt, partly out of a ſenſe of duty, but principally out of the hatred they bore to *Alexandra*; and one of them, whoſe name was *Achiab*, being *Herod*'s own nephew, immediately after this propoſal ſent his uncle word of it, who commanded her directly to be put to death.

This fit of ſickneſs wrought ſuch an effect upon *Herod*'s body and mind, that his humour was ſo outrageous and bloody after his recovery, that upon every trifling occaſion he carried his reſentment to the moſt inhuman extremities; and theſe ſeverities were alike extended to friend and foe, that were ſo unfortunate as to fall under his diſpleaſure.

CHAP. XIV.

Coſtabarus, *who was married to* Herod*'s Siſter, uſurps in* Idumæa. Coſtabarus *and others put to Death.* Herod *introduces foreign Cuſtoms.*

HEROD in this intemperance imbrued his hands in the blood of *Coſtabarus, Lyſimachus, Antipater* ſirnamed *Gadias,* and *Doſitheus,* for this occaſion that enſueth. *Coſtabarus* was an *Idumæan,* and one of the greateſt account among his countrymen, who was deſcended from the prieſts of *Cozas,* whom the *Idumæans* eſteemed for a god, before that *Hyrconus* had obliged them to embrace the *Jews* religion. *Herod* being made king of the *Jews,* appointed *Coſtabarus* to be governor in *Idumæa* and *Gaza,* giving him *Salome* his ſiſter to wife, after he had put *Joſeph* to death, to whom ſhe had been married, as has been ſaid before. *Coſtabarus* ſeeing himſelf in this eſtate beyond his expectation, grew more proud than this good fortune required, and in a little time forgot himſelf ſo far that he thought himſelf diſhonoured if he ſhould perform what *Herod* commanded him, and ſcorned that the *Idumæans* ſhould be under the *Jews* ſubjection, notwithſtanding they had received their manner of government from them. He therefore ſent meſſengers unto *Cleopatra,* giving her to underſtand that *Idumæa* had always been under her anceſtors ſubjection; that for that reaſon ſhe ought upon juſt cauſe to demand and beg that country at *Anthony*'s hands; and that for himſelf he was ready to become her ſervant. All which he practiſed, not to gratify *Cleopatra* in any ſort whatſoever, but to the intent that if *Herod*'s fortunes ſhould be any ways weakened, he might more eaſily by this means both enlarge and obtain the kingdom of *Idumæa.* And with theſe fooliſh hopes was he tranſported, in regard of his birth and riches, which he had heaped together by ſuch diſhoneſt means as he continually practiſed, as he that intended no ſmall matters. But notwithſtanding *Cleopatra*'s often and earneſt petition to obtain this ſovereignty, yet ſhe could not obtain it at *Anthony*'s hands. When *Herod* had notice of theſe practiſes he was ready to kill *Coſtabarus,* but upon the earneſt ſupplications of his ſiſter and her mother he diſmiſſed and pardoned him; yet held him in ſuſpicion by reaſon of this practice.

Not long after this it happened that *Salome* fell out with *Coſtabarus,* for which ſhe ſent a bill of divorce to her huſband, notwithſtanding it was againſt the laws and ordinary cuſtoms of the *Jews*; for according to our ordinances it is only lawful for the huſband to do the ſame; and as touching the wife, notwithſtanding ſhe was ſeparated, yet it is not lawful for her to marry again, except her huſband firſt give her licence. But *Salome,* without reſpect of the laws of the country, grounding herſelf too much upon her own authority, forſook her huſband, ſaying that ſhe ſeparated herſelf from him by reaſon of the great friendſhip ſhe bore to her brother, for that ſhe had received information that *Coſtabarus* conſpired againſt him with *Antipater, Lyſimachus* and *Doſitheus*; and this accuſation ſhe confirmed by *Babas*'s children, whom he had already kept with him in all ſecurity for the ſpace of twelve years: All which was true, and at that time beyond all men's expectation wonderfully troubled *Herod* as ſoon as he heard it. For as for *Babas*'s ſons, he had heretofore reſolved to cut them off, for that they had been always diſaffected towards him and all his enterpriſes; but all that time he had let them paſs, becauſe by continuance they were grown out of his remembrance. Now the cauſe of enmity and hatred which he bore toward them, was gathered from this ground: When *Antigonus* enjoyed the ſovereignty, and *Herod* beſieged the city of *Jeruſalem* with an army, thoſe incommodities and neceſſities that ordinarily happen unto thoſe that are beſieged, were the cauſe that divers acknowledged *Herod*, and fixed their hopes upon him. But *Babas*'s ſons being in authority, and beſides that attended by a great number of men, perſevered in their faithful obſervations of *Antigonus*, and blamed *Herod* continually, encouraging the inhabitants to continue the kingdom in thoſe to whom it appertained by deſcent, and they themſelves followed that courſe which in their opinion was moſt profitable for the common weal. But after that the city was ſurpriſed by *Herod*, and he grew maſter of the eſtate, *Coſtabarus*, who was appointed to keep the city gates, and to lie in wait that none of thoſe who were accuſed of having forſaken the king's ſide ſhould eſcape, knowing that the ſons of *Babas* were greatly eſteemed and honoured among the people, and foreſeeing that their ſafety might be no ſmall furtherance to himſelf, if at any time there might enſue any alteration, he diſcharged and hid them within his own poſſeſſions; and notwithſtanding that at that time he had proteſted to *Herod* by an oath, that he knew not what was become of them, yet though ſuſpected of perjury, he concealed them. And afterwards when the king had by proclamation promiſed a reward to him that ſhould diſcover them, and ſought for them by all means. Neither then alſo would he confeſs the fact. For being afraid leſt he ſhould be puniſhed for his firſt denial, he concealed them ſtill, not ſo much for their ſake as for his own intereſt.

When the king had notice of this by his ſiſter, he ſent to the place where they were hid, and cauſed them to be killed, and all thoſe that were their abettors and accomplices, ſo that no one of *Hyrcanus* kindred was now left alive, but all of them being killed who excelled in nobility and dignity, he did what he pleaſed without any contradiction; for which cauſe he by little and little forſook the ceremonies and ordinances of his country, and corrupted the decrees and inſtitutions of their anceſtors, which he ought to have kept inviolable, by his new and ſtrange inventions. In *Herod*'s time there was a very great change and alteration of the ancient good manner of living, for all fell from bad to worſe, and the politick order, whereby the people ought to be governed and kept within compaſs of their duty, went to decay.

CHAP. XV.

Herod *inſtitutes Plays and Shews in honour of* Auguſtus, *by which he doth ſo irritate the moſt part of the* Jews, *that ten of them undertake to kill him. He putteth them to Death; the Informer againſt them is cut in pieces by ſome of the People;* Herod *deſtroys the Murderers of him, with their whole Families.* Herod *builds many Forts, and rebuilds a very fine and ſtrong Town upon the ruins of* Samaria, *which he names* Sebaſte.

HEROD ordained certain wreſtlings from five to five years, in honour of *Ceſar*, and built a theatre for that purpoſe within *Jeruſalem*. He erected alſo a moſt huge amphitheatre within the plain, which were two monuments worth ſeeing, by reaſon of the ſumptuouſneſs thereof, but wholly contrary to the faſhions of the *Jews*. For neither the uſe, nor the preſentation of theſe ſpectacles, hath ever been practiſed or taught by our anceſtors; yet was it his pleaſure to ennoble this aſſembly that it might be continued from five to five years, and this he proclaimed publickly in the countries round about, and to this ſight aſſembled all the nations: The wreſtlers alſo, and all that concerned their exerciſe, were ſought out from all corners of the world, in hope to obtain the propoſed palm and victory: for he propoſed vaſt rewards, not only to ſuch as exerciſed wreſtling, but alſo to thoſe who are called muſicians, and to all ſorts of players upon inſtruments, endeavouring to his utmoſt that the moſt famous in thoſe profeſſions ſhould aſſiſt in thoſe paſtimes. He appointed alſo great rewards for ſuch as ran upon the chariots of three, four, or of one horſe, and all that was both ſumptuous and magnificent to behold, for every thing was moſt carefully provided, and he ſtrove to have the honour of a moſt magnificent preparation for his games. The theatre was hung all about with *Ceſar's* titles, and the trophies of ſuch nations as were overcome by him, altogether ſet out with gold and ſilver. As for the inſtruments thereof, there wanted neither furniture, coſtly veſtments, nor precious ſtones. Thither alſo were drawn lions, tigers, and other wild beaſts, admirable for their force and rareneſs of nature, who fought with one another, and againſt ſuch men likewiſe as were condemned to die. Theſe paſtimes, together with the admiration of his expence, gave the ſtrangers an incomparable and unaccuſtomed pleaſure; but his countrymen interpreted this thing for a manifeſt corruption of thoſe diſciplines and manners which they had entertained and honoured among them. For it was moſt manifeſtly impious, to hazard men againſt wild beaſts, to delight the eyes of other men: It was alſo as impious to change and profane the ordinances of the country for foreign exerciſes: But the moſt hated of all theſe were the trophies, for being certain images attired in armour, the uſe and veneration whereof were forbad by our laws, neither was *Herod* ignorant of the troubles they procured; but thinking it hazardous to attempt for the preſent to appeaſe them by force, he familiarly debated the ſame with ſome few of them, and diſcourſed unto them his occaſions, to rid them of their ſuperſtition, but could not prevail, for with one conſent they all cried out againſt the indignity they ſaw him commit, telling him that though all other things were to be tolerated, yet the trophies, which were images of men, were unſupportable, becauſe they were unuſual in their country. *Herod* perceiving they were diſcontented, and would not be eaſily wrought on, except they had ſome contentment, called the worthieſt men among them, and led them into the theatre, demanding of them what they thought theſe trophies were: and when they cried out they were images of men, he cauſed all the ornaments to be taken from off them, letting them ſee they were nothing but mere ſtumps of wood; ſo that ſuddenly their diſpleaſure was turned into laughter, and their doubts removed. Thus he appeaſed the people, and moderated the fury of their diſcontent, ſo that divers of them changed their opinions, and were no more diſpleaſed. Yet there were ſome that perſiſted in the conceit they had of theſe exerciſes, ſuppoſing the corruption of their ancient diſcipline was an inducement to their greivous calamities, and they imagined it rather concerned them to undergo all dangers than endure any alteration in their cuſtoms, by permitting *Herod* to introduce new and extraordinary faſhions, who only in word was their king, but in effect an enemy of their whole nation. For this cauſe there were ten men who bound themſelves by oath to hazard all extremities, and to that intent had hid ſhort ſwords under their garments, in order to ſtab him; among theſe was one that was blind, who joined with them not for that he was able to execute any thing with his hands, but to teſtifie his readineſs to ſuffer with the reſt in the common cauſe, if any misfortune ſhould befal them; and his example eſtabliſhed them not a little in their reſolution: Hereupon they repaired to the theatre, as the moſt likely place effectually to execute their deſign, by aſſailing him unawares. But one of *Herod*'s ſpies having diſcovered the conſpiracy, ſignified it to the king, when he was ready to enter into the theatre. He knowing well what hatred was conceived againſt him, betook himſelf to his palace, and ſent for the conſpirators, who chearfully appeared, reſolving to meet the ſufferings they were to endure with courage; for being no way daunted, with a reſolute countenance they drew out their weapons, proteſting their conſpiracy was honeſt and holy, not attempted for private affection, or their own profit, but in behalf of their public diſcipline, which no good man would either ſee or ſuffer to be violated, tho' it coſt him his life.

After they had alledged theſe things with great confidence for their juſtification, they were put to death by divers ſorts of torments. Not long after this, the intelligencer who had betrayed them, growing hateful in all men's eyes, was ſtabbed by certain men, and chopped in pieces with their ſwords, and afterwards caſt to the dogs, in the ſight and preſence of many: yet none diſcovered this act, until after long and wearisome inquiſition made by *Herod*, it was extorted from certain poor women (who were privy to the fact) with divers torments. Then were all the actors of that murder puniſhed, with their whole families. Notwithſtanding all this, the common people were not diſcouraged, but were ready to defend their laws, unleſs they were reſtrained by ſome great power, which when the king perceived, he reſiſted their endeavours with all diligence, leſt through theſe alterations in affairs the people ſhould be drawn to an open rebellion. Whereas therefore he had two ſtrong caſtles within the city, he thought good to ſtrengthen a third called *Samaria*, the name of which he changed, and called it *Sebaſte*, which was diſtant from *Jeruſalem* ſome days journey, to contain thoſe of the common ſort that were abroad, under his obedience, and very fit to bridle any uproars that might be raiſed in the city and country. And for the whole nation he built a fort, which in times paſt was called *Straton*, and afterwards he named it *Ceſarea*. He built a fort in *Galilee*, which was called *Gabala*, in a large plain, where by turns he kept his horſemen. Beſides theſe, he built the fort of *Eſthmonites* in the country of *Peræa* on the other ſide of *Jordan*.

Now when he had fitly diſpoſed all theſe caſtles through his whole country, for the ſecurity and ſafety of his kingdom, the matter of rebellion was taken from the common people, who upon every light cauſe are ſubject to commotions, in that he had prepared a remedy againſt all privy conſpiracies, by planting ſuch forces always near at hand, who might prevent and pacify all alterations at their beginning.

After this, betaking himſelf to encompaſs *Samaria* with a wall, he brought to paſs that divers of thoſe who had born arms with him againſt his enemies, and divers of the people likewiſe that dwelt round about, came to inhabit it, both in regard of the temple which he intended to build in that place, as alſo for that he fortified the ſame for his own ſecurity (altho' that formerly it was not in the number of famous cities.) He therefore changed the name thereof, and called it *Sebaſte*, and diſtributed the lands that confined the city among the inhabitants of the ſame (which was by nature a fruitful country) to the intent that within a little ſpace they might inrich themſelves. He invironed the city alſo with a ſtrong wall, being aſſiſted by the natural ſtrength and ſteepneſs of the place: and beſides the whole circuit, he included ſo much ground, that it was no ways inferior to any of the famous cities; for it contained the circuit of twenty furlongs or ſtadias. And in the midſt thereof there was a ſecret place, containing a furlong and a half, wonderfully adorned; in which there was a temple built, famous for beauty and bigneſs. And as for the other parts of the city he adorned them with all ſorts of ornaments. And ſeeing how nearly it concerned him to provide for the ſecurity of his perſon in this walled city, he erected a fortreſs for himſelf. And as for the beauty thereof, his intent was that it ſhould remain for a monument of his magnificence and liberality.

CHAP. XVI.

Judæa *viſited with dreadful Calamities.* Herod's *Wiſdom in providing for the People. He builds a ſtately Palace in* Jeruſalem. *He marries the Daughter of* Simon, *whom he creates High-Prieſt.* Herod *builds Cities and Temples.*

IN this year, the thirteenth of *Herod's* reign, *Judæa* was viſited with miſerable calamities. The firſt judgment was a long and a blaſting drought, which was followed with ſuch a ſterility, that the earth produced not thoſe fruits which it was accuſtomed to bear; and after this, the ordinary courſe of men's diet being altered thro' the ſcarcity of corn, the want of food brought on plagues and diſeaſes innumerable, one aſter another, with which they died ſo faſt that the ſurvivors gave one another over, without ſo much as looking aſter them, in the deſpair of doing them any good. The laſt year's ſtores being all ſpent, and no new ſupply appearing, the caſe was deſperate, and their ſtarving wants pinched them every day more and more; for one ſeaſon was already loſt and gone, and the earth ſtill barren, without any hope of relief. Theſe extremities however, in the mean time, ſet all people's wits at work how to ſhift for themſelves.

Such in fine, was the general diſtreſs, that the revenue even of *Herod* himſelf was not ſufficient to maintain him, for his rents and cuſtoms were all ſunk, his old ſtock of treaſure expended upon buildings and fortifications, together with an univerſal deſolation upon all accounts. The king was troubled beſide by the outrageous hatred and clamour of the people, who, in all caſes of popular diſcontents, never fail of caſting the blame upon the government. His thoughts were not idle how to obviate theſe difficulties, but the particular means of doing it was the queſtion. As for his neighbours that were in the ſame condition with himſelf, there was no ſupply of proviſions to be expected that way; and for money to procure neceſſaries, he had not enough to anſwer the charge: In this exigency he melted down his plate, curioſities, and other ornamental furniture, and veſſels of gold and ſilver, not ſparing even the ſervices for his own table, put the whole maſs into one ſum of money, and ſent it away into *Egypt*, where *Petronius* was at that time governor by a commiſſion from *Ceſar*. *Petronius*, out of a particular affection he had for *Herod*, and conſequently for his intereſt and people, gave him a grant for the exportation of corn, and aſſiſted him all he could in the very price and carriage, which turned exceedingly to the account of *Herod* and his deſigns. The firſt thing he did after the receipt of this ſuccour, was, to make an equal diſtribution of it in proportion to the number and condition of thoſe that were to receive it; as he provided for the ſending of it to thoſe that could not fetch it, and appointed bakers to aſſiſt thoſe that either through age, infirmity, or any other impediment, could not make their bread themſelves; taking care likewiſe in all other reſpects that they might not want any thing, either for the filling of their bellies or the keeping of them warm, ſupplying them with garments and coverings as well as with victuals, in the great ſcarcity of ſheep and wool, as well as of corn. As ſoon as he had competently provided for his own people, he extended his charity to the aſſiſtance of his neighbours the *Syrians*, whom he furniſhed with a quantity of ſeed-corn for the next ſeaſon, which came to them in the very nick of their occaſions for it, and yielded ſo prodigious an increaſe upon the following crop, that he ſent fifty thouſand men, which he himſelf had preſerved from ſtarving, to help them in with their harveſt. By this foreſight and induſtry of *Herod's*, matters were ſo well re-eſtabliſhed that every thing ſucceeded to his wiſh both at home and abroad, wherever he had to do, for no man ever ſought to him in vain; ſtrangers, ſoldiers, citizens, rich and poor, or whatever they were: Inſomuch, that upon a fair calculation he gave ten thouſand cori of wheat to ſtrangers, reckoning every cori at ten attic medimni, (a meaſure of ſix buſhels) and fourſcore thouſand cori to his own people.

About this time he made *Auguſtus* a preſent of five hundred choice men out of his own guards, which ſerved under *Ælius Gallius* in the *Arabian* war with much honour. The ſtate of *Judæa* being now compoſed, *Herod* bethought himſelf of erecting a glorious palace in the upper part of *Jeruſalem*.

While he was intent upon this building, a fancy came in his head to take a ſecond wife. The caſe was this: There was one *Simon*, a citizen of *Jeruſalem*, the ſon of *Boethus*, an *Alexandrian*, and a prieſt of a noble family; this *Simon* had a daughter of exquiſite beauty, with the fame of whom *Herod* was ſtruck, and then enamoured upon ſight of her; ſo propounded to take her to his bed as his lawful wife. It was a match, in truth, below his quality, but to balance this inequality he thought it neceſſary to confer ſome eminent dignity upon *Simon*, to qualify him for the honour he intended him. To this end he depoſed *Jeſus* the ſon of *Phabes* from the pontificate, advanced *Simon* in his ſtead, and then married his daughter.

As ſoon as the nuptial ſolemnities were over, he built a glorious caſtle upon the place where he formerly defeated the *Jews* in the war he had with *Antigonus*. This fort was about ſixty furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, naturally ſtrong by the ſituation, and capable of being made impregnable.

Herod having by this time ſettled matters to his mind, he reckoned himſelf out of danger of any further commotions and tumults. He kept his people in order, partly by awe and fear, and partly by love and intereſt; for he was a prince of a moſt inflexible ſeverity where a criminal was to be puniſhed, and of as unbounded a liberality where the common good of the ſubject required it. But his ambitious affectation of ingratiating himſelf with *Auguſtus* and the noblemen of *Rome*, inveigled him away by little and little from the diſciplines and cuſtoms of our forefathers, into the erecting of cities and temples to the honour of his patrons. This was not done, 'tis true, in the very land of *Judæa* itſelf, for the *Jews* would never have born an abomination ſo expreſſly borbidden, as the worſhipping of images and idols, after the manner of the *Greeks*: So that he built theſe cites only upon the borders of the province, excuſing himſelf upon the whole, that what he did was not any act of his own will, but purely in obedience to the higher powers. He got the good-will of *Ceſar* and the *Romans* however, by the pretence of renouncing the diſcipline and the principles he was brought up in, for their ſakes: But his aim was directed to his own advantage, and the making himſelf glorious to poſterity, by theſe everlaſting memorials of his magnificence and bounty.

CHAP. XVII.

Herod *cauſes a glorious City to be built in honour of* Auguſtus, *which he calleth* Ceſarea. *He ſends to him his two Sons,* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus. Auguſtus *confers new Favours on him.* Herod *is affectionate to the* Eſſenians.

THERE was a certain place by the ſea-ſide, formerly called *Straton's* tower, which *Herod* looked upon as a very commodious tract of ground to raiſe a city upon. He drew his model, ſet people to work upon it, and finiſhed it. The buildings were all of marble, private houſes as well as palaces; but his maſter-piece was the port, which he made as large as the *Pyræeum*, and a ſafe ſtation in all winds and weathers. This ſtands in *Phœnicia*, upon the paſs into *Egypt*, between *Joppa* and *Dora*, two wretched ſea-towns, where there's no riding in the harbours with a ſouth-weſt wind, which beats furiouſly upon the ſhore. To encounter theſe difficulties of the place, *Herod* ordered a mole to be made in the form of a half-moon, and large enough for a royal navy to ride in. He directed alſo prodigious ſtones to be let down there in twenty fathom water, ſtones of fifty feet in length, eighteen feet over, and nine feet deep, ſome greater, ſome leſs. This mole was two hundred feet in extent, the one half of it to break the ſetting of the ſea, the other half ſerved for the foundation of a ſtone wall fortified with turrets, calling the largeſt and the faireſt of them by the name of *the tower of Druſus*, from *Druſus* the ſon-in-law of *Auguſtus*, who died young. There was likewiſe a key or landing-place, with a large walk upon it around the port, as a place of pleaſure to take the air in. This port opens to the northward, which is the cleareſt quarter of the Heavens. The houſes about the port were all uniformly built, of the moſt excellent ſort of marble. Upon a mount in the middle ſtood a temple dedicated to *Ceſar*, which was of great uſe to the mariners for a ſea-mark. There were in this temple two ſtatues or images, the one of *Rome* and the other of *Ceſar*, and from hence the city took the name of *Ceſarea*. *Herod* built alſo a ſtone theatre, and upon the ſouth ſide of the harbour a ſpacious amphitheatre, with a ſide-proſpect toward the ſea. In ſhort, he ſpared neither money nor pains, and in about twelve years this work was brought to perfection.

After the finiſhing of theſe two cities, *Sebaſte* and *Ceſarea*, *Herod* diſpatched away his two ſons, *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, upon a compliment to *Ceſar*. *Pollio*, *Herod*'s particular friend provided lodgings for them, but *Auguſtus* had given order for the entertaining them, in fine, with wonderful humanity; and gave their father the freedom to make choice of either of them to ſucceed him in the kingdom of *Judœa*, enlarging it with the three provinces of *Trachon*, *Batanœa*, and *Auranitis*, on the following occaſion. One *Zenodorus* had taken to farm the lands of *Lyſanias*, and not contenting himſelf with the lawful advantage of his bargain, he joined with the free-booters in *Trachon*, a ſort of men that live in a great meaſure upon the ſpoil they take from the people of *Damaſcus*. The ſuffering part of the country applied themſelves to *Varro*, at that time governor of the province, for a letter againſt *Zenodorus* to *Ceſar*, whoſe anſwer was, that he would have thoſe thieves ſmoked out of their holes like hornets, and and commit the care and command of that province to *Herod*, to keep the *Trachonites* in order for the future. Now they had neither towns, houſes, nor poſſeſſions, but lived like beaſts in dens and caves, and with ſuch a proportion of water and proviſions about them, that it would be a hard matter either to come at them or ſtarve them. The entrance into their hiding places was ſo narrow that no more than one at a time could paſs, but the receptacle within was large beyond imagination, and the upper part was not ſteepy, but plain, in form of a ſmooth earth. As ſoon as ever *Herod* entered into the poſſeſſion of his new province, he took his conductors and his inſtruments along with him, and hunting them out of their retreats ſet the neighbourhood at quiet. *Zenodorus* was ſo irritated, that he poſted away to *Rome* with an accuſation againſt *Herod*, but he could compaſs nothing of what he intended.

While matters were in this ſtate *Auguſtus* ſent *Agrippa* into *Aſia*, to take upon him the government of the provinces beyond the ſeas. He was *Herod*'s ſingular friend and old acquaintance; ſo that he met him upon the way at *Mitylene*, and then went back again to *Judœa*. He was no ſooner arrived but the *Gadarens* went to him with grievous complaints againſt *Herod*; whereupon, without ſo much as giving them a hearing, he ſent them to the king himſelf in chains.

The *Arabians* at the ſame began to maniſeſt their ill-will on account of an ancient grudge they had to him. *Zenodorus*, finding himſelf ſinking, came to an agreement with theſe *Arabians* for ſo much of his eſtate in the province of *Auranitis*, as they were to pay him fifty talents a year rent for. Now this happening to fall within *Ceſar*'s grant to *Herod*, the *Arabians* would not ſubmit to it; but conteſting the matter one while by force, other while by law, they engaged a party of indigent ſoldiers in the controverſy. *Herod* knew well enough what they were doing, but thought it prudent to deal with them by fair means, for fear of creating new troubles. In the ſeventeenth year of *Herod*'s reign *Ceſar* came into *Syria*, where he was entertained immediately with outrageous exclamations of the *Gadarens* againſt *Herod*, as a moſt inſupportable tyrant and oppreſſor, and this chiefly at the inſtigation of *Zenodorus*. The miſdemeanors charged upon him were rapine, oppreſſion, the violating and the demoliſhing of temples, and the like, and *Herod*, on the other hand, offered himſelf as frankly to his juſtification. *Ceſar* treated him not the leſs reſpectfully for the roaring importunities of the multitude, though for the firſt day there paſſed ſome diſcourſe upon it, but there the debate fell. It was ſo evident by this time to the *Gadarens* how *Ceſar* and his friend ſtood affected, that giving for granted it would be their fate upon the cloſe of the matter to be delivered up to *Herod*, ſome of them cut their own throats the very next night, others broke their necks down precipices, and others drowned themſelves, for fear of being put to tortures. *Ceſar* taking this execution upon themſelves for a ſelf-condemnation acquitted *Herod* without any more ado. And there was yet another ſingular providence attended him, which was the death of *Zenodorus* by a violent dyſentery at *Antioch* in *Syria*, whereupon *Ceſar* beſtowed upon *Herod* a very conſiderable eſtate belonging to him, that lay betwixt *Galilee* and *Trachonitis*, compriſing *Ulatha*, *Panium*, and the borders thereabouts, giving him alſo a ſovereign command over the governors of *Syria*, and appointing every thing to be done according to his direction.

Herod was now advanced to ſuch a point of credit and fortune, that as *Ceſar* and *Agrippa* were the two ſupreme adminiſtrators in the whole empire, ſo *Herod* was the man that *Ceſar* loved next to *Agrippa*, and *Agrippa* next to *Ceſar*. By virtue of this intereſt *Herod* obtained a tetrarch's commiſſion in *Judæa* from *Auguſtus* for his brother *Pheroras*, upon whom he beſtowed the revenue of a hundred talents out of his proper income, that he might have ſomething to truſt to, without being forced to a dependence upon his children. After this, he waited upon *Ceſar* till he ſaw him embarked, and then went back again, erecting to the honour of *Auguſtus*, and upon the ground of *Zenodorus*, a moſt glorious temple of white marble, near the cave that they called *Panias*, which is at the bottom of a mountain famous for being the ſource of the river *Jordan*.

The king at this time eaſed his people of a third part of their taxes, under pretence of a tenderneſs for their ſufferings by the diſtreſs of the famine, but in effect to ſweeten ill humours, for they were ſo diſguſted at many things the king did, to the ſcandal of religion and good manners, that every body's mouth was open againſt him: And he was obliged to make uſe of other ways yet to keep his ſubjects quiet, by tying up every man to his own buſineſs, prohibiting cabals, and other public meetings, planting ſpies upon all companies, and officers every where at hand to take into cuſtody all offenders againſt theſe orders; and ſeveral were committed to the fort *Hyrcania*, as well publickly as privately, and there puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. He would many times ſlip out by night himſelf in a diſguiſe among the rabble, in order to ſift out the opinion the multitude had of him. Wherever he met with any man that was bitter and malicious againſt him, he had no mercy on him, and the moderate ſort he put to an oath of fidelity, and diſmiſſed them. By this means he brought the majority, out of fear, to a compliance with him; and as for thoſe that had the courage to ſtand upon their terms, he never failed of ſome device or other to remove them out of the way. He required an oath alſo of divers ſectaries who followed the *Phariſees Pollio* and *Sameas*; and though they denied to take the oath, yet he did not puniſh them as he did the others for their refuſal, in reſpect of *Pollio* their maſter. From this rigour alſo were they exempt who amongſt us are called *Eſſenes*, which is a ſort of men that live after that manner that *Pythagoras* did among the *Grecians*.

It will not be amiſs to mention for what cauſe *Herod* had ſo great an eſteem for thoſe men. There was a certain *Eſſene* called *Manahem*, who in his ſect was accounted an upright man, and one that had obtained from God the knowledge of things to to come. He ſeeing *Herod* one day when he was very young, and went to ſchool, ſaluted him, and called him king of the *Jews*. *Herod* ſuppoſing that *Manahem* knew him not, or that he mocked him, reproved him ſharply for his ſpeech, ſaying, that he acknowledged himſelf to be one of the common ſort. *Manahem* ſmiling, hit him gently with his hand upon the back, and ſaid unto him, "Thou ſhalt be king, and ſhalt "have a happy reign, for ſuch is God's "pleaſure; and at that time remember "thyſelf of the words that *Manahem* ſpake "unto thee, which ſhall ſerve for a teſtimony "to put thee in mind of thy mutable "eſtate. For it becometh thee nothing "more than by juſtice, piety and equity, to "win the hearts of thy ſubjects; yet know "I by revelation from God, that thou wilt "not follow theſe inſtructions; for thou "ſhalt forget and neglect both divime and "human laws, though in other reſpects "thou ſhalt be moſt fortunate and purchaſe "immortal honour. Yet thou ſhalt not "eſcape God's hands, for he will chaſtiſe "thee in the latter time of thy life with a "grievous puniſhment."

At that time *Herod* gave ſmall regard to theſe words, as he had no thought that any ſuch thing ſhould happen; but after he had obtained the kingdom to the fulneſs of his felicity, he in the greatneſs of his power ſent for *Manahem*, and aſked him how long he ſhould reign? But he returned him a doubtful anſwer. *Herod* then aſked him anew, if he ſhould reign ten years? To which *Manahem* anſwered, Yes, and twenty and thirty; without ſetting down any preciſe term. *Herod* contenting himſelf herewith, embraced *Manahem*, and gave him licence to depart, and continued his affections towards the *Eſſenes* for his ſake.

I have thought it good to regiſter theſe things, notwithſtanding they may ſeem incredible, to declare that divers of our nation have had communication with God by reaſon of their holineſs.

CHAP. XVIII.

Herod *builds a new Temple in* Jeruſalem, *after he had pulled down the Old.*

AFTER ſo many great and glorious actions, and the finiſhing of ſo many magnificent buildings, *Herod* purpoſed the erecting of a temple to the holy God, in all reſpects larger, and more ſtately than the former, but leſt the people ſhould ſtumble at the difficulty of the undertaking he called them together to try what might be done by reaſon and diſcourſe, to the removing of that impediment out of the way.

“ It would be time loſt,” ſays he, “ my friends and countrymen, to give you the hiſtory of my doings ſince I came to the crown, wherefore let it ſuffice that I have more attended to your benefit and ſecurity than to my own particular reputation. You know very well what care I have taken for you in your greateſt extremities, and without any regard to my own profit; and you know likewiſe that you yourſelves have had the greateſt ſhare in the advantage of all the mighty works, which by God's bleſſing and aſſiſtance I have brought to perfection: Inſomuch that *Judæa* is in a better ſtate at this day than ever it was: But the ſhort ſum of my preſent buſineſs is matter of worſhip and religion, and what concerns the reputation of your country. You ſhall do well to obſerve, that this temple that was erected by our forefathers at their return from *Babylon*, wants ſixty cubits of the height of *Solomon*'s, and this was no fault of our anceſtors neither, it being raiſed according to the expreſs model of *Cyrus* and *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, under whoſe dominion they then lived, as afterward under the *Macedonians*: But ſince God hath been now pleaſed to put the government into my hands, and at the ſame time to furniſh me with all neceſſary means for the accompliſhing of my end, as peace, leiſure, ready money, a large competency of revenue; and which is more than all all the reſt, the maſters of the whole world my friends, (that is to ſay the *Romans*,) it ſhall be my care and buſineſs now to ſupply thoſe defects which it was not poſſible for our predeceſſors to prevent, and to do that right to the glory of God, which we have hitherto been ſhort in, with all due reverence to his holy name, and with a gratitude ſuitable to the mercies we have received.”

The people were ſurpriſed at this unexpected declaration, and at their wits end to conſider what would come of it; beſide the dread of having the old temple pulled down, before they were ſure of another in the place of it; but the king bid them reſt ſatisfied that the old temple ſhould ſtand firm and untouched, till all the ſtuff for the new one ſhould be prepared; and he was as good as his word.

He provided an hundred carriages for ſtones and other neceſſaries: ten thouſand artificers in all handicrafts, the beſt of every ſort that were to be gotten: a thouſand prieſts that underſtood maſons and carpenters

ters work, to overlook them, which he furniſhed with ſacerdotal robes and veſtments at his own charge. The artificers, ſtones, timber, and all the preparatory materials being now in readineſs, the firſt work they ſet upon was the clearing the old foundation and the laying of a new one; upon which baſis they raiſed the ſuperſtructure of a temple a hundred cubits in length, and a hundred and twenty in heighth; but the odd twenty cubits ſinking afterwards, it fell ſo much ſhort of the firſt deſign, which our anceſtors in the days of *Nero* had ſome thought of ſupplying. The whole fabrick was made of durable white ſtone five and twenty cubits long, eight in height, and twelve over.

The front of this wonderful pile had the reſemblance of a palace, much higher in the middle than on the ſides, and looking with ſuch a proſpect into the fields as was very agreeabble to thoſe that either lived directly over againſt it, or were travelling towards it: And this view extended ſeveral furlongs into the country. The upper part of the porch was ſet out with variety of rich tapeſtry, and delicate purple flowers, with pillars interwoven, and a golden vine creeping and twining about them, the branches of it laden with cluſters of grapes that hung dangling down from the corniſhes.

Round about the temple were large galleries, much exceeding all that ever was before them for grace and beauty. Two of theſe galleries were ſupported by two ſtrong walls.

There was a ſteep rocky hillock, but with a gentle deſcent to the eaſtward of the city, which *Solomon* encompaſſed with a wall, and the lower part of it was ſurrounded with another wall, and a deep valley under it toward the ſouth. This wall was compacted of mighty ſtones cramped together with irons, including the whole, and reaching down to the bottom of the hill. The form of the work was ſquare, and conſidering the depth and magnitude of it, an incomparable piece. The vaſt bigneſs of theſe ſtones was beſt ſeen on the outſide, being jointed within one into another, to keep them firm againſt all weathers.

When this wall was run up to the top, the ſpace betwixt that and the hill was all filled up till it came to a level, and then four galleries, reckoning every gallery to be a furlong over. There was alſo within the ſquare another ſtone wall, carried round the top of the hill, with a double porch to the eaſtward facing the portal of the temple, that ſtands in the middle. This portal was gloriouſly adorned by the royal bounty of ſeveral princes; and round about the temple itſelf were the ſpoils and trophies that had been taken from the *Barbarians*, which *Herod* dedicated over again, with the addition of others of later date, that he himſelf had taken from the *Arabians*.

Upon one of the angles on the north ſide ſtood a ſtrong well-fortified building, the work of ſome of the *Aſmonæans*, a family that for a long time executed the office both of prince and high-prieſt. They called this place *Baris*, or *the Tower*, and there kept the pontifical habits, which according to cuſtom were never to be taken out, but when the high-prieſt was juſt about to officiate. *Herod* applied it alſo to the ſame uſe; but after his death it came to be lodged in the hands of the *Romans*, and there it reſted till the time of *Tiberius*, in whoſe reign *Vitellius* being made governor of *Syria*, and going to take poſſeſſion of his command, was ſo honourably treated at *Jeruſalem*, that in acknowledgement of their affection and reſpect, he prevailed with *Ceſar* on the behalf of the *Jews*, and at their earneſt requeſt, that they might have the keeping of the ſacred depoſitum, or the ſtola ſacerdotalis, to themſelves. This petition being granted, it continued in their cuſtody till after the death of king *Agrippa*, at which time *Caſſius Longinus* the governor of *Syria*, and *Cuſpius Fadus* lieutenant of *Judæa*, ordered the depoſiting of the holy habits in the fort *Antonia*, inſiſting upon it that they ought to be ſtill in the power of the *Romans* as they were formerly. Hereupon they ſent away their deputies immediately to *Claudius*

eſar

Ceſar to ſolicit this affair. The young king *Agrippa*, happening to be then at *Rome*, begged of *Ceſar* the charge of theſe habits, which was forthwith granted him, and orders ſent to *Vitellius* to deliver them. The ſacred robes were formerly kept under the ſeal of the high-prieſt and the treaſurer of the temple, who, upon the eve of their ſolemn feſtivals, applied themſelves ſtill to the commander of the fort for the *Romans*. ſhewed him their ſeal and took out the ſtole, and then when the holy office was over, carried it back again to the ſame place, and there, in the preſence of the governor, ſealed it up and left it. I ſhould not have been ſo particular in this point, but for the many changes that have happened in this proceeding. This fort was already a place of great ſtrength, but *Herod* ſtill fortified it more and more, and in ſo doing he fortified the temple alſo, giving it the name at laſt of *Antonia*, in honour of his great friend *Anthony*, once emperor of the *Romans*.

On the weſt ſide of the wall there were four gates, one led to the court, acroſs a valley that lay betwixt, two to the ſuburbs, and the laſt to the city, with a deſcent of a great many ſteps to the valley, and an aſcent on the other ſide of as many ſteps up to the top. The city ſtood juſt over againſt the temple, with the appearance of a theatre, bounded toward the ſouth with a deep valley. In the middle of that ſquare was another gate juſt equi-diſtant from the two angles, with a triple ſtately gallery, ſtretching from the eaſt ſide of the valley to the weſt, which was the utmoſt length the place would bear. There was never any thing under the ſun more confounding than this ſpectacle; for the valley was of ſo prodigious a depth, and the building over it ſo ſtupendous, that it turned a perſon's eyes and brain to look down from the top to the bottom of it. Theſe galleries reſted upon four rows of pillars equally diſtant one from another, and a ſtone wall wrought up betwixt thoſe of the fourth rank. The pillars themſelves were as much about as three men could fathom, ſeven and twenty feet in length, and upon a double baſe. The number of them was one hundred and ſixty-two in the whole, the chapiters fair and curious to a miracle, and the ſculpture *Corinthian* work. Between theſe four rows of pillars were three galleries, two of them alike; that is to ſay, thirty feet broad each, upward of fifty in height, and a furlong in length; but that in the middle was half as broad again as the other, and twice as high. In the wainſcoting there was great variety of curious figures. The roof of the middle gallery was ſupported with ſtone work, ſo delicately wrought and cemented together, that it looked like one entire ſtone.

This may ſerve for a deſcription of the firſt encloſure, and there was another not far off with a ſtone wall, and few ſteps up to it, with a partition of ſtone, and an inſcription upon it, prohibiting any ſtrangers to enter there, upon pain of death. This inward encloſure had three gates toward the ſouth and north of an equal diſtance one from the other; and to the eaſtward another much larger, where men that were purified had admittance with their wives, but the women were not permitted to paſs any further.

There was another place in the middle between the other two, where it was lawful only for the prieſts to enter, and that was it where the temple was erected, and before it, the altar, where they offered up their ſacrifices. Now *Herod* durſt not preſume to enter into that place himſelf, becauſe not being a prieſt, he ſtood prohibited by the law: So that he committed the care of this part of the holy work to the prieſts themſelves, which they finiſhed in eighteen months, when he himſelf had been eight years finiſhing the reſt. This temple was begun in the eighteenth year of *Herod*'s reign.

The reſtoration of the temple was now celebrated with an univerſal joy, a ſacrifice of three hundred oxen upon the king's account, and ſo in proportion, which amounted in the whole to a number hardly to be computed. And the ſolemnity was as much beyond expectation too, for the dedication of the temple, and the anniverſary of *Herod*'s coming to the crown, falling out upon the ſame day, doubled the ſolemnity. Among other of his temple works, the vault muſt not be forgotten, that *Herod* cauſed to be carried under ground from the fort *Antonia* to the eaſt gate of the temple, where he erected another fort; this vault being deſigned for a private and ſafe retreat, either for himſelf or his ſucceſſors, in caſe of any ſeditious practice againſt the government. There goes a tradition that it never rained in the day time all the while this temple was building, but only in the night, out of a divine care (as it was interpreted) not to interrupt the progreſs of the work.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK XVI.

From the Year of the World 3955, to 3961.

CHAP. I.

Herod *makes a Law which makes him be reputed a Tyrant. He takes a Journey to* Rome.

THE king made a new law for the puniſhing of houſe-breakers, to this effect: That all offenders in that kind ſhould be ſold for ſlaves, to any that would purchaſe them, without exception even to ſtrangers. Now our ancient laws have made a good proviſion in the caſe by condemning the felon to a fourfold reſtitution, if he be worth it, or if inſolvent to be ſold, but not to ſtrangers, nor into perpetual ſlavery, and at the end of ſeven years to be diſcharged. The conſtruction, therefore, that the people made of this new law, was, that it was unkingly, tyrannical and unjuſt, and a deliberate contempt upon the eſtabliſhed practice and diſcipline. Much about this time *Herod* took a voyage into *Italy*, to make his court to the emperor, and to look after his ſons there, whom he found every way accompliſhed in the underſtanding both of letters and buſineſs. *Ceſar* treated him with ſingular humanity and honour, and delivered the young princes back to their father in much better circumſtances than he received them. They were well made, tall and graceful, and the excellence of their minds was not inferior to the agreeableneſs of their perſons. When *Herod* had paid his compliments he took leave of *Ceſar*, and went back with his charge, where they were no ſooner arrived but all people gazed upon them with joy and admiration. This did not pleaſe *Salome* the king's ſiſter, nor any of the accomplices in the ruin of *Mariamne*, for they looked upon them with jealouſy and envy in their hearts; and as inſtruments that providence had preſerved and raiſed up to revenge the death of their mother. With theſe thoughts in their heads they improved the matter they had to work upon, by ſcandalous calumnies and ſuggeſtions. "The "ſons," they ſaid, "would never endure "the converſation of their father, after the "dipping his hands in the innocent blood "of their mother." They found, in ſhort, no good to be done upon the father againſt the ſons but by ſlanderous inſinuations, and that was the courſe therefore they reſolved to put in practice.

CHAP. II.

Herod *gives Wives unto* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus. *He entertains* Agrippa *nobly in his Dominions.*

THE king continued open, kind and eaſy to his ſons as poſſible, and without any ſuſpicion or reſerve. The firſt thing he did was to match them into princely families; *Ariſtobulus* to *Berenice* the daughter of *Salome*, and *Alexander* to *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*.

Being given to underſtand by this time, that *Marcus Agrippa* was gone back again out of *Italy* into *Aſia*, he went over to him with a generous and a friendly tender of all ſervice and reſpect, and earneſtly beſought him for the honour of a viſit. This requeſt being granted, there was nothing wanting on *Herod*'s part that might contribute to *Agrippa*'s welcome and ſatisfaction. He ſhewed him all the glorious cities and palaces that he had lately built or repaired, carrying him to *Sebaſte*, the port of *Ceſarea*, and the forts of *Alexandrion*, *Herodion*, *Hyrcania*, &c. where he treated *Agrippa* and his friends with all the ſplendor and magnificence imaginable. After this tour he conducted him to *Jeruſalem*, where he was received by the whole multitude with the joy, pomp and acclamations of a ſolemn feſtival: *Agrippa*, to crown the work, dedicating to God the ſacrifice of a hecatomb, and feaſting the people. He was ſo well pleaſed with his journey and his entertainment, that he would fain have ſtaid longer; but winter coming on, and thoſe ſeas being dangerous, he embarked with his troops for *Ionia*, laden with honours and preſents.

CHAP. III.

Herod *takes Shipping for* Leſbos, *and finds* Agrippa *at* Sinope; *and returning back with him a great part of his Way, did much Good to ſeveral Towns.*

WHEN *Herod* had paſſed the winter at home, he took another voyage upon the opening of the ſpring to find out *Agrippa*, who, according to his intelligence, was gone with an army toward the *Boſphorus*. *Herod* took ſhipping for *Leſbos*, where he ſuppoſed he might meet with him; but after he had paſſed *Rhodes* and *Coos*, he was driven by a north wind upon the iſle of *Chios*, where he was forced to lie by for ſome days. In this voyage he had many viſits made him incognito, which he anſwered with ſuitable preſents in return; and taking notice of ſeveral public buildings that lay yet in ruins ever ſince the *Mithridatick* war, for want of money to repair them, he gave them credit for a ſum ſufficient to do the work.

From thence *Herod* ſet ſail, firſt to *Mitylene*, then to *Byzantium*; and hearing that *Agrippa* had already paſſed the *Cyanean* rocks, he made after him, and joined him at *Sinope*, a city of *Pontus*. The greeting of the two princes reciprocally was ſo tender and hearty, that nothing could be more demonſtrative of an honourable faith and friendſhip: So that *Herod* and *Agrippa* were in effect one, in their arms, labours, hazards and counſels: And they were both as one in their delights and pleaſures too. When *Agrippa* had diſpatched what he came for in *Pontus*, he took his way back again over land, and ſo they paſſed through *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, and the greater *Phrygia* to *Epheſus*, and thence by ſea to *Samos*. And in that whole journey, almoſt in every city he gratified *Herod*, at his entreaty relieving many of their neceſſities. And *Herod* did in the way help many with money that wanted, and ſpent much upon his gueſts: And moreover, if any one had ſuit unto *Agrippa*, *Herod* was the only man that might obtain his ſuit for him. And though *Agrippa* himſelf was both nobly minded and eaſily intreated to grant all ſuch things as were not prejudicil to any one, yet it was matter of no ſmall moment and importance in king *Herod* to incite him to uſe beneficence, being even of his own accord forward enough to put the ſame in practice. He reconciled *Agrippa*, being angry againſt the *Ilienſians*, and himſelf paid the money that the people of *Chios* were indebted to *Ceſar*'s receivers, obtaining for them an immunity: And he alſo aſſiſted and pleaſured others in whatſoever they needed.

CHAP. IV.

The Jews *who lived in* Ionia *complain to* Agrippa, *that the* Grecians *will not let them enjoy their Privileges.*

UPON their coming into *Ionia*, there was a mighty concourſe of *Jews* of that province gotten together upon that occaſion, with complaints againſt the natives for breaking in upon them in the exerciſe of their laws and worſhip, their officers dragging them away from their meetings to their courts of juſtice, and putting a ſtop to the holy treaſure that ſhould be ſent to *Jeruſalem*, forcing them to bear arms and pay public duties out of their bare ſubſiſtance-money, contrary to common faith, and to the liberties and exemptions granted them by the *Romans*. *Herod* laid hold of this opportunity of doing the *Jews* a ſervice, and ſo prevailed with *Agrippa* to grant the plaintiffs a hearing, aſſigning them one *Nicolaus*, a particular friend of his, for their council. There was a court called upon this occaſion, *Agrippa* himſelf being preſent, together with a bench of honourable *Romans*, ſeveral princes, and other great men. The advocate opening the cauſe with a florid and moving ſpeech, which went off without any reply from the *Greeks*, for it was not a judicial trial of right, but a petitionary complaint only, to get the grievance removed. They could not deny the fact, but the *Jews*, they ſaid, were ſtrangers, and would be a burden to them; who inſiſted upon it on the other hand, that they were no ſtrangers, but a people that lived in their own way, without offence to God or man.

Agrippa hereupon declared himſelf in their favour, and thought their deſires ſo reaſonable, that if they had been much larger he would have complied with them. "But ſince I find them ſo moderate," ſays he, "in their demands, as to content themſelves with the ratification of what is already conferred upon them, I do here pronounce a confirmation of the claim they make to theſe privileges; and take it further upon myſelf, that ſo long as they keep themſelves within the bounds of their diſcipline and profeſſion, they ſhall have no more trouble of this kind for the future." With theſe words he diſmiſſed the convention, and upon the breaking of it up, *Herod* gave *Agrippa* infinite thanks in the name of the whole nation; and ſo with an interchange of mutual tenderneſſes and embraces betwixt the two princes, they both left *Leſbos*.

Herod upon parting put to ſea with a fair wind for *Ceſarea*, and in a few days from thence to *Jeruſalem*, where he called the *Jews* immediately together, ſtrangers as well as citizens, and gave them an account of his expedition, and the great things he had done for their friends in *Aſia*, where they were at that time free and eaſy in their perſons and in their religion. He did not forget to mind them neither, how they had proſpered under his government, and that he had no intereſt in what he did but the well-being of his ſubjects. And for a further inſtance of his goodneſs, he did at the ſame time diſcharge them of a fourth part of their tribute. Theſe fair words, as they were attended with ſuitable effects, cheared the hearts of the people, and ſent them away with acclamations in their mouths, and the wiſhes of glory and proſperity to the king.

CHAP. V.

Salome, Herod's *Siſter, endeavours to ruin his two Sons,* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus. *He ſends his Son* Antipater, *whom he had by his firſt Wife, to* Rome.

WHILE this was doing abroad, grudgings and heart-burnings were fomented at home by the practice of *Salome* upon the two young princes, whom ſhe hated mortally: And taking courage from the ſucceſs of her calumnies upon the mother, ſhe proceeded with a reſolution not to leave any thing alive that might be in a condition to revenge the blood of that innocent lady. And the plot was not carried on without ſome ſort of colour neither: For the princes in the heat of blood, and in the ſimplicity of their hearts, ſpoke out at a venture, whatever came at their tongue's end; and ſhe made way to the execution of her malice by artifice and diſguiſe, provoking the young men to extravagancies of language on purpoſe to entrap them. "They took it for an honour," they ſaid, "to be the ſons of ſuch a mother:" Inſiſting upon it ſtill that ſhe was baſely murdered. Theſe words were a ſufficient ground for a calumnious jealouſy to work upon; for they would bear the conſtruction of the princes deliberating upon a revenge with their own hands. And *Salome* made her advantage of their indiſcretions, and improved them to her own ends.

Herod's being out of the way all this while, was a great advantage to the managers of this plot. And ſoon after his return *Salome* and *Pheroras* were preſently at work upon him, with cautions, and inſinuations of the danger he was in from his own ſons, and how they made their public boaſt that the murderers of their mother ſhould never carry it off ſo. They patched up a ſtory of *Archelous*, the king of *Cappadocia* too; and how they depended upon his intereſt with *Ceſar* to aſſiſt them in the proſecution of their father. This wrought the more ſenſibly upon *Herod*, becauſe he heard the ſame things over and over again from ſeveral hands.

While he was now conſidering what courſe to ſteer, he bethought himſelf of taking another ſon he had, that he brought up privately, into his family, and there to entertain him with honour and reſpect; propoſing by this means to take down the ſtomachs of the brothers: His name was *Antipater*. *Herod* had no thought at firſt of putting the government into this young man's hands; but only to ſee if he would put a check upon the inſolencies of *Mariamne*'s children. In this contemplation *Herod* treated *Antipater* with a countenance of authority and truſt; and as the next pretender to the crown; making no doubt, all this while, of reducing his other ſons by this means, within the bounds of modeſty and duty. But inſtead of a curb, it proved a provocation. *Antipater*, when he had now got footing, laboured with all his might by tales and calumnies to ſupplant his brothers in the affection of their father; who was in truth ſo credulous and open to thoſe ill offices and impreſſions, that he wrought him into an averſion that grew every day more and more implacable. *Antipater* was now looked upon as the riſing ſun, and court made to him accordingly, as the ready way to preferment; his party covering

vering the whole practice ſtill, with a pretended zeal for the ſervice of *Herod*. The confidents of this ſecret being all true to the plot, made advantage of the young men's impotences in heat and paſſion, who laid themſelves now opener than before. Theſe Incendiaries had ſo exaſperated the king, that he revenged himſelf upon *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, by heaping more and more honours and favours upon *Antipater*; who in the concluſion ſo far prevailed upon *Herod* that he got his mother ſent for to court, and recommendatory letters to *Ceſar*, for himſelf, much to his credit and advantage. And finally, upon *Agrippa*'s return to *Rome*, after ten years adminiſtration in *Aſia*, *Herod* made a voyage by ſea, to compliment him upon the way, and took only *Antipater*, of all his ſons, along with him, together with many rich preſents: And upon parting, he begged the favour of *Agrippa*, that his ſon might wait upon him to *Rome*, and be there introduced by him to *Ceſar*. This was to ſhew that all was done now, as it were, by *Antipater*, to the excluſion of his two brothers.

CHAP. VI.

Antipater *ſo incenſes his Father againſt his Brothers,* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus, *that* Herod *brings them to* Rome, *and accuſes them before* Auguſtus, *for having attempted to poiſon him.*

THIS voyage of *Antipater* to *Rome*, with his father's letters and commendations to all his friends there, turned exceedingly to his honour and advantage. The only thing that troubled him was, that being now out of the way, he could not ſo conveniently impoſe upon his father with ſham ſtories againſt his brothers as when he was at his elbow; which gave him not a little trouble, for fear he might be brought over to terms of more moderation toward the children of *Mariamne*. This ran in his head; but he purſued his firſt point ſtill: And what he could not do by word of mouth, he ſupplied by ſpiteful letters to keep up the evil humour, upon pretext of being wonderfully in pain for his father's ſafety, when he was, in truth, working his way all this while by underhand practices to poſſeſs himſelf of the government; having already tranſported *Herod* to ſuch a degree of diſpleaſure, that his ſons had not in the world a greater enemy. But this unnatural rigour was not yet without ſome intervals of reluctancy; ſo that for fear of doing any raſh thing in his anger, eſpecially in the caſe of a father and his children, he took up a reſolution of another journey to *Rome*, and there openly to exhibit an accuſation againſt his ſons to *Ceſar*; but miſſing him at *Rome*, he followed him to *Aquilea*: Where *Herod*, upon an application to him for leave to bring an unhappy cauſe before him, produced his two ſons, and charged them, not only with inſolence, but an attempt to poiſon him: Aggravating the malice and the horror of the wickedneſs to the degree of a conſpiracy againſt the crown and dignity of their father.

And all this, notwithſtanding the licence *Ceſar* had given him to leave the ſucceſſion to which of the ſons he pleaſed; or to him of the two that he ſhould find moſt dutiful. Nay, and in caſe of their failing of the ſovereignty themſelves, they would be content, even with the ſingle death of their father, though with the utmoſt peril of their own lives in the procuring of it, ſo inhuman and ſo impious was the rancour (he ſaid) that was ſettled in the mind of theſe young men. And ſo he went on, how long he had born theſe indignities, which he was now at laſt enforced, even againſt duty and good manners to obtrude upon *Ceſar*'s ear and patience.

The young princes, who could not but weep now and then as he was ſpeaking, burſt out into a flood of tears upon the finiſhing of his diſcourſe, not as conſcious of any crime, but out of an honourable ſenſe of piety to ſee their father their accuſer; with this proſpect before them, that they muſt either neceſſarily conteſt the cauſe, or abandon their own integrity; the former being indecent, and the other unſafe. In this heſitation and ſuſpence, they betook themſelves to ſighs and tears, without one word ſpeaking: And this ſilence they were afraid would be taken for guilt, when in truth it was only want of practice and aſſurance, being unuſed to ſpeak before ſuch an auditory. *Ceſar* made a right judgment of the matter, and ſo did the whole aſſembly, who were all moved to the higheſt degre of tenderneſs and compaſſion, and the accuſer himſelf among the reſt.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander*'s Defence.* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus *reconciled to their Father* Herod.

AS ſoon as the young princes came to take notice of this favourable diſpoſition, *Alexander*, the eldeſt of the two, addreſſed himſelf to his father in a very pathetic ſpeech, wherein, after having allowed his good intentions, in bringing them before ſo juſt a judge as *Ceſar*; and that they were conſcious if they had done any thing that looked like ingratitude or diſloyalty, they were not worthy to live; he went on, " but here is only an invidious ac-" cuſation, without the leaſt ſhadow of any " evidence, or ſo much as a probability to " ſupport it. Why is not the poiſon itſelf, " or the accomplices and the inſtruments of " the practice produced? Where are the " conſpirators, the conſpiracy, the bribery " or the defamatory letters? But the whole " ſtory is invention and ſlander, without " any countenance to give it credit. If we " have paſſionately lamented the loſs of our " dear mother, it was out of a zeal to the " honour of her memory, which we found " blaſted where ſhe leaſt deſerved it. And " again, to what end ſhould we aſpire to " the government in the life-time of our " father? For if we do already enjoy the " honours belonging to the royal family,

“ as we effectually do, what have we farther to ſtruggle for ? Or if we are at preſent barred of our right, may we not yet “ preſume to wiſh and hope for it ? Can it “ be imagined that ever the murderers, in “ ſuch an inſtance as this, ſhould ſet up for “ ſucceſſors, when ſea and land, after ſo flagitious a villainy, would conſpire to ruin “ them.”

Ceſar, after a ſhort pauſe, came to this reſolution upon the whole matter: “ That “ the ſons were in ſome ſort to blame to “ give their father any cauſe of jealouſy ; “ but that, upon the main, he acquitted “ them ſo far, that he prouounced them innocent,” deſiring *Herod* at the ſame time “ to forgive and forget, without any farther “ diſtruſt ; and ſo to make a final end of the “ controverſy, as being a moſt unreaſonable “ thing for a father to encourage ill offices “ againſt his own children :” Telling him farther, “ that things would mend in time, “ and friends agree again if they could “ but come to a mutual confidence once, “ and a fair underſtanding one with another.”

After this declaration he beckoned to the brothers to come forward, and as they were advancing with tears in their eyes, and ſubmiſſion in their hearts, and upon the very point of caſting themſelves at their father's feet, the king with infinite tenderneſs took them into his arms, one after the other, and prevented them. The ſurpriſe of this unexpected encounter drew tears of joy from the whole company ; after which greeting, and the payment of their dutiful acknowledgements to *Auguſtus*, *Herod* and his two ſons went their way together, taking *Antipater* along with them, the moſt joy'd man in the world, as he pretended, at this reconciliation.

Some days after this, *Herod*, while *Auguſtus* was treating the people with ſpectacles and doles, made *Ceſar* a preſent of three hundred talents, who in requital beſtowed upon him one moiety of the profits of the mines of *Cyprus*, and the diſpoſition of the other, with ſeveral honourable bounties and commiſſions. He gave him liberty alſo to appoint which of his ſons he pleaſed for his ſucceſſor, or otherwiſe to divide the government betwixt them, which he liked beſt. Now *Ceſar* finding him ready to comply, put only this bar upon him, that he ſhould not part with it in his own life-time, but keep his kingdom in his power as well as his children.

This was the poſture of affairs when *Herod* returned with his three ſons for *Judæa*. The people at *Trachonitis* had in his abſence revolted, but by the vigilance of his officers they were reduced to their duty. As *Herod* and his ſons were upon their voyage to *Eleuſa*, a city of *Cilicia*, now called *Sebaſte*, whom ſhould they find there but *Archelaus*, the king of *Cappadocia*, who was overjoyed to ſee *Herod* and his ſons ſo well together again, and to underſtand that his ſon-in law *Alexander* had acquitted himſelf upon his trial with ſo much honour. *Archelaus* received *Herod* with all humanity imaginable ; and after a reciprocal exchange of endearments and preſents, the two kings parted. *Herod* immediately upon his arrival at *Jeruſalem*, called the people together into the temple, and there entertained them with an account of his expedition : And when he had run through the hiſtory of the honours *Ceſar* had done him, and other paſſages, he turned his diſcourſe at laſt to his ſons, with a particular recommendation of peace and unity, as well to the court as to the common people, declaring to them in form, that he appointed his ſons to be his ſucceſſors, *Antipater* in the firſt place, and after him *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* in their order. “ But “ during my life,” ſays he, “ 'you are to “ own no other lord and maſter than myſelf.” When he had finiſhed his ſpeech he diſcharged the meeting. Some were well enough pleaſed with it, others as much the contrary ; for upon the caſting this bone of emulation among the pretenders, matters looked already toward a change.

CHAP. VIII.

Herod *having compleated the building of* Ceſarea, *dedicates it to* Auguſtus, *and entertains the People with ſtately Plays and Paſtimes. He cauſeth other Towns to be built, and ſeveral Monuments. His extreme Liberality to Strangers, and his exceſſive Rigour to his own Subjects.*

THE city of *Ceſarea* was now finiſhed, in the tenth year from laying the foundation of it, the twenty eighth of *Herod*'s reign, and in the *Olympiad* one hundred and ninety two. The dedication of it was celebrated with all the magnificence imaginable: This ſolemnity was inſtituted to the honour of *Ceſar*, under the appellation of *Certamen Quinquennale*, and the ceremony to be exhibited every fifth year. It was a prodigious charge that the king was at for the furniſhing of this pompous ſhew, in curioſities from all quarters far and near, beſide what *Julia*, the wife of *Ceſar*, contributed toward it upon her own account, and in expenſive rarities out of *Italy*, computed at about five hundred talents upon the whole, over and above the vaſt multitudes of people that flocked thither upon this occaſion, and divers ambaſſadors from abroad out of a compliment to *Herod*, which were all entertained, treated and diverted at the king's coſt, with ſpectacles by day, and ſumptuous feaſting and jollities by night.

When the ſolemnity of this feſtival was over, he ſet himſelf to the building of another city, upon *Capharſaba*, a ſpot of ground that was moſt deliciouſly wooded and watered, a pleaſant river about it, and a grove with a delicate plantation of curious trees near the place. He gave this town the name of *Antipatris*, from *Antipater*, his father: And he built after this a caſtle beyond *Jericho*, which he called *Cypris*, from the name of his mother, a ſweet delightful ſeat, well built and fortified: Not forgetting his beloved brother, to the honour of whoſe memory he dedicated ſeveral glorious temples; as in the firſt place a tower in the city itſelf, not inferior for ſtrength and largeneſs to the *Alexandrian Pharos*, to which he gave the name of *Phaſael*, after which he erected a town upon the north ſide of the valley of *Jericho*, which he called by the ſame name. By this means, the country round about, that was before abandoned, came to be peopled again, and was called the province of the *Phaſaelites*.

But to come to the moſt magnificent and illuſtrious of all his undertakings, there was the temple of the *Pythian Apollo* at *Rhodes*, that he rebuilt upon his own particular account, and I know not how many talents of free gift to the *Rhodians* for the building of ſo many ſhips. Another vaſt ſum to the repairing and finiſhing of ſeveral public edifices in the city of *Nicopolis*, which was erected by *Ceſar*, near *Actium*. He built two galleries in *Antioch*, (which is the largeſt city of *Syria*) that went quite acroſs the town, with a walk between them. Theſe galleries were gloriouſly adorned, and the ſtreets paved with a ſmooth poliſhed ſtone, both for the ornament of the place, and for the convenince of the inhabitants.

He ſet apart alſo a yearly allowance out of his own revenue toward the maintenance of the olympic games, which began now to ſink in their reputation, for want of a maintenance to bear the charge of ſacrifices and pompous expences, ſuitable to ſuch a meeting: By which munificence he got the name of a perpetual maſter of the revels.

It is admirable to ſee in one man ſuch diverſity of minds, for on the one ſide, if we conſider his liberality towards all men, we muſt needs ſay he was of a moſt free and bountiful nature; on the contrary, if we conſider the injuries and cruelty he ſhewed againſt his ſubjects and deareſt friends, we muſt confeſs him to have been a hard man, and intractable, and one who paſſed all bounds of modeſty, ſo that we would think him to have been of two contrary diſpoſitions. But I am otherwiſe perſuaded, and think that both theſe did proceed from one cauſe: For becauſe he thirſted after glory and honour, and wholly applied himſelf thereunto, he became liberal whereſoever he was, in hope either to reap preſent thanks for his labour, or a future remembrance; wherefore ſpending above his revenues for this matter, he was forced to be chargeable to his ſubjects, for it was neceſſary that he that ſo laviſhly beſtowed ſuch vaſt ſums of money upon others, ſhould ſomewhere get it, tho' with evil means. Laſtly, ſeeing himſelf for ſuch like injuries hated of his ſubjects, he thought it a hard matter to get their good wills, which he could do by no other means than remitting the tribute they paid him. Wherefore he abuſed the hatred of his people for his own commodity; for if any one of them did not tolerate that ſlavery wherein they lived, or did endeavour to ſhake off the yoke of his dominion, againſt ſuch he uſed prodigious cruelty, and injured them no leſs than if they had been his enemies, without regarding friendſhip or kindred, for that he deſired alone to to be honoured of all men. And how greedy of honour he was, we may gueſs by the honours he did unto *Ceſar*, *Agrippa*, and others of their friends; for he deſired to be an example to his ſubjects, that as he himſelf honoured men better than himſelf, ſo they ſhould all honour him likewiſe, thereby declaring what he did naturally moſt deſire. But the *Jews* religion doth not permit them licenſe to honour potentates, who of neceſſity ought to have greater care and reſpect of right and equity, than of ſuch officiouſneſs toward ſuperiors; for it was diſprofit enough unto the *Jews* that they could not with ſtatues and temples obtain the king's favour, and with like flatteries ſatisfie the fond appetites of a vain-glorious man. And this ſeems to be the reaſon that *Herod* was unjuſt and hard to his friends, and free and bountiful towards ſtrangers.

CHAP. IX.

Teſtimonies of the Roman *Emperors Affection towards the* Jews.

THE *Aſian* and *Cyrenian Jews* were greatly afflicted by the citizens of thoſe countries, who having had the ſame privileges granted unto them by the former kings that the citizens had, were now greatly injured by the *Grecians*; as tho' they carried money out of the country, and were prejudicial unto the reſt of the inhabitants. And the *Grecians* making no end of their injuries, they were conſtrained by ambaſſadors to complain of them unto *Ceſar*, who wrote unto every province, That it was his pleaſure that the *Jews* ſhould enjoy like privileges with the other inhabitants of the country.

Agrippa alſo wrote in the *Jews* behalf to the magiſtrates, ſenate and people of *Epheſus*, willing that the *Jews* ſhould be ſecured in their properties, permitted to live after their cuſtom, and free in all their concerns. And *C. Norbanus Flaccus*, and *Julius Antonius*, proconſuls, in obedience and confirmation of the decrees of *Ceſar* and *Agrippa*, wrote to the like effect to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of *Sardinia* and *Epheſus*.

I have thought it not improper to mention theſe decrees, becauſe I know that theſe my writings will come into the *Grecians* hands, that I may ſhew them, that in former ages we were ſo eſteemed by the public magiſtrates, that none were permitted to hinder us from uſing our own country rites and ceremonies, and by their conſent we worſhipped God in our own religion; which I do inculcate the oftener, that I may move ſtrange and foreign nations, and take away their hatred conceived againſt us, which is without reaſonable cauſe: For no nation doth always uſe the ſame cuſtoms, but almoſt whole towns do ſometimes alter and differ from the reſt; yet is juſtice equally to be diſtributed unto all men; which is moſt profitable, as well to the *Grecians*, as to the other barbarous nations, which is greatly obſerved in our laws, which if we follow and violate not, are able to make all nations love us. Wherefore we requeſt all men not to deſpiſe us for differing from them in religion; but favour us in that we follow virtue. For this is common to all nations; and without this man's life muſt needs be unhappy.

CHAP. X.

Herod *cauſeth* David*'s Sepulchre to be opened to get Money out of it, for which God puniſhes him: Strange Diviſions and Troubles in his Family. The Cruelties which this Prince's miſtruſtfulneſs and* Antipater*'s malice cauſeth; together with his Son* Alexander*'s Impriſonment.*

HEROD had ſquandered away vaſt ſums of money both at home and abroad; and hearing that his predeceſſor *Hyrcanus* had taken three thouſand talents of ſilver out of *David*'s ſepulchre, and that there was enough left behind there to anſwer any occaſion whatſoever, he purpoſed to do the like; wherefore taking ſome few of thoſe he could beſt truſt along with him, he conveyed himſelf by night into the ſepulchre, but with all care imaginable to keep it from the people. He found a great quantity of rich plate, and veſſels, both of gold and ſilver, and took it away with him, but for the ready money that he expected, there was none to be ſound, for *Hyrcanus*, it ſeems, had been before-hand with him.

This ſucceſs however, ſuch as it was, gave him an encouragement to make a ſtricter ſearch: So he advanced farther in, till he came to the very coffins where the bodies of *Solomon* and *David* were depoſited. The ſtory ſays, that he loſt two of his people there by a flaſh of fire that broke out of the receſs, which was interpreted as a judgment upon the temerity of the undertaking. The prodigy put *Herod* into ſuch a fright, that in a fit both of terror and of conſcience, he quitted his deſign, and to expiate in ſome meaſure for the ſacrilege, he erected a moſt ſumptuous monument of marble, to block up the very entrance into the ſepulchre.

From the time that *Herod* broke in moſt ſacrliegiouſly upon this ſepulchre, things went ſtill croſſer and croſſer in his family, whether upon a judicial vengeance upon that part of it that was before ill affected, or by the calamity of a ſeaſon that looked ſo like the puniſhment of a flagitious wickedneſs. The feud was a kind of civil war in the houſe, and carried on by ſome ſort of competion, betwixt outrage and calumny. But the maſter-piece of the whole ſtory was the artifice and hypocriſy of *Antipater*, who at the ſame time, while he was on the one hand ſuborning of practices againſt his brothers, acted the part himſelf, on the other hand, of an advocate with *Herod* to defend them: *Antipater* wrought ſo far upon the king by theſe wiles, that he looked upon him as the only zealous friend in the world that took care of him.

Alexander and *Ariſtobulus*, on the other ſide, being men of honour and of ſpirit, ſtomached this way of proceeding beyond all patience, and their wives laboured under the ſame paſſions too; for there was no love loſt betwixt *Glaphyra*, *Alexander*'s wife and the daughter of the king of *Cappadocia*; betwixt her, I ſay, and *Salome*, whom the other mortally hated, both out of the love ſhe bore her huſband, and out of a womaniſh fret to ſee her daughter that was married to *Ariſtobulus*, ſit upon the ſame level with herſelf.

There fell in likewiſe, at the ſame time, another unlucky circumſtance that engaged *Pheroras*, the king's brother, in the controverſy, and it was improved, in the concluſion, to a high degree of jealouſy and hatred. *Herod* made an offer to *Pheroras* of his daughter in marriage, who excuſed himſelf, that being deſperately in love with his own maid, he could not marry any body elſe. The king could not but lay this refuſal to heart, eſpecially from a brother that he had been ſo kind to, even to the degree of ſharing his government with him. But finding himſelf ſo ill requited, he married this daughter to the ſon of *Phaſael*, his elder brother. *Herod*, by the time that the love had cooled a while, went to *Pheroras* once again, and, as a freſh inſtance of his affection, he made yet another offer of his other daughter *Cyprus*. *Pheroras* went preſently to adviſe with *Ptolemy* about it, who told him that if he were not a madman he would cloſe with his brother, and not hazard his fortune as well as his quiet, in the loſs of the king's favour: *Pheroras* embraced the counſel, begged the king's pardon, and diſcharging himſelf of the firſt woman, by whom he had one child, he promiſed the king within a month to marry the other daughter. In this while *Pheroras* relapſed into his old fit of dotage again, took the former woman home to him; and when the month was out, without any regard to his oaths and promiſes, moſt ſhamefully broke faith with his brother. This affront put *Herod* ſo far out of the government of himſelf, that he could not forbear laſhing out into intemperances of language againſt his brother. There were incendiaries enough to lay hold of this, and to improve the diſtemper into an occaſion of making further miſchief. Nay, ſo deadly was the rancorous hatred of *Salome* to the ſons of *Mariamne*, that ſhe would not ſuffer her daughter to enjoy ſo much as the conjugal converſation of her own huſband, *Ariſtobulus;* but was ſtill pumping of her to fiſh out the moſt ſacred privacies that paſſed betwixt them. By this means ſhe got out of her what the brothers ſaid of *Mariamne*, when they were by themſelves: At how coarſe a rate they talked of their father, and how they threatened all the ſons he had by other women, if ever they came to the throne, to make country ſcriveners or pariſh-clerks of them, as a profeſſion that beſt ſuited with their way of education: And ſhe had heard them talk further, ſhe ſaid, that if ever they ſhould ſee any of *Herod's* wives ſet out with their mother's jewels, they would put them into ſackcloth, and lay them up where they ſhould never ſee the ſun. *Salome* thought the time long till the king had the ſtory, and ſo away ſhe carried it herſelf to him immediately. In ſhort, they plied him ſo hard with hammering jealouſies into his head, that they brought him at laſt to a hankering after tales and calumnies, and to ſuch a degree of credulity, that he ſwallowed whatever was told him, but contenting himſelf, however, for the preſent, with a ſevere rebuke to his ſons, and upon their anſwer he came pretty well to himſelf again.

But this was not the worſt of it yet, for *Pheroras* took an occaſion to ſpeak to *Alexander*, the huſband of *Glaphyra* of an odd kind of ſtory that *Salome* had told him, which was, that *Herod* was fallen paſſionately in love with *Glaphyra*. The young man was ſo galled at this diſcourſe, that whatever *Herod* did, day after day, in favour of *Glaphyra*, for his ſon's ſake, was ſtill interpreted in confirmation of his ſuſpicion. This fancy, in ſhort, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon him, that he went directly to his father, with tears in his eyes, and told him what had paſſed between him and *Pheroras*. If he was outrageous before, this made him ſtark mad. In this caſe he ſent for *Pheroras*, and read him a very angry lecture.

This was ſo clear a caſe againſt *Pheroras*, that he had no way to come off but by diſcharging himſelf upon *Salome*, and laying the ſcandal at her door, as the original of the ſtory. *Salome* happening to be within hearing, broke out into violent exclamations, that it was all a lie, and only a malicious practice and conſpiracy for the taking away of her life in revenge of the zeal and affection ſhe had expreſſed for the ſaving of the king's, who, at that inſtant, ſhe ſaid, was in greater danger than ever. *Pheroras* was all this while in the greateſt pain imaginable, betwixt two inextricable difficulties; for he could neither deny what he told to *Alexander*, nor prove what *Salome* ſaid to him. They were at it pro and con however a good while; but the king grew ſick of it at laſt, and being late, ſent them both away, and ſo went to ſupper, *Herod* highly commending the moderation of his ſon, in coming ſo frankly to him with the ſtory. This ſquabble brought *Salome* under the ſcandal of being the author of this calumny, and the king's wives were ready enough to ſet it forward, and in this diſguſt they were perpetually ringing ſomething or other in *Herod's* ear againſt her, and this diſpoſition was aſſiſted by an accident as pat as could be to their purpoſe.

Obodas was at that time king of *Arabia*, a lazy, ſlothful prince, that minded nothing but his eaſe. Now there was one *Syllæus* that managed under him, a man of ſenſe and addreſs, in the prime of his years, and a well-made, graceful perſon. This *Syllæus*, coming to *Herod* about buſineſs, as he was once at ſupper with him, and *Salome* in the company, he took a particular liking to this princeſs, inſomuch that hearing ſhe was a widow, he ventured to make ſome kind of overture toward marriage. The woman finding herſelf every day more and more uneaſy with her brother, and being well enough pleaſed with the young man too, was not averſe to the propoſal. This went all to the king; but he was not yet thoroughly ſatisfied, till he ſet *Pheroras* for a ſpy upon them, who brought him word, that by what he gathered from the intelligence of looks and ſigns, there was undoubtedly a concerted intrigue between them. *Herod* took it now for granted, and the *Arabian* went home again. Within ſome two or three months after this he returned upon the ſame errand, and treated with *Herod* himſelf about the match. The king immediately put the ſhort queſtion to his ſiſter, whether ſhe had a mind to marry or not, and without any difficulty ſhe anſwered him yes. This was told *Syllæus*, and that if he would turn *Jew* he might have her, but otherwiſe, by the law of the country, it could not be. *Syllæus* replied on the other hand, that if he ſhould fall from his religion, the *Arabians* would ſtone him to death; and ſo the treaty broke off.

Herod was now half reſolved, at the importunity of *Salome*, to marry his daughter, that *Pheroras* had refuſed, to a ſon of her's, that ſhe had by *Coſtabarus*. But *Pheroras* put it off, by telling him that the young man would never forgive his father-in-law the death of his father, and adviſed him rather to give her to his own ſon that was to ſucceed him in the government. The king took his counſel, gave her a hundred talents for her portion, and all paſt miſunderſtandings with *Pheroras* laid aſide and forgotten.

But this was ſo far from compoſing the diſorders of *Herod's* family, that they went every day from bad to worſe. The king had three handſome eunuchs about him, that he had a mighty kindneſs for; one was his cup-bearer, another his ſteward, and a third waited upon him in his bed-chamber, over and above that, he made further uſe of them in matters of ſtate. Somebody had told *Herod* that *Alexander* had been tampering with theſe young men for a ſum of money to betray him. Upon this information, they were put to the torture to make them diſcover what communication had paſſed betwixt them. They acknowledged they had been together, but for any treaſonable deſign *Alexander* had upon the life of his father, they knew nothing of it. The tormentors being of *Antipater's* faction preſſed them ſtill harder and harder, till at laſt, in the intolerable anguiſh of their pains, they extorted this declaration from them:
" That *Alexander* hated his father mortal-
" ly, and did what he could to ſeduce them
" from their allegiance to him, as a prince
" that was now good for nothing, old and
" out

“ out of date, only he covered his decays “ the beſt he could with paint and artifice. “ Now if they would come over to him, it “ ſhould be his care,” he ſaid, “ to ſee them “ preferred in a very ſhort time; for the “ government was not only to deſcend to “ him in courſe, but matters were ſo laid, it “ was not in his father's power to diſappoint “ it: For over and above the prerogative of “ his title, every thing was ripe and ready “ for the putting of him into the poſſeſſion “ of his pretences. He had made a great “ party among the officers of the army,” he “ ſaid, “ and the king's friends, who were all “ reſolved to ſtand by him with their Lives “ and fortunes.” This confeſſion put *Herod* into a fit of rage and trembling, both at once; for there was contempt and menace in it; and in the diſtraction of an uncertainty how to behave himſelf for fear of an immediate ſurpriſe, he could not reſolve, upon the ſudden, whether to avoid the danger, or to encounter it. But the reſult at laſt was this, to manage his buſineſs by ſpies and informers, without the pomp of any public enquiries. Wherever he ſuſpected, he conſequently hated; and he ſuſpected thoſe too that did not deſerve it, as well as thoſe that did, for his own ſecurity depended upon it.

The court was at this time in ſuch a fright and conſternation, that many of the king's moſt intimate friends were baniſhed his palace and preſence, and thoſe in the firſt place that were generally reputed to have merited beſt at his hands; as *Andromachus* and *Gemellus* were turned off among the reſt. Theſe miniſters had ſerved the king both abroad and at home, in embaſſies and councils; the careful education of his ſons; and in places, in fine, of the greateſt confidence and truſt. He renounced *Andromachus* for the kindneſs *Alexander* ſhewed to his ſon *Demetrius*, and then he diſcarded *Gemellus* for the love he bare to *Alexander*; having been a kind of governor and tutor to him, as well as a companion in his travels to *Rome*.

The chief author of all this miſery was *Antipater*, who finding *Herod* fearful and ſuſpicions, inſinuated himſelf into his counſels, and applied to his humour; inculcating this Maxim to him as a ſtate maſter-piece, to make ſure of all thoſe that had it in their power to do him any miſchief. And this was the way that *Herod* went to work; he put all the confidents of *Alexander* to the queſtion, concerning treaſonous plots and commotions, who died upon the torture, having nothing to confeſs. But one faint-hearted wretch, that ſhrunk under the pain, declared that upon occaſion of people's commending *Alexander* for a goodly perſon of a man, an excellent markſman, and other laudable qualities, he heard him ſay divers times, that theſe natural advantages were rather miſfortunes to him than benefits; for his father bare him ſuch an envious hatred for them, that when they were walking together, he was fain to go ſtooping for fear of over-topping him: And ſo at the chace, he durſt not ſtrike the mark; for his father he knew could not endure to ſee him do any thing well, or to hear him well ſpoken of. Upon this pretended diſcovery, they reſpited the poor man's torment, and ſo he went on with his tale, how *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* entered into a conſpiracy once to take away their father's life, when he was abroad a hunting; and if they ſucceeded, *Alexander* was to fly to *Rome* to demand the ſucceſſion. There were certain letters alſo produced from him to his brother, complaining of his father for giving away two hundred talents a year in land to *Antipater*. *Herod* upon this fell into another raging fit againſt his ſon *Alexander*, and made him a priſoner; but nobody knowing for what, he could not think himſelf ſafe, without giving the world ſome better ſatisfaction in the reaſon of it: So that he put divers of *Alexander*'s confidents and friends of the beſt quality, firſt to torture, and afterwards to death, the better to colour the pretence of *Alexander*'s guilt; but they confeſſed nothing. While the palace was in uproar, and nothing to be ſeen or heard of in it but tumult, terror, and torments, a certain young man, that had been tortured beyond his ſtrength, told a ſtory how *Alexander* had written to ſome friends of his at *Rome*, to inform *Ceſar* that there was a conſpiracy againſt him, and that if he were but ſent for thither he could diſcover it, for that his father had abandoned the intereſt of *Rome*, to treat with *Mithridates*, the king of the *Parthians*; adding withal, that there was a poiſon in readineſs that he had gotten prepared at *Aſcalon*. This invention had ſuch credit with *Herod*, that he preſently ordered the ſtricteſt enquiry after the poiſon that could be made; but there was no ſuch thing to be found.

Alexander being oppreſſed with this calamity, he yet took courage, and becauſe he would more incite his father's diſpleaſure againſt him, he did not deny it: Perhaps meaning to make his father aſhamed of himſelf for giving credit ſo eaſily unto forged tales; or at leaſt, if he could not effect that, entangle all the court and him too in calamity and miſery: Which that he might the better do, he wrote four little pamphlets, and ſent them unto his father, telling him that it was needleſs to uſe any more torments, for indeed treaſon was really and truly intended againſt him, and that *Pheroras* and his moſt truſty friends were herein conſpirators: That in the night time *Salome* came ſecretly unto him, and, as it were, forced him to lie with her: And that all of them aimed at this mark, to have him made away, that ſo they might enjoy their wiſhed liberty. He accuſed *Ptolemeus* and *Sapinnius* of this conſpiracy, who were more faithful unto their king than all others: So that now theſe men, who before were moſt friendly one to another, began like mad men to rage one againſt the other, and puniſhment ſo haſtily purſued every one, that they had not time to ſpeak in their own defence, neither was their puniſhment deferred till their cauſe was tried; and the truth known; ſo that ſome were bound and impriſoned, others preſently put to death; others laughed in their ſleeves to ſee that day, yet diſcontented for that any delay was uſed for their puniſhment. So that the king's court was now greatly defaced with ſorrow and heavineſs, wherewith the uſual felicity thereof was deſtroyed.

Herod himſelf amidſt theſe calamities, could not but be weary of his life, who not daring to truſt himſelf in any body's hand, he was tormented with a daily and hourly fear of ſome untimely death that would befal him; and many times perſuaded himſelf that he did ſee his ſons before him with a drawn ſword ready to kill him; and this was his cogitation night and day, ſo that herewith he almoſt ran mad.

CHAP. XI.

Archelaus *moves* Herod *to be Friends with* Alexander. Pheroras *aſks* Herod's *Pardon, and all is well.*

WHILE *Herod* lay in this anguiſh and torment of thought, *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, reckoned it the part both of a father and of a friend, to do the beſt offices he could toward the ſetting of things right betwixt *Herod* and his daughter and ſon-in-law. Matters went very ill, he heard, and upon his arrival he found them rather worſe than he imagined; but he he thought it would not do well however to pick a downright quarrel with him for his temerity; ſo that inſtead of falling upon *Herod* himſelf, he laid the blame upon *Alexander*, "for the king," he ſaid, "had done nothing but what was honourable and juſt, and that for his part, he would tear the marriages to pieces, and never own *Glaphyra* again for his daughter, if he ſhould find that ſhe was privy to the plot, and did not diſcover it." This paſſionate pretence and zeal of *Archelaus* for the vindication of *Herod*, brought him, upon ſecond thoughts, to a more conſiderate ſenſe of what he had done, and by little and little to the ſoftneſs of a father again. In this merciful humour, the king, who before took any man for his enemy that gave *Alexander* a good word, fell now directly into tears to hear *Archelaus* ſpeak againſt him, begging of him that he would not break off the match, and tranſport himſelf to that degree for the folly of a young man. When the *Cappadocian* had now brought *Herod* into a more practicable temper, he palliated the miſtake as well as he could, by laying the fault in ſome meaſure upon evil counſel, and the company he kept. "He might be tractable, indeed," he ſaid, "but truly he never found him malicious. He might perhaps be miſled and corrupted;" and ſo by a ſide-wind he ſlaunted all the way upon *Pheroras*: Who was come by this time ſufficiently to underſtand how deſperately he had loſt himſelf in the opinion of *Herod*, and reflecting upon it that no man was ſo proper for him to make uſe of as *Archelaus*, he made his addreſs to him in mourning, and implored his interceſſion for him to the king. *Archelaus* told him, that *Herod*'s diſpleaſure was not ſo eaſily removed as he might imagine: But if he were to be his adviſer, he ſhould rather go and humble himſelf to his brother, and, owning himſelf the cauſe of all the calamities of the family, crave his pardon: Such a confeſſion might perhaps work upon him, and make way for a mediation. He followed the advice, and it ſucceeded both ways; for *Alexander*, beyond all expectation, was diſcharged of his pretended crime, and *Herod*, at the inſtance of *Archelaus*, reconciled to his brother. *Herod* was now ſo ſenſible of the obligations he had to *Archelaus* in his extremity, that he looked upon him as the beſt friend he had in the world; the other returning into *Cappadocia* charged with rich preſents, and no leſs ſatisfaction in the voyage. They were now agreed upon it that *Herod* ſhould go to *Rome* to inform *Ceſar* of the preſent ſtate of his family, having written formerly to him upon the ſubject. They went together to *Antioch*, where *Herod* reconciled *Titus* the governor of *Syria* to *Archelaus*, and ſo returned to *Judæa*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Herod *declares War againſt the* Arabians, *for protecting* Trachonites *Robbers.*

WHEN *Herod* had been at *Rome*, and was come back again, there broke out a war with the *Arabians*, upon this occaſion. The inhabitants of *Trachon* (a province that *Ceſar* took away from *Zenodorus*, and gave to *Herod*) when they could no longer exerciſe their old trade of free-booting, betook themſelves to planting and tillage, a courſe of life that yielded them neither ſatisfaction nor profit. But yet for a while, at firſt, *Herod* kept them in pretty good order; but upon the king's going into *Italy*, the *Trachonites* revolted, and betook themſelves to their former courſe of life; but they were quickly broken and ſuppreſſed by the king's troops, only forty of them made their eſcape and fled into *Arabia*, where *Syllæus* (who had not yet digeſted the refuſal of *Salome*) gave them entertainment, and a well fortified place for their habitation: From whence they infeſted *Judæa* and *Cœle Syria*, and carried away booty and cattle into their holes without oppoſition. When *Herod* found at his return from *Rome* what ſpoil the robbers had made, and that he was tied up from meddling with them ſo long as they were under the *Arabians* protection, he preſently made an incurſion into *Trachon*, where he put whole families of theſe people to the ſword. This tranſported the reſt into ſuch a rage, that in contempt of all danger and oppoſition, they would never let *Herod* be free from the vexation of their perpetual incurſions. Under theſe circumſtances he applied himſelf to *Cæſar*'s governors of thoſe provinces, *Saturnius* and *Volumnius*, to deliver up thoſe vagabonds into his hands. This complaint made them worſe; ſo that getting a thouſand of them into a body, they ranged up and down in parties, ravaging town and country, and killing whatever they could come at: So that, in fine, theſe encounters had the face rather of a war than of a ſcuffle; *Herod* inſiſting upon the delivery up of the thieves, and the repayment of the ſixty talents (ſome time ſince due) which *Herod* by the hands of *Syllæus* lent to *Obodas*. *Syllæus*, who had now uſurped the government of *Obodas* to himſelf, flatly denied any of the thieves to be in *Arabia*, and ſhuffled off the payment of the money till *Saturnius* and *Volumnius* ordered the full ſatisfaction of the debt, within the compaſs of thirty days; and that the fugitives ſhould be delivered up on both ſides. This article diſcovered the fraud of *Syllæus*, for there was not ſo much as one *Arabian* that took ſanctuary with *Herod*, but a world of the robbers were found with the *Arabians*.

CHAP. XIII.

Syllæus *will not perform what* Auguſtus's *Lieutenants had ordained, but goes to* Rome *to him.* Herod *enters into* Arabia *with an Army, and takes the Caſtle where the* Trachonites *were retired.*

WHEN the time came for the payment of the money, *Syllæus* would not ſtand to his agreement, but went his way to *Auguſtus.* *Herod* finding the *Arabians* falſe and ſtubborn, got leave of *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* to attempt the recovery of his right by force. Having obtained their permiſſion, he fell with an army into *Arabia.* Coming at laſt to the caſtle *Repta,* whither the robbers had withdrawn themſelves, he took it at the firſt attack, and then demoliſhed the fortifications, without doing any other damage to the inhabitants. *Nacebus,* the *Arabian* general, march'd away to the ſuccour of his party, and brought it to an encounter, where there were few or none of the *Herodians* loſt; five and twenty of the *Arabians,* together with their general, were ſlain upon the place, and the remainder of them ſcattered and put to flight.

The king having now taken his revenge upon the thieves, marched with three thouſand *Idumæans* into *Trachonitis,* to keep the rovers there within compaſs. *Herod* ſent a narrative of this proceeding to the *Roman* governors alſo in *Phœnicia,* giving them to underſtand, that he had done nothing without leave, in fighting with a party of rebellious *Arabians*; and this account, upon a further enquiry, the governors found to be true.

CHAP. XIV.

Syllæus *ſo incenſes* Auguſtus *againſt* Herod, *that he refuſes to give Audience to his Ambaſſadors, neither will he admit the* Arabian *Ambaſſadors.* Herod *ſends the third Ambaſſage to* Auguſtus.

THIS was the naked truth of the matter, but the *Arabians* report of it to *Syllæus* at *Rome* was quite another thing. *Syllæus* had already ſo far inſinuated himſelf, as to be perſonally known to *Ceſar*; and as he was walking before his palace, an expreſs

preſs brought him a packet, whereupon he carried the ſad ſtory to *Auguſtus*: How *Herod* had entered *Arabia* with an army, overturned the government, and totally ruined the country; killed two thouſand five hundred noble *Arabians* upon the place, with his friend and kinſman *Nacebus* their general among the reſt; pillaged *Repta* of a vaſt treaſure that was laid up there; and all this by the advantage he took of the weakneſs and neglect of *Obodas*, who had neither troops in readineſs to oppoſe him, nor a general that was fit to command in his abſence. This unlucky buſineſs made *Ceſar* very uneaſy, and put him upon enquiring from one to another among *Herod*'s friends as well as his own that lately came out of *Syria*, whether or no *Herod* had been any where out of his own juriſdiction. When he ſaw this could not be denied, he took all the reſt for granted, and without any more ado ſent away immediately a ſharp menacing letter to *Herod*, with a direction to this purpoſe: "Formerly to my friend, hereafter to my ſubject." *Syllæus* wrote alſo to the *Arabians* at the ſame time. When they came to find by theſe letters, that *Herod* was in diſgrace with *Ceſar*, they grew ſo inſolent that they would neither deliver up their malefactors, nor pay their debts. The *Trachonites* made the ſame advantage of this occaſion too, againſt *Herod*'s *Idumæan* garriſons, by joining with the *Arabian* ravagers. But *Herod*, having now loſt *Ceſar*, was forced to endure all this and more, for his courage as well as his credit failed him. He made two trials to acquit himſelf by his ambaſſadors of the charges againſt him, but *Ceſar* would not ſo much as ſee them the firſt time, nor take any notice of their buſineſs the next.

King *Obodas* being by this time dead, *Æneas* ſucceeded him, by the name of *Aretas*; *Syllæus* doing all that was to be done by calumnies, court-bribes, and large promiſes to *Auguſtus*, toward the diſpoſſeſſing of him again, and engroſſing the power to himſelf. The thing that encouraged him to this attempt was the diſguſt that *Ceſar* took to *Aretas*, for entering upon the adminiſtration without his privity and conſent. This new king complimented *Ceſar* by his ambaſſadors, with letters and magnificent preſents, among which was a crown of gold of prodigious value. Theſe letters were in ſubſtance a flat accuſation of *Syllæus* for poiſoning his maſter *Obodas*, after the uſurping of his authority in his life-time; for debauching the wives of the *Arabians*, and taking up vaſt ſums of money to make way to his pretenſions. But *Ceſar* denied theſe ambaſſadors audience as well as *Herod*'s, rejected their preſents, and ſent them away without their errands.

During this diſtemper, matters in *Judæa* and *Arabia* went every day worſe than other: A general confuſion, and nobody to compoſe it, one of the kings not being as yet eſtabliſhed in his government. and the other as little maſter of his people; for *Herod*'s condition was ſuch, that he could not defend himſelf without affronting *Auguſtus*; ſo that he lay under a kind of neceſſity of ſubmitting to all indignities. But being now brought to the laſt extremity, he took a final reſolution of making the beſt intereſt he could with *Ceſar* by his friends, and trying the fortune of a third embaſſy to *Rome*, employing *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus* upon the commiſſion, knowing him to be an able counſellor.

CHAP. XV.

Herod, by ſeveral Aſperſions, being more incenſed than ever againſt his Sons Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus, *cauſeth them to be impriſoned.* Auguſtus *is made ſenſible of* Syllæus's *Wickedneſs, condemns him to Die; and confirms* Aretas *in the Kingdom of* Arabia. Ceſar *is reconciled to* Herod, *and gives him authority for a new Trial of his Sons.*

HEROD's family was a houſe always divided againſt itſelf by inteſtine jealouſies, which are the plague of all courts, but the feud at this time ran much higher than ever, and it was upon this occaſion. There was one *Eurycles*, a *Lacedæmonian*, a man nobly born, but of a peſtilent diſpoſition, ſenſual and glorying to extremity, but ſo artificial a diſſembler that there was nothing to be ſeen in him of either. This *Eurycles* made an acquaintance with *Herod*, interchanged preſents and other good offices with him in the houſe of *Antipater*, and by that means became familiarly acquainted with *Alexander*; and he would be often ſaying what a wonderful friendſhip there was betwixt him and *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia* and how great an honour he had for *Glaphyra*. So that under the appearance of the moſt indifferent perſon in the world, he lay upon the watch for every thing that was ſaid or done, and never failed to pick up ſome ſtory or other to carry away with him. By this addreſs he gained ſo far upon the affection and eſteem of *Alexander*, that he made choice of him for the ſingle confident of all his ſecrets, and the only man that he could ſafely truſt. So he told him the whole ſtory of his misfortunes, the unkindneſs of his father, the death of his mother, and *Antipater*'s credit with the king. This oppreſſion, he ſaid, was not to be endured. Theſe privacies he thought were ſafe in the breaſt of a friend, but *Eurycles* carried every word that paſſed to *Antipater*, who took this from *Eurycles* as a ſingular inſtance of reſpect and friendſhip, and was prevailed upon to diſcourſe the matter with *Herod*. The king was ſo prepoſſed with a diſpoſition to believe any ill thing of *Alexander*, that he contracted a hatred more implacable than ever. *Herod*, in fine, made him a preſent of fifty talents for the generous office he had done him: and then away went *Eurycles* to *Archelaus* with a thouſand fine things of his ſon *Alexander*, and not forgetting the honour he had done himſelf upon ſeveral occaſions toward the ſetting of matters right betwixt him and his father. By this means he got money of *Archelaus* too, and carried it all off before the myſtery of this impoſture was detected. *Eurycles* was now gone back into his own country, where he kept to his old trade ſtill, till he was brought to juſtice upon the diſcovery, and baniſhed *Lacedæmon*.

The young princes fell at this time into the moſt deſperate calamity that had yet betided them. There were two perſons, by name *Jucundus* and *Tyrannus*, formerly of *Herod*'s life-guard, and men of mighty credit with him for ſtrength and ſtature, but for ſomewhat or other they had done were baniſhed the court. *Alexander* knowing theſe men to be very brave, took them into the guard of his perſon. The king upon this had them put to the torture about the conſpiracy, and after they had held out as long as fleſh and blood could live under the torments, they yielded in the end to this confeſſion: That they had been ſolicited by *Alexander* to take an opportunity of killing the king ſome time or other when he was a hunting, which might eaſily be ſhifted off, under the colour of a fall from his horſe upon his own arms, eſpecially having narrowly eſcaped ſuch a danger once before. They made a farther diſcovery of money hid in the ſtable, and ſome of the king's lances and darts delivered out by the maſter of the game, to the ſervants of *Alexander*, by his own order.

The next man they put to the torture was the governor of *Alexandrion*, upon the queſtion of promiſing to receive the brothers into the caſtle, and of putting into their hands the king's treaſure that was there depoſited. The governor denied the charge, but his ſon declared it, and produced letters under *Alexander*'s hand, as he pretended, to this effect: "You ſhall be ſure to hear of "us, God willing, as ſoon as ever we are "ready for you, wherefore remember to "take us into the caſtle according to your "promiſe." After theſe letters *Herod* made no longer any doubt of the conſpiracy, but *Alexander* inſiſted upon the whole ſtory to be only a contrivance of *Antipater*'s, and a forgery of the ſecretary *Diophantus*, a man famous for ſuch exploits.

Herod being now at *Jericho*, after the tormenting of the witneſſes, had them brought thither to accuſe his ſons before the people; where the multitude ſtoned them to death, and would have done the ſame by *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, if *Herod*, by the means of *Ptolemy* and *Pheroras*, had not prevented it. They were however committed cloſe priſoners, ſpies ſet upon them to obſerve every thing they did or ſaid, and given over for dead men by every body elſe, as well as by themſelves.

In this extremity *Ariſtobulus* bethought himſelf of trying if he could work *Salome* his aunt and mother-in-law into ſome commiſeration of his diſtreſs, and to a juſt indignation for the author of it. "Madam," ſays he, "can you think yourſelf ſafe un"der an accuſation of holding a private in"telligence with *Syllæus* about the king's "affairs in hope of marrying him?" *Salome* carried this to her brother, who in a rage forthwith commanded his ſons to be both bound, and laid apart one from another, and there to ſet down ſeverally in writing the particulars of their treaſonous deſign. They wrote as they were ordered, and both agreed in the ſame ſtory, that they were in no conſpiracy at all, and never ſo much as thought of any. They had ſome thoughts indeed of making an eſcape, they ſaid, for the life they led under perpetual jealouſies was worſe than death.

There came at this time upon an embaſſy to *Herod* from *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, one *Mela*, a perſon of eminent quality in that country. *Herod* was ſo fond of giving *Archelaus* to underſtand how ill he took ſomething at his hands, that he ſent for *Alexander* out of the priſon, and examined him over again in the preſence of *Mela* about his eſcape, whither he intended to go, and what he meant to do with himſelf. His anſwer was, that he propoſed to go to *Archelaus*, his father-in-law, upon his promiſe to convey him to *Rome*: "And "this is all," ſays he, "that ever we were "guilty of toward our father, whatever "may be pretended to the contrary by theſe "knights of the poſt.*"

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* Abandoned villains, who for a ſmall reward will ſwear any thing to be truth before a magiſtrate, or in a court of judicature, tho' it is really falſe, or they know nothing about it: And, to the diſgrace of humanity, ſuch wretches at this time every where abound.

Herod, in this very inſtant, ordered *Alexander* and *Mela* to be carried to *Glaphyra*, and to have her queſtion'd what ſhe knew of this abominable treaſon againſt *Herod*. They were no ſooner come within view of the princeſs, but upon the firſt ſight of her huſband in chains, ſhe fell to tearing of her hair, with other violences upon herſelf, that the people ſtood as if they were ſtruck dumb, without knowing what they did, or what they came for: But at length *Ptolemy*, who had the charge of the prince, put it to him to know whether or no his wife was concerned in his plot. “ Why you need “ never doubt that,” ſays *Alexander*, “ for “ wherever I am ſhe is; a woman as dear “ to me as my life and ſoul, and the beſt “ wife, and the beſt mother, both in one, “ upon the face of the earth.” “ No, no,” ſays the princeſs, “ my conſcience acquits “ me, but yet if my owning a guilt might “ be any eaſe to my huſband, I would “ frankly declare it, though I were ſure to “ die with that lie in my mouth.” “ No, “ no,” ſays *Alexander*, “ we are guilty of “ nothing that's charged upon us, and we “ have deſerved better things at their hands “ too that ſuſpect us. As to the thought “ we had of getting away to our father, and “ thence to *Rome*, if that be treaſon, we “ are both to anſwer for it:” And *Glaphyra* confeſſed as much. There was matter enough againſt *Archelaus* in this paſſage, for a jealous head to work upon; and *Herod* preſently ſent away *Olympus* and *Volumnius* with letters to him, with orders to call at *Eleuſa*, a city of *Phœnicia*, and there to deliver them. They had farther inſtructions alſo to expoſtulate with him, upon a ſtrong preſumption of his being engaged with his ſons in the confederacy. Their orders were, after the delivery of theſe letters, to ſail forward for *Rome*, and in caſe they ſhould find by *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus* that *Ceſar* was any thing more tractable now than formerly, they were to preſent another expreſs to him with the proceedings againſt *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, and copies of the evidence whereupon they were convicted. *Archelaus*, in his anſwer owned his willingneſs indeed to receive the young men, and that he undertook it as the beſt ſervice he could do both the father and ſons, for he was in truth afraid leſt *Herod*, in that violent heat of wrath and jealouſy, might put them to extremities: But affirming, at the ſame time, that he had no thought, after all, either of ſending them to *Ceſar*, or of ſupporting them againſt their father.

Olympus and *Volumnius*, upon their coming to *Rome*, finding *Ceſar* reconciled to *Herod*, delivered their letters according to their order. They were framed by the addreſs of *Nicolaus*, who managed his commiſſion after this manner. As ſoon as ever he came to *Rome*, and to the emperor's palace, beſides the inſtructions he had in charge, he drew up a formal accuſation againſt *Syllæus*, having gotten unqueſtionable proofs upon him from the *Arabians* themſelves, (who were then miſerably divided) of the moſt flagitious practices that could be imagined; among which was the murder of *Obodas*, and a great part of his family; his refuſing to pay the five hundred talents which *Herod* had lent him, which obliged *Herod* to recover it by arms, and was the only reaſon of his going into *Arabia*. *Nicolaus* added, that *Judæa* being invaded by a band of *Arabians*, *Herod* attacked and defeated them, killing their general, *Nacebus*, and twenty five of his people, which number *Syllæus* had enlarged to two thouſand five hundred men.

Ceſar was ſo moved at this relation, that turning toward *Syllæus*, he aſked him with a fierce and angry countenance how many *Arabians* were ſlain in that action? He confeſſed himſelf ſomewhat miſtaken in the number, and *Auguſtus* being fully informed in the whole matter, paſſed ſentence of death upon him, and took *Herod* into favour again, telling *Syllæus*, that nothing but the audacious impudence of his lies and ſlanders could ever have tranſported him out of a reſpect for his friends. In fine, *Syllæus* was ordered back into *Arabia*, there to pay his debts, and after that to be put to death.

As for *Aretas*, his preſuming to uſurp royal authority, without the emperor's leave and conſent, ſtuck in *Ceſar's* ſtomach ſtill: Inſomuch that he was thinking to transfer the government of that province to *Herod*; but upon reading the letters which *Olympus* and *Volumnius* brought him, all full of invective and bitterneſs againſt his own ſons, *Ceſar* changed his purpoſe. Now their inſtructions were, in caſe they found *Ceſar* pacified, to deliver thoſe letters, which they accordingly did; and *Ceſar*, upon reading of them, conſidering his age, paſſion, and misfortunes, retracted his reſolution, and thereupon called for the ambaſſadors of *Aretas*, and gave them audience, with a check for the temerity of their maſter in aſſuming ſovereign power to himſelf upon his own account, and after this preface, to their great admiration, he accepted of their preſents, and confirmed *Aretas* in his authority and kingly ſtate.

Ceſar, upon this reconciliation, wrote *Herod* a condoling letter for the mortification he had in two ſuch ſons, giving him free leave and power to proceed againſt them as parricides, if he found them engaged in ſo unnatural and impious a conſpiracy, but if there ſhould be no more in it at laſt than the bare contrivance of an eſcape, it would become him to content himſelf with ſome more moderate puniſhment. The advice he gave him upon the whole, was to call a council at *Berytus*, a place where there were a great many *Romans*, and there with the aſſiſtance of the governors of the neighbouring provinces, together with *Archelaus*, the king of *Coppadocia*, and men of quality, to hear and determine upon the whole matter, and to bring the point to a final deciſion.

CHAP. XVI.

Herod *ſummons a Convention to* Berytus, *where he accuſes his Sons* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus. *The Judges paſs Sentence againſt them.* Tyro *expoſtulates with great boldneſs with the King, for which he is Impriſoned: He is Slain, with three hundred Captains.* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus *ſtrangled at* Sebaſte.

HEROD, upon the receipt of this letter, ſent a ſummons to all the members of the convention that were to meet at *Berytus*, according to *Ceſar's* appointment, ſave only to *Archelaus*. When they were all together, he would not bring his ſons up to the council, but rather kept them a little way off at *Platane*, a village in *Sidon*, within diſtance of appearing if they ſhould be called. The aſſembly being now met, *Herod* advanced into the council chamber alone, and there delivered an accuſation againſt his ſons, in the preſence of a hundred and fifty perſons. It was a charge of rage and bitterneſs, that very ill became the mouth of a father, and accompanied with words, countenance, and behaviour, that were all menacing and violent, and not without ſome ſuſpicious ſymptoms even of a furious madneſs. No proofs produced for the guiding of the court, only there were ſome letters of the young princes read, but not one ſyllable of treachery or malice in them. The crime was their conſulting how to get away, and here and there a word in them that imported ſome diſſatisfaction and offence. And when *Herod* came to that part of the letters, how did he exaggerate the matter with clamours and outcries that there never was a clearer proof of a conſpiracy, backing thoſe exclamations alſo with oaths that the very words were worſe to him than death.

The convention perceived, by the brothers not being ſuffered ſo much as to ſpeak for themſelves, that the buſineſs was already reſolved upon, and ſo in a deſpondency they gave their votes that *Herod* might diſpoſe of his children as he pleaſed. The firſt man that ſtood up was *Saturninus*, a perſon of conſular authority, and one that had diſcharged many honourable commiſſions. He was for puniſhing the priſoners, but not with death, he ſaid; for having children of his own he was the more ſenſible of the caſe, and was loth, after ſo many calamities that *Herod* had endured already, to oppreſs him with the heavieſt of all at laſt. His three ſons (as his deputies) ſpoke next in courſe, and went along in opinion with their father: But *Volumnius* exclaimed that nothing elſe but death would ſatisfy for ſo horrid a crime, and the majority agreeing with him, carried the queſtion.

The ſentence was no ſooner paſſed but *Herod* went away to *Tyre*, taking his ſons along with him, and meeting *Nicolaus* in his return from *Rome*, he firſt gave him an account of what had paſſed at *Berytus*, and then aſked him how affairs went at *Rome*, and what his friends there ſaid of his ſons. *Nicolaus* told him that every body blamed them for their lewd practices, and ſaid they deſerved to be laid in chains for what they had done, nay, and to be put to death too, if the conſpiracy ſhould be made out unqueſtionably clear againſt them: But however, if *Herod* found himſelf otherwiſe diſpoſed, he might do well to ſet them at liberty, without plunging himſelf into a difficulty never to be recalled. *Herod*, upon theſe words, ſtood a good while pauſing and thoughtful, without ſpeaking one word; and in the end bid *Nicolaus* put to ſea with him, and ſo they went together to *Ceſarea*. When they came thither they found the whole town full of the ſtory of *Herod* and and his ſons, and every body in pain to think where that proſecution would end. They heartily pitied them, but durſt not ſay ſo. Only there was one *Tyro*, a veteran ſoldier, and a very brave fellow, who marched up boldly to the king himſelf, with a requeſt to have a little private diſcourſe with him, which being granted, he delivered himſelf as follows:

" Sir," ſays he, " I muſt either break " my heart, or give it vent, at what rate " ſoever; for I know the danger of the pro- " vince I am to undertake, and of the " words I am now about to utter: Danger, " I ſay, as to myſelf; but on the other " hand of as great ſervice and advantage to " *Herod*, if he pleaſes. Pray give me leave " to enquire, Sir, what is become of your " ſenſe of things and your underſtanding; " that magnanimity of mind and reſolution, " that in time paſt hath carried you through " ſo many difficulties? What have you " done with all your friends and relations? " Have you none left? For I do not reckon " thoſe people in that number that can ſee " ſuch horrid things done in your once hap- " py court and family, and ſtand idle ſpec- " tators and unconcerned? Where are your " own eyes all this while? Do you not ſee " what is a doing? Are you reſolved then " to deſtroy the children of once ſo dear a " wife, and a pair of ſuch matchleſs, hope- " ful youths too? Can you think at this " time of day of truſting yourſelf in the " hands of an ambitious young man, and of " thoſe very perſons of your relations that " you yourſelf have ſo often doomed to " puniſhment? Do you not find yourſelf ta- " citly condemned, and your ſons lamented

" by the very multitude in the profound ſi-
" lence and aſtoniſhment of the people?
" And ſo for the military men, both offi-
" cers and common ſoldiers, they have all
" aching hearts for the young princes, and
" curſe the authors of their miſery."

So far as *Tyro*'s diſcourſe ran upon the ſubject of his maſter's calamity, and the treachery of his domeſtics, *Herod* took his liberty well enough, but when he came to paſs the bounds of diſcretion and good manners, in a bold, blunt, monitory way of expoſtulation, this freedom ſeemed rather like a reproach than a caution, and *Herod* taking it ſo aſked him who thoſe officers or ſoldiers were that he ſpoke of: *Tyro* named the men, and the king immediately ordered them all, together with *Tyro* himſelf, to be taken up and committed.

Upon this occaſion *Tryphon*, the king's barber, went to *Herod* with an information againſt *Tyro*, for tempting him ſeveral times with promiſes of money and *Alexander*'s favour to cut the king's throat when he was ſhaving him. Theſe words were no ſooner out than the barber, *Tyro* and his ſon were all put to the torture. The ſon ſeeing his father unmercifully tormented, and reſolute in his pains, without hope of mitigation from ſo cruel a prince, called out to the tormentors to take him and his father off, and he would tell them the whole truth of the matter: So upon promiſe of eaſe he declared that his father having private acceſs to *Herod* by himſelf, had reſolved to kill him with his own hand, what riſk ſoever he ran for the ſervice of *Alexander*. Upon this declaration his father was delivered from that lingering torture; but whether this confeſſion was a truth, or only a pretended ſhift to get preſent eaſe, it does not as yet appear.

Herod was now finally reſolved to proceed to the execution of his purpoſe, without any further doubt or deliberation about it, (if ever he had made any difficulty of it before) and to leave no place for repentance. So that calling the people together, there were brought forth three hundred captains, *Tyro* and his ſon, and the evidence barber, and upon his accuſation of them to the multitude, the rabble tore them all to pieces to a man: But *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* were ſent away to *Sebaſte*, where they were ſtrangled by their father's order, and their bodies depoſited at *Alexandrion* in a ſepulchre with their grandfather by their mother's ſide, and divers others of their progenitors.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK XVII.

From the Year of the World 3961, to 3973.

CHAP. I.

Antipater *endeavours to haſten his Father's death, that he may reign in his place.* Herod's *Children by his nine Wives.*

A*NTIPATER* had now made a large ſtep toward the compaſſing of his impious deſign upon the life of his father, in the abominable murder of his brothers; but he had yet a greater difficulty to encounter, before he could gain his point, that is to ſay, the mortal hatred of the people, and (what he dreaded more than all the reſt) that of the ſoldiery, the only ſafeguard and ſupport of princes againſt factions and tumults. Theſe miſchiefs he drew upon his own head, by the deſtruction of the princes, for if the exerciſe of power would have tempted him, it was effectually *Antipater* that governed at that time, though *Herod* ſat upon the throne, and every thing was committed to his management: Nay, the very crime that he deſerved to die for paſſed for an inſtance of his affection and reſpect, as if he had only conſulted the ſafety and preſervation of the king in the death of the princes, whereas he gratified his averſion to the father in what he did, as well as to the ſons. He looked upon the government as his own, 'tis true, after the death of *Herod*, but then delays he thought might be hazardous, wherefore he ſpared no coſt or pains to gain the good-will of his father's friends, thoſe at *Rome* eſpecially, and in the firſt place *Saturninus* the governor of *Syria*, with his brother. He was not without hope neither of bringing over *Salome* to his intereſt. Now *Antipater* was a man of addreſs, and none better ſkilled perhaps in the ways and arts of obliging: But *Salome* his aunt, who ſaw thorough him all this while, was not to be impoſed upon, and countermining him with trick for trick, kept a watchful eye upon him through all his diſguiſes, though he had ſo ordered it that her daughter, the widow of *Ariſtobulus*, was married to his uncle by the mother's ſide, and the other daughter to *Callæas*. But neither the one affinity nor the other was ſufficient, either to cover the wickedneſs of his intent, or to extinguiſh the odium he had moſt juſtly incurred. *Salome* herſelf was all this while in love with *Syllæus*, but *Herod*, with the aſſiſtance of the empreſs *Julia*, put her upon marrying *Alexas*. *Salome* could not ſay but it was wholſome counſel, and ſo yielded to the match.

Herod, at the ſame time, ſent away *Glaphyra*, the widow of his ſon *Alexander*, and the daughter of *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, back to her father again, together with the portion he had with her, and took great care for the education of his grand-children. *Alexander* had two ſons by *Glaphyra*; and *Ariſtobulus*, by *Berenice* the daughter of *Salome*, had three ſons and two daughters. *Herod* ſometimes ſpoke kindly of theſe children to his friends, deploring the misfortune of his ſons, and putting up ejaculations to God, to preſerve their children from the like calamity. He deſigned the daughter of his brother *Pheroras* for wife to the eldeſt ſon of *Alexander*, and the daughter of *Antipater* to the eldeſt ſon of *Ariſtobulus*; to the ſon of *Antipater* one of *Ariſtobulus*'s daughters, and the other daughter to his ſon *Herod* that he had by the daughter of the high-prieſt, for polygamy is among us allowable. The principal deſign the king had in theſe alliances was in pity to the orphans, to oblige *Antipater* by this affinity to treat them with the greater tenderneſs. But the more the king favoured them the more *Antipater* hated them, for fear of an after-game, when they ſhould come to ſet up for themſelves, eſpecially with the aſſiſtance of *Archelaus* and *Pheroras* the tetrarch, whoſe ſon at that time ſtood fair to marry one of the daughters. It was another vexation to to him, to ſee the compaſſion the people had for the caſe and memory of the unfortunate princes, and with what deteſtation they looked upon the contrivers of their ruin; waiting for an opportunity of expoſing *Antipater* for his malicious practices againſt his brethren. And it vexed him to the ſoul again to think how fair his nephews ſtood to put in for ſhare in the government, and no way to ſecure himſelf but by prevailing with *Herod* to diſſolve the aforeſaid contracts, which, with much importunity, he obtained, and got the promiſe of the daughter of *Ariſtobulus* for himſelf, and for his ſon the daughter of *Pheroras*, whereupon the former marriage agreements were all made void.

Herod had now nine wives; the firſt was the mother of *Antipater*: the ſecond the daughter of *Simon* the high-prieſt, by whom he had a ſon, whom he called by his own name: the third was the daughter of his brother, and the fourth his couſin-german, by which two he had no iſſue: the fifth a *Samaritan*, by whom he had two ſons, *Antipas* and *Archelaus*, and one daughter called *Olympias*, who was afterwards married to *Joſeph* the king's kinſman; *Archelaus* and *Antipas* were brought up at *Rome* by a particular friend: his ſixth wife was *Cleopatra* of *Jeruſalem*, by whom he had *Herod* and *Philip*, which *Philip* was alſo bred up at *Rome*: the name of his ſeventh wife was *Ballas*, by whom he had *Phaſael*: his eighth was *Phædra*: and the ninth *Elpis*, by whom he had two daughters, *Roxana* and *Salome*. As to his two daughters, the ſiſters of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, by *Mariamne*, (thoſe that *Pheroras* refuſed in marriage) he married one of them to *Antipater*, the ſon of his ſiſter *Salome*; and the other (as we have ſaid already) to the ſon of his brother *Phaſael*.

CHAP. II.

Zamaris, *a* Jew, *plants in* Syria. Herod *ſecures the* Jews *in their Profeſſion and Liberties.*

HEROD was now at work to make all ſafe againſt the *Trachonites*, and to that end he reſolved upon the building of a ſpacious village in the middle of the country, and placing a ſtrong garriſon in it, to ſerve to ſecure that quarter from inroads, and upon any occaſion to ſally out upon the enemy. While *Herod* had this project in his head, ſomebody happened to tell him of a certain *Jew* that came out of *Babylon* with five hundred horſemen, with bows and arrows, and near a fifth part of them of his own relations, and that with theſe troops he paſſed the *Euphrates* to plant himſelf about *Daphne in Syria*, where *Saturninus* the governor gave him a caſtle called *Valatha*, not far from *Antioch*, for his habitation. *Herod*, upon this intelligence, ſent an invitation to the *Jew* and all his people to come over to him, with a promiſe of lands, and other conveniences in the territory of *Batanæa*, upon the borders of *Trachonitis*, with privileges of exemption from all duties and tributes for the lands as well as for the men, and a commiſſion only to defend that quarter againſt the incurſions of vagabonds and robbers. *Zamaris* the *Babylonian* accepted the offer, and built forts upon the ground that was allotted him, together with a town that he called by the name of *Bathyra*, and in this poſt he did not only protect the inhabitants againſt the free-booters, but ſecured the *Jews* alſo in their proceſſions from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem*, according to the duty and practice of their profeſſion.

Upon this proviſion there joined with him vaſt numbers of ſuch of the *Jews* as made a conſcience of the laws and religion of their forefathers, peopling the country to admiration for the ſake of the advantages and immunities above-mentioned, which they enjoyed quietly, and without any controverſy, during *Herod*'s reign: But *Philip*, his ſucceſſor, charged them with ſome ſmall impoſitions, but they did not laſt long. As for *Zamaris*, after a long and virtuous life, he left children behind him that inherited the honourable qualities of their father. And among others, there was *Jacymus*, a cavalier, than whom no man was braver; and one that had ſerved the kings of *Babylon* in their guards. This *Jacymus* died at a great age, and left behind him a ſon, *Philip*, who for his exemplary valour and probity was in ſuch eſteem with king *Agrippa*, that he made him general of his army.

CHAP. III.

The Government lodged in Antipater. *A Conſpiracy.* Bagoas *and other* Phariſees *put to death.*

WHILE *Herod's* affairs were in this poſture, and himſelf poſſeſſed with ſuch a confidence of the faith, zeal, and affection of his ſon, the menage and authority of the whole government was effectually with *Antipater*, which truſt, however, he did moſt abominably abuſe; but daubing over the foulneſs of his hypocriſy with ſuch ſpecious and artificial pretences, that all paſſed with his father for truth and good faith. But none ſo great in appearance as he and *Pheroras*; the latter being circumvented, and drawn into the ſnare by the women that were in the faction with the other. For *Pheroras* durſt not diſoblige either his wife, his mother-in-law, or his ſiſter; though in his heart he hated them all mortally, for the indignities they had put upon his virgin daughters. But theſe were not things to break upon, with people in ſo many dangerous ſecrets: Beſide that *Antipater* was inward with them to the higheſt degree, both upon his own account, and his mother's, for theſe four women were all of a piece. But *Pheroras* and *Antipater* would be peeviſh one with another yet for trifles: That is to ſay, at the inſtigation of *Salome* that blew the coal betwixt them, and was ſo particularly informed in the whole train of the deſign from end to end, that ſhe was juſt upon the brink of diſcovering the conſpiracy to *Herod* himſelf. Now the complices finding their cabals watched, they came to a reſolution not to meet publickly for the time to come, but to be talking one againſt another ſtill; eſpecially when either *Herod* himſelf, or any body elſe that would be ſure to tell him again, was in hearing: But for the league and confidence, that was to go on ſtill in private. Now *Salome* ſaw thorough the juggle, and ſtill as ſhe picked up any thing to enflame the miſunderſtanding, away ſhe went with it to her brother, who by this time, had gotten ſome inkling of the matter; but kept his thoughts to himſelf awhile, without taking all for granted that his ſiſter told him, whom he knew to be ill-natured enough to make the worſt of every thing.

This ſet of women were mightily devoted to the *Phariſees*; an arrogant crafty ſort of men, that in the pride and vanity of their hearts make no conſcience of affronting kings, and trampling royal authority under their feet. As for inſtance: When the whole nation of the *Jews* were called upon to ſwear allegiance to the king and to *Ceſar*, theſe were the only refuſers, to the number of above ſeven thouſand: And being condemned afterwards in a ſum of money for this refuſal, the wife of *Pheroas* laid down the fine. Theſe people having gotten to themſelves the reputation of the ſpirit of prophecy, gave it out in requital for the good office of paying the fine, that God had determined the transferring of the kingdom from *Herod* and his line, to the princeſs, and her huſband *Pheroras*, and their iſſue. Upon a ſtrict enquiry, there were ſeveral of the *Phariſcees* taken up, and put to death as the principal authors of this ſeditious preſage; and among others there was *Bagoas* the eunuch, and *Herod*'s minion, *Carus;* a youth that he doated upon for the charms of his perſon and beauty: Beſide ſeveral others in his own family that were convicted of the conſpiracy, upon the proof and teſtimony of the *Phariſees* themſelves.

Soon after the trial, conviction, and execution of the *Phariſees, Herod* called a council of his friends, and exhibited an accuſation againſt the wiſe of *Pheroras,* alledging, that it was by her counſel and advice that his brother ſo contemptuouſly rejected the tender of the royal virgins to him in marriage, and that ſhe had, moſt unnaturally and againſt all law, fomented a feud betwixt brethren to the uttermoſt of her power: That ſhe had ſided with the rebellious *Phariſees,* in eaſing them of the fine that he himſelf had impoſed upon them: And in ſhort, that ſhe was guilty, more or leſs, of the whole conſpiracy. And therefore *Pheroras* ſhould do well, he thought, to caſt off that lewd woman of himſelf, that had done ſuch diabolical offices betwixt ſo near relations: Eſpecially conſidering the caſe now come to this point, that either *Pheroras* muſt diſown that woman for his wife, or never expect to be owned by *Herod* for his brother.

Theſe paſſionate expreſſions of *Herod* could not but touch *Pheroras* to the quick; but yet he made a public proteſtation that nothing in the world ſhould ever make him renounce his dear wife, and that he would rather die than live without her. *Herod* ſufficiently reſented this indignity; but only forbid *Antipater* and his mother any communication with *Pheroras,* and barred the court ladies the freedom of their uſual converſations. They all promiſed that they would obſerve the king's orders, but neverthel'eſs kept up by ſtealth their private entertainments; *Pheroras* and *Antipater* eſpecially.

CHAP. IV.

Antipater *gets himſelf ſent for to* Rome. Syllæus *charged with Treaſon.* Pheroras's *Death.*

ANTIPATER began now to be uneaſy under the ill humour and jealouſy of *Herod;* and not knowing where it might fall next, he wrote to his friends at *Rome,* to get him ſent for in all haſte to wait upon *Auguſtus.* This was done, and *Herod* ſent away *Antipater* with rich preſents, with his laſt will and teſtament; wherein he declared *Antipater* his ſucceſſor; or in caſe of his deceaſe, his ſon *Herod* that he had by the daughter of the high-prieſt.

At the ſame time *Syllæus* the *Arabian* went alſo to *Rome,* not having performed, it ſeems, what *Ceſar* had ordered him. *Antipater* charged him there before *Auguſtus,* in like manner as *Nicolaus* had done before. *Aretas* accuſed him alſo, for having put ſeveral men of honour to death at *Petra,* contrary to his Will and order, and among others *Sohemus,* a man upon all accounts eminent for his virtue: And ſo likewiſe *Fabatas,* a ſervant of *Ceſar*'s.

When *Herod* ſaw that *Pheroras* ſtood ſo firm to the tenderneſs he had for his wife he ſent him back to his government, and away he went very willingly, with an oath never to return again during the life of *Herod*, and he was as good as his word, for the king ſoon after falling ſick, and he being called upon to give him a viſit, and receive ſome ſecret orders from him before he died, *Pheroras* excuſed himſelf that he was under an oath, and durſt not break it; but *Herod* loved his brother ſtill as well as ever he did; and not following his example, *Pheroras* himſelf falling ſick ſoon after, *Herod*, of his own accord, made him a viſit. Thi diſorder carried him off, and the king took order for the tranſporting of his body to *Jeruſalem*, where it was honourably interred. This calamity was the forerunner of great miſchiefs to *Antipater*, though at preſent at *Rome*; for divine juſtice called him afterward to an account for the blood of his brothers, of which I will diſcourſe, that it may ſerve for an example to many kings, how they ought to practiſe and follow virtue in all their actions.

CHAP. V.

Pheroras's *Wife is accuſed, and* Herod *is advertiſed of* Antipater's *Conſpiracy.*

PHERORAS being now dead, two of his *Trachonite* freemen that he loved extremely were very earneſt with *Herod* for a ſtrict enquiry to be made how their maſter came to that miſerable end. They informed *Herod* that the night their maſter was taken ill he ſupped with his wife, where he had an odd kind of mingled drink given him that ſtruck him to the heart upon the very taking of it down. This was brought him by an *Arabian* woman under the name of a love potion, but in truth a mortal poiſon, as the women of that country are the beſt at it in the world; and ſhe that was charged with this fact was eſteemed a great friend and favourer of *Syllæus*'s miſtreſs. That the mother and ſiſter of *Pheroras*'s wife went into thoſe quarters on purpoſe to buy that poiſon, and returned back and brought this woman with them the day before the adminiſtring of this deadly draught. The king was ſo tranſported upon hearing of this ſtory, that he preſently ordered ſeveral of the women to be put to the torture, free as well as ſlaves. They were mute a long time, but one of them at laſt, in the horror of her pain, burſt out into this exclamation. "Ah!" ſays ſhe, "that the mother of *Antipater* were in my place now, for that "lewd woman has been the cauſe of all "our miſery." This diſcovery put *Herod* upon a reſolution to extort out of them every particular of the intrigue, which they unravelled from point to point, and every thing appearing to *Herod* conſonant to what his ſiſter had formerly told him, *Doris* the mother of *Antipater* was as good as convicted of a moſt malicious part of the treaſon, and immediately ſtripped of all her jewels, and expelled the palace: But the king was gentler to the women of *Pheroras*'s family, for the ſake of the information. There was matter abundantly againſt *Antipater*, but the moſt provoking article of his accuſation was drawn from the confeſſion of *Antipater* the *Samaritan*, (an officer under the other *Antipater*) who declared that his maſter had put a mortal poiſon into the hands of *Pheroras* for the king to take in his abſence, when the work might be done with the leſs ſuſpicion. This poiſon, he ſaid, was brought out of *Egypt* by *Antiphilius* a friend of *Antipater*, whoſe uncle *Theudion*, the brother of his mother *Doris*, ſent it to *Pheroras*, who gave it to his wife to keep. *Herod*, upon this, took the woman into examination, who confeſſed ſhe had it, and making a ſhew as if ſhe went to fetch it, ſhe caſt herſelf down from one of the palace galleries into the court, but falling upon her feet ſhe received no mortal injury. When ſhe came to herſelf again, the king promiſed both her and her family their pardon, upon condition that they declared the whole truth, with menaces of the utmoſt rigour of torments, if either by obſtinacy or otherwiſe they ſhould conceal any part of the deſign. Upon this *Pheroras*'s widow bound herſelf by a ſolemn oath to tell the whole matter of fact without any reſerve, and moſt people were of opinion that ſhe dealt clearly in her ſtory. "That poyſon," ſays ſhe, "was brought by *Antiphilius* out of *Egypt*, and prepared by a brother of his that was a phyſician there. *Antipater* bought it for the deſign againſt your majeſty. *Theudion* brought it to *Pheroras*, who delivered it to me. My huſband afterward falling ſick, had ſo pious and paſſionate a ſenſe of your generous friendſhip, in the charitable viſit you were pleaſed to make him, that he called me to him, and ſaid to me thus: 'Wife, *Antipater* has inveigled me into a moſt unnatural plot for the poiſoning my brother, who is his own father; ſo that in the ſenſe of the ſteadineſs of the king's affection to me, and of my own condition as a dying man, I am reſolved, God willing, never to carry into another world with me the guilt and infamy of ſo baſe a conſpiracy; wherefore let the poiſon be immediately brought up and thrown into the fire before my face:' Upon which words," ſays ſhe, "I brought it preſently and threw it into the fire as he had ordered me; ſaving only a ſmall remainder of it that I kept for my own uſe, in caſe it ſhould be my lot after the death of my huſband to be put to extremities myſelf." With theſe words ſhe took out the poiſon that was left, with the box it was in, and produced them both in court.

In the next place the mother of *Antiphilius* and another brother of his were both put to the queſtion, and confirmed the ſame thing over again, with evidence to the very box itſelf. There was an accuſation exhibited againſt one of the king's wives, the daughter of the high-prieſt, but they got nothing out of her: *Herod* however caſt her off, and ſtruck her ſon of his own name out of his will, whom he deſigned his ſucceſſor, if *Antipater* had died before him. He depoſed *Simon* alſo, his father-in-law, and the ſon of *Boethus*, from the pontificate, and promoted *Matthias* of *Jeruſalem*, the ſon of *Theophilus*, in his ſtead.

In this interim *Bathyllus*, one of *Antipater*'s freemen, came from *Rome*, and being put to the torture confeſſed that he brought poiſon for *Antipater*'s mother and *Pheroras*, with an intent that if one failed they might try the other. There came at the ſame time certain letters from *Rome* to *Herod*, of *Antipater*'s direction and contrivance, which inſiſted much upon the liberties that *Archelaus* and *Philip* took at every turn, to talk ſo ſcandalouſly of *Herod* for the murder of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, and of the compaſſion they had for the poor innocent brothers, ſuggeſting alſo that they themſelves were now called back again only to be treated after the ſame manner with thoſe that went before them. This was all *Antipater*'s contrivance from one end to the other, and not without fair letters to *Herod* of his own too, for the better colour of the buſineſs. It was a ſtrange thing that in ſeven months time (for ſo long had this ſcrutiny been afoot) *Antipater* ſhould never get the leaſt intimation of the matter; but what with the watches and guards that beſet the paſſages, and the univerſal malice of the people to *Antipater*, there was not a man to be found that would run any riſque for the informing, or the ſaving of him.

CHAP. VI.

Antipater, *being returned back into* Judæa *from* Rome, *is convicted in the preſence of* Varus, *Governor of* Syria, *for having endeavoured to Poiſon the King his Father.* Herod *cauſeth him to be Impriſoned, and writes to* Auguſtus *on that Subject.*

ANTIPATER, having written to the king that he was upon ſettling his affairs at *Rome*, and preparing for his return, *Herod* adviſed him to make what haſte he could homeward, for fear any thing ſhould fall out amiſs in his abſence: And not one angry word in his letter, more than ſome ſlight glances upon his mother, which would be eaſily made up again when they came together. Theſe letters came to *Antipater*'s hand as he was upon the way in *Cilicia*; but for thoſe that brought him tidings of the death of *Pheroras*, he received them at *Tarentum*, and with a ſorrowful heart too, not for the love of *Pheroras*, but for the diſappointment of poiſoning the king, which he had undertaken for. Upon his coming to *Celendris*, a city of *Cilicia*, he had a kind of miſgiving upon him, that ſtaggered him whether he ſhould go forward or no; but by the advice of his friends he continued his courſe to *Sebaſte*.

Quintilius Varus, the ſucceſſor of *Saturninus* in the government of *Syria*, happened to be now at *Jeruſalem*, and at this very time in council with *Herod*. While they were ſitting upon public buſineſs, up comes *Antipater* in his purple robes, to the palace gates, which were ſet open to him, but immediately ſhut againſt his followers. This ſtruck a damp upon him, and filled him with apprehenſions, which were ſtill augmented, when upon preſenting himſelf to his father's embrace, he was thrown off with indignation, and with reproaches of fratricide and treaſon, for theſe, he was told, were the crimes that would be charged upon him the day following, and *Varus* there preſent to be his judge: After receiving this ſhock he went his way, and meeting his mother and his wife in the paſſage, (the latter of whom was the daughter of *Antigonus*, *Herod*'s predeceſſor) he compared notes with them upon the ſtate of the cauſe, and prepared for his trial.

Next day there met a great council, *Varus* and *Herod* preſidents, and their friends about them. *Salome* the king's ſiſter was cited thither alſo, with others of their relations. There were likewiſe the diſcoverers of the conſpiracy, the witneſſes that had been upon the torture, and in the laſt place ſome of the domeſtics of the mother of *Antipater* that had been taken up a little before his return from *Rome*, and letters for him found about them to this effect: Giving him caution, that he ſhould not upon any terms come back; for the king knew all, and he had beſt have a care how he fell into his hands: Concluding, in fine, that he had no way in the world to come off, but by caſting himſelf upon *Ceſar*'s clemency and protection.

Antipater, humbling himſelf on his knees, made it now his requeſt to *Herod*, only to be admitted to his defence, and not condemned unheard. The king preſently bid him riſe, and ſtand forth to take his trial, and deſired *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus*, his ancient and particular friend, and one that was thoroughly inſtructed in this matter, to proceed to the examination of the criminals, and to the conviction of his ſon. *Antipater*, by way of prevention, applied himſelf to his defence, and improved all the inſtances of his father's kindneſs to the juſtification of his own piety and deſerts, aſſuming to himſelf to have done his duty to all purpoſes. "What likelihood," ſays he, "that after the reſcuing of my father from the treacheries of ſo many other people, I ſhould at laſt turn traitor to him myſelf, and blaſt the reputation of a tried and unſpotted loyalty, with ſo foul a blot in the concluſion? What could I pretend, or but deſire to make me greater, or better than in truth I was? Or how could I be ſuch a fool, as under theſe ſplendid circumſtances, to make myſelf a ſcandalous villain, only for infamy and loſs? For the ſucceſſion was with all formality of law already ſettled upon me, and myſelf ſo far admitted by the king's bounty into a ſhare with him in the exerciſe of his royal power, that I was effectually in the very poſſeſſion of the government, rather than in the expectancy of it; and no creature either to controul or envy my claim. Why ſhould I ſtruggle now for that with danger, which my virtue had put me in a quiet enjoyment of; and expoſe myſelf by ſo doing to a moſt certain infamy, for the vain flattery of an uncertain hope; eſpecially conſidering how this ambition ſped with my brothers, whom I myſelf accuſed, convicted and puniſhed? This I did," ſays he, "and this I ſhall never repent of; but on the contrary value myſelf upon the merit of that ſervice, as the higheſt inſtance I could give my dear father of a filial and invoiable love and duty." Toward the end of his diſcourſe, he made a ſhort digreſſion upon the reaſon and cuſtom of examining by torture; which was as likely a way, he ſaid, to extort a falſity as a truth; for whether true, or falſe, the tormented muſt expect to be kept in pain till he be brought to confeſs what the tormentor would have him ſay: And yet *Antipater*, after all this, offered himſelf to the queſtion, and to abide the iſſue of it. He delivered theſe words with ſo paſſionate a tranſport of tone, tears, action, ſtriking his head and the like, that the council were extremely moved at it, and the greateſt enemies he had in the world could not but pity him: Nay *Herod* himſelf was obſerved to relent, notwithſtanding the utmoſt he could do to conceal it.

When *Antipater*; had gone thus far, *Nicolaus* took up the cauſe where the king left it; ſcanned and ſifted every article; cited and ſummed up the proofs, the names of the witneſſes, and the particular confeſſions of thoſe that had been put to the queſtion, &c.

When *Nicolaus* had done ſpeaking, *Varus* told *Antipater*, that if he had any thing to ſay for himſelf, the court was ready to hear him. *Antipater* caſt himſelf immediately down to the ground, with this ſhort prayer in his mouth. "Lord," ſays he, "thou that art the ſearcher of hearts, I moſt earneſtly beſeech thee to vindicate my innocence as to any thought of miſchief to my father, by ſome ſignal token from heaven, that may convince the world of my integrity." *Varus* ſeeing that he could get no direct anſwer to any of his queſtions, nor any thing but invocations, and appeals to heaven, he found there would be no end of it that way, and ſo called for the poiſon, and trial to be made of the force of it. It was fetched, and given to a condemned man, whom it killed immediately. Upon this experiment the court roſe, and *Varus* went away the next day to *Antioch*, the place of his uſual abode, in regard that the kings of *Syria* commonly made that their reſidence.

Herod and *Varus* having conferred upon the matter, *Antipater* was made a priſoner, and ſoon after *Herod* ſent away to *Ceſar* about him, both by word of mouth and by writing, with the whole hiſtory of his caſe and crimes. There happened at the ſame time to be ſome letters intercepted from *Antiphilius* out of *Egypt*, to *Antipater*, wherein were theſe words: "I have ſent you " here a letter of *Acme*'s, and you know I " run the riſque of my life in the doing of " it, if I ſhould be laid at the mercy of two " powerful families, and my deadly enemies. Pray have a care that nothing " miſcarry." This was the ſubſtance of the letter; but the king was at a loſs for the other letter of *Acme*'s, and cauſed ſearch to be made after it, but it could not be found, and the ſervant of *Antiphilius*, upon examination, abſolutely denied the knowledge of any ſuch letter. When they had been a while in this doubt, one of the king's ſervants perceived a ſeam newly ſewed in the lining of the meſſenger's inſide coat, and conjectured that the letter might be hid in the fold thereof, as indeed it was, and the tenor of it was as follows.

Acme to *Antipater*.

"I have written to your father, according " to your direction, and I have put in " a counterfeit copy of a letter, as if it came " from *Salome* to the empreſs, my miſtreſs. " I make no doubt but, upon the reading " of it, *Herod*, without any more ado, will " treat her as one that hath practiſed treaſon againſt him."

This letter that pretends to be from *Salome* was the project and invention of *Antipater*, with *Salome*'s name to it, but dreſſed up by *Acme*, who wrote to the king to this effect:

Acme to king *Herod*.

"Out of the care and deſire I have to " ſerve you, in acquainting you with any " thing that may concern the ſafety of your " perſon, I have tranſcribed and ſent you a " letter that I found of *Salome*'s to my miſtreſs the empreſs, againſt you, deſiring " her leave for the marrying of *Syllæus*. " Pray let it be torn to pieces, for the diſcovery would be as much as my life is " worth."

This letter of *Acme* to *Antipater* laid open the whole cheat, in ſhewing that ſhe did nothing but by his order, writing to *Herod* and ſending a copy of *Salome*'s counterfeit letter to her miſtreſs, and a plot in the bottom of it. *Acme* was by nation a *Jew*, in the ſervice of *Julia*, the wife of *Ceſar*, and bought over to *Antipater*'s intereſt by a vaſt ſum of money, to aſſiſt him in his practices both upon his aunt and his father. This diſcovery expoſed *Antipater* for ſo turbulent an incendiary, and ſo pernicious and dangerous a wretch, to himſelf and his ſiſter (to ſay nothing of his corrupting the honour and diſcipline even of *Ceſar*'s roof and family) that *Herod* was within a very little of having him put to death at the very inſtant, and *Salome* was not wanting neither to provoke him to it. The king, upon this occaſion, ſent for his ſon, and bid him ſpeak freely, if he had any thing to ſay in his own defence. *Antipater* ſtood ſpeechleſs ſome time, and *Herod* finding him in that confuſion put it to him once again, ſince he could not excuſe himſelf, to tell him at leaſt who were accomplices. He named *Antiphilius*, but went no further. *Herod* took this trifling for ſuch an indignity, that he was once thinking in a paſſion to ſend him away to *Rome* to take his trial before *Ceſar*. But upon further conſideration he kept him in priſon as before: But ſent his ambaſſadors however with a ſtate of the caſe, inſtructions and copies of the letters given in evidence, and in particular with an account of *Acme's* being a party in the plot.

CHAP. VII.

The Golden Eagle that Herod *had Conſecrated, and fixed on the Portal of the Temple, is pulled off; the ſevere puniſhment that he inflicts for it. The King's terrible Sickneſs, and the cruel Orders that he gives to his Siſter* Salome *and to her Huſband, to have executed after his Death.*

WHILE the ambaſſadors were upon the way toward *Rome*, *Herod* fell into a fit of ſickneſs, made his will, and being put quite out of opinion with *Archelaus* and *Philip* by the calumnies of *Antipater*, he declared his youngeſt ſon his ſucceſſor. He gave in legacies, to *Ceſar* a thouſand talents, to his wife *Julia*, his children, friends and freemen five hundred talents more; the reſt of his money, with his lands and revenues, he gave to his own ſons and grand-children; and to his ſiſter *Salome* he bequeathed a very conſiderable fortune. He was now in the ſeventieth year of his age, and his illneſs increaſing upon him paſt all hope of recovery, choleric and furious as a madman, and ſo miſchievous and croſs that there was no poſſibility of pleaſing him. The thing that troubled him was a fancy that he was fallen into the contempt and hatred of the people, and he was further confirmed in this opinion by a commotion that ſoon after followed at the inſtigation of ſome popular men. The affair was this:

There were two men that had a mighty reputation among the *Jews*, both for the eminency of their learning in general, and their particular ſkill and excellence in the law. Their names were *Judas* the ſon of *Sariphæus*, and *Matthias* the ſon of *Margalothus*. No ſooner was it come to the ears of theſe two famous men, that the king was given over, but they put it preſently in the heads of their diſciples to deſtroy all thoſe new works that the king had erected contrary to the laws of their country, giving them all aſſurance that if they ſhewed themſelves champions for the truth, they ſhould not fail of their reward. They bid them further conſider, that all the broils and factions of the king's family, and the deplorable condition of the king's ſickneſs, were only divine judgments upon him for his innovations, which *Judas* and *Matthias* zealouſly inſiſted on. Among other inſtances of a ſuperſtitious magnificence there was a golden eagle ſet up over the portal of the temple, of a prodigious weight and value. This being a flat contradiction to our laws, that abſolutely forbid the uſe and ornament of images in ſuch caſes, theſe doctors ſet their diſciples at work to pluck down and demoliſh the eagle.

Juſt at that inſtant came a rumour that the king was dead: Upon which the people mounted the portal at noon-day, tore down the eagle, and hacked it to pieces. The king's commander in chief immediately upon the news of this uproar haſtened away to the tumult with a ſtrong body of troops, to prevent further miſchief, but found only a rude undiſciplined rabble, which was eaſily broken and ſcattered, except about forty of them, with their leaders *Judas* and *Matthias*, who ſtood their ground, upon a point of honour not to turn their backs. Theſe were all taken and carried priſoners to the king, who aſked them how they durſt preſume to lay violent hands upon that ſacred figure. Their anſwer was, that what they had now done was in vindication of the honour of God, and of the precepts of their great maſter, beſeeching *Herod* not to make it a matter of wonder if they preferred the laws that they had received from *Moſes*, and he from God himſelf, before any other decrees whatſoever. The king, after this, ſent them bound to *Jericho*, where he called a great council of the *Jews*, and was himſelf (being ſick and weakly) carried in his chair into the aſſembly, where he gave them to underſtand what unwearied pains and labours he had undergone for the ſervice of the common-wealth, his rebuilding their temple at an immenſe charge: " And " now," ſays he, " when I thought myſelf " ſure of ſurviving my own funeral in the " fame of a happy memory, I am paid " with indignities for all my benefits and " reſpects, my gifts are wickedly torn from " the very temple, and an act of malice improved into a ſacrilege, for the injury is to God, not to me."

The leading men of the council thought it their beſt way to purge themſelves by way of prevention, which they did by declaring not only their innocency of the fact, but their opininon alſo that that the rioters deſerved to be ſeverely puniſhed for it. Theſe words cauſed him to incline more favourably toward the all reſt: He took away the high-prieſthood from *Matthias*, upon a preſumption that he was no ſtranger to the contrivance, and gave it to *Jozar* his brother-in-law. It ſo happened that while *Matthias* was in the exerciſe of his function, upon the eve to a faſting-day he dreamed that he lay with his wife, by which accident he became unqualified for the next day's ſervice, ſo that *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Ellemus*, his near kinſman, was ſubſtituted for that day to ſupply his place. After *Herod* had deprived *Matthias* of the pontificate, he gave order for the burning of the other *Matthias*, the ringleader of the ſedition, and all his companions with him alive. The moon, as it fell out, was that night in an eclipſe.

The king grew every day worſe; and his diſeaſe looked like a judicial puniſhment for his wickedneſs. He was parched up with a faint inward fever, that almoſt burned his heart out, and yet ſcarce ſenſible to the touch. He was tormented with an inſatiable canine appetite, ulcers and cholicks in his guts, phlegmatick tumors in his feet and groin, his privy parts putrifying and crawling with worms, a noiſome and painful priapiſm, aſthmas, cramps, and contractions of the nerves. All men, in ſhort, of religion, philoſophy, or obſervation, were agreed upon it, that the hand of God was evidently upon *Herod* in this viſitation. In this hopeleſs extremity of miſery, he himſelf was the only man that did not deſpair, but continued laying out every where for phyſicians and remedies. He went over the river *Jordan*, to the hot baths at *Callirrhoe*, that empty themſelves into the lake of *Aſphaltitis*. Theſe waters, beſide their mineral virtue, are no unpleaſant drink. Upon his coming hither, his phyſicians ordered him to be ſet up to the ſhoulders in a veſſel of oil, which put him into ſuch a fit of fainting that his domeſtics imagined he was dead, and broke out into lamentations and outcries, the noiſe of which brought him to himſelf again. By this time he found all his flattering hopes of life to be vain and idle, and therefore appointed a donation of fifty drachmas a man to be diſtributed among the ſoldiers, and large ſums among his friends and officers; after which he returned to *Jericho*, where the evil humour ſo far prevailed upon him, that he took up a final reſolution for a moſt horrid farewel. He ſent out a ſummons to all the eminent *Jews* of the country to repair immediately to him at *Jericho*, and not to fail on pain of death. Upon their appearance according to the proclamation, they were all ſhut up in the circus, or tilt-yard together, as well thoſe he thought guilty, as them that had given him no cauſe of diſcontent. He ſent in the next place for his ſiſter *Salome*, and *Alexas* her huſband, and ſpoke to them to the following effect:

"My time," ſays he, "is drawing on. "I am oppreſſed with pains, and fleſh and "blood muſt yield to fate, which is the "common lot of mankind. It would be "troubleſome, I muſt confeſs, to think of "wanting any of the funeral honours that "belong to crowned heads. I know very "well what ſort of treatment I am to expect from the *Jews*: They hated me in "my life-time, and they'll be glad to ſee "me dead. It lies in the power of you two "to give me ſome eaſe yet, even at my "laſt gaſp, and it is no more than what "you owe me too. Whereſore ſo ſoon as "ever the breath is out of my body let the "circus be ſurrounded with ſoldiers, and "the word of command given to deſtroy "every man within the encloſure: But not "a ſyllable of my death, till the work be "done. In the due execution of this order you will lay a double obligation upon "me, one in the performance of my will, "the other in the celebration of my death "with the honour of a public mourning."

Thus weeping, he entreated his kinsfolk, for the love they bare unto him, and for the faith they bare unto God, that they ſhould not ſuffer him to die fruſtrate of his laſt honour; and they proteſted that they would not tranſgreſs any point of his commands.

Some or other will pretend perhaps in the hiſtory of this bloody monſter's barbarities to his neareſt relations in times paſt, that there might be dangerous jealouſies and competitions perchance, and conſequently a kind of neceſſity upon him to be cruel in his own defence. But in this laſt action of his he has laid himſelf open, even in his pure naturals, for the verieſt brute that ever wore the ſhape of a reaſonable creature. When he could live no longer himſelf, he bequeathed deſtruction to thoſe he left behind him, and took care to make the whole nation mourners for him, by the order he left for the deſtroying of one at leaſt out of every family. And all this too without any injury, provocation, exception, or ſo much as any reaſon given for the doing of it: Whereas among people that have but the leaſt ſpark of humanity or religion, death puts an end to all controverſies, and reconciles even the greateſt enemies.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Acme *put to Death.* Antipater *left to* Herod'*s Diſcretion.* Ahiab *prevents* Herod'*s killing himſelf.* Antipater *gives the King for Dead; and treats with the Keeper about his Eſcape. The Keeper tells the King of it, and the King orders him to be put to Death.*

WHILE *Herod* was giving his laſt orders to his kindred, his ambaſſadors brought him an anſwer from *Ceſar* to the letters they carried to *Rome.* The ſubſtance of it was briefly this: That *Auguſtus* had put *Acme* to death; and that he left *Antipater* to the king his father, either to be put to death or baniſhed, according to his diſcretion. It was a great relief to *Herod* to find himſelf both revenged upon *Acme*, and at liberty to do with his ſon what he pleaſed: But he relapſed quickly again into his pains, and in an outrageous fit of greedineſs and hunger, he called for a knife and an apple, it being uſual with him to pare his apples himſelf, and eat them by little and little. When he had got the knife, he was obſerved to look ſuſpiciouſly about him, as if he had ſome thought of ſtabbing himſelf; but his nephew *Ahiab* kept his eye upon him, and in the very inſtant of the attempt catched hold of his uncle's right hand, and called for aſſiſtance. This noiſe put the court now a ſecond time into an uproar, all people taking it for granted that the king was juſt then expiring.

Antipater certainly believing that his father was departed, began to hope, (and confirmed no leſs in his words) that being delivered out of priſon, he ſhould obtain the poſſeſſion of the kingdom without any difficulty; and treated with his keeper concerning his deliverance, offering him great preſents both in hand and hereafter, as if there had been no other queſtion but of that: But ſo far was the keeper from complying with his propoſals, that he went and diſcovered the whole practice to the king, who hated him ſufficiently before. This ſtory of the keeper's put *Herod* into ſo extravagant a paſſion, that he ſtarted up, though in the very agonies of death, and committing violent outrages upon himſelf, both in actions and exclamations, he commanded one of his guards in that very moment to go and kill *Antipater*, and that done, he ſhould be buried in the caſtle of *Hyrcania*, without any honours.

CHAP. IX.

Herod *alters his Will, and declares* Archelaus *his Succeſſor.* Herod'*s Death five Days after* Antipater. Herod'*s glorious Funeral ordained by* Archelaus. *The People's great Acclamation in favour of* Archelaus.

HEROD changed his will, and made *Antipas*, whom he had deſigned in his former teſtament for ſucceſſor to the government, tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peræa*; but gave the kingdom to *Archelaus*; the provinces of *Trachon* and *Gaulon*, *Batanæa* and *Paniat*, to his ſon *Philip*, the brother-in-law of *Archelaus*, under the title of a tetrarchy; *Jamnia*, *Azotus* and *Phaſaelis*, he gave to his ſiſter *Salome*, with fifty thouſand pieces of minted money; not forgetting his other relations alſo, either in land or caſh. He left *Ceſar*, beſide gold and ſilver plate and rich furniture of all ſorts, ten millions of pieces in ready coin; and to the empreſs *Julia*, with her friends, five millions more of the ſame. Matters being thus ſettled, *Herod* departed this life, five days after the death of *Antipater*, four and thirty years after the expulſion of *Antigonus*, and in the thirty ſeventh year from his being declared king of the *Jews* by the *Romans*.

Herod being now dead, *Salome* and *Alexas* kept it for the preſent as the greateſt ſecret in the world, and went directly to the nobility that were ſhut up in the circus, telling them in the king's name that they might go home and follow their own buſineſs, for there was no further occaſion for them. This contrivance laid upon the *Jews* the higheſt obligation imaginable. It was now a proper time to make publication of the king's death, and the ſoldiery being ſummoned to meet at the amphitheatre at *Jericho*, *Herod's* letters to the army were there read, full of gracious acknowledgements of their paſt faith and ſervices, and deſiring them to continue the ſame dutiful affection to his ſon *Archelaus* for the future, whom he had now declared his ſucceſſor. *Ptolemy*, the keeper of the king's ſeal, read after this the teſtament itſelf, with this conditional clauſe in it expreſs, That the act itſelf was to be reputed to be of no force without the conſent of *Ceſar*. This was followed with acclamations of "God ſave king *Archelaus*," and wiſhes of a happy reign to him, both from officers and ſoldiers, with promiſes of the ſame fidelity to the new king that they had paid to his predeceſſor.

At that time alſo the king's hearſe was prepared, and *Archelaus* gave order that his obſequies ſhould be moſt royally performed, and beſtowed all the furniture that was requiſite for that funeral and princely interment. He was carried out in a gilded litter, adorned with divers precious ſtones, the cover thereof was of azure colour. The dead body was apparelled in a purple raiment, having a diadem upon his head, over which there was a crown of gold, and a ſceptre put in his right hand. About the litter marched a great number of his children and kinsfolk, and after them followed his ſoldiers, diſpoſed in bands and troops, according to the cuſtom of every nation:

The firſt of theſe were the archers of his guard, after them marched the *Thracians*, and laſtly marched the *Germans* and *Galatians*, all of them in their warlike dreſs and diſcipline. After them followed all the army, marching in order, as when they were drawn up in battalia, each one under his captain. Next theſe followed five hundred of his houſhold ſervants, bearing perfumes. They marched in this manner to the caſtle of *Herodion*, (diſtant eight furlongs from *Jericho*,) where he was entombed, according to the tenor of his teſtament. *Archelaus* continued his mourning for ſeven days, according to the cuſtom of the country; and after he had feaſted the people, and laid aſide his mourning apparel, he aſcended up into the temple. All the way as he went, all the people with ſhouts and acclamations cried "God ſave the king;" and with prayers and praiſes honoured him to their uttermoſt: And he being conducted up to a high throne of gold, which was made on purpoſe, entertained the people very graciouſly, taking the acclamations and congratulations they beſtowed on him very kindly, after the hard uſage they had met with from his father, and aſſuring them that their good will ſhould never be forgotten. The people were mightily pleaſed with the modeſty of their new prince's behaviour, depending upon the good faith of every thing he ſaid: Inſomuch that they put his good nature preſently to the trial, by aſking him boons: Some to be eaſed of their taxes; others to have their companions ſet at liberty, there being a great many of them that *Herod* had kept a long time in priſon; ſome again urged him to cut off the duties and impoſitions that were laid upon market-ſtuff and other proviſions. *Archelaus*, in fine, found it for his intereſt and convenience to deny them nothing, for fear of offending the multitude. After he had ſacrificed to God, he fell to banquetting and making merry with his friends.

CHAP. X.

Some Jews *(who demanded ſatisfaction for the deaths of thoſe whom* Herod *cauſed to be burned, for having pulled down the Golden Eagle) make an Inſurrection, which obliges* Archelaus *to cauſe three thouſand of them to be put to Death: He goes afterwards to* Rome, *to be confirmed by* Auguſtus: *His Brother* Antipas, *who pretends to have a right to the Crown, repairs thither alſo; the Cauſe is pleaded before* Auguſtus.

THERE was at this time a dangerous faction of mal-conted *Jews*, laying their heads together in conventicles and cabals, how to embroil the government. The fitteſt matter they could find to work upon was the caſe of *Matthias* and his companions,

panions, that *Herod* had put to death for demoliſhing the golden eagle. During the life of the king they did not dare to make any publick attempt, either in the honour or in the vindication of theſe reformers; but now he was dead, all mouths were open againſt him in clamours and invectives, to the diſgrace of his memory: Inſomuch that they gathered together in tumultuous meetings, to demand juſtice and ſatisfaction from *Archelaus*, upon thoſe friends of *Herod* that were inſtrumental in the execution. They inſiſted particularly upon the removal of the high-prieſt that *Herod* had promoted, and the putting ſome worthy man in his place. This peremptory way of importunity was provoking enough; but *Archelaus* however (who was now haſtening away to *Ceſar*, both for authority and orders) did what he could by fair means to ſet things right for the preſent, and to this end he diſpatched away one of his prime officers to try what might be done upon terms of reaſon and moderation. But he was encountered with ſo impetuous an outcry and oppoſition, that one ſober word among them was as much as a man's life was worth. In this eagerneſs of paſſion, they conſulted no other meaſures of right or wrong than the impulſes of their own humour and intereſt, and ſo intent all this while upon the ruin of other people, that they neglected the moſt neceſſary means of their own ſafety.

The feaſt of unleavened bread, or the paſſover, being now at hand, the celebrated memorial of the *Iſraelites* being delivered out of *Egypt*, a world of people coming up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip and offer ſacrifices upon that occaſion, a ſeditious party of men crowded into the temple, and there made a ſtand, with a reſolution not to ſtir out, though they were forced to beg their bread to keep themſelves from ſtarving, their buſineſs there being to condole with the people for the loſs of their two doctors, *Judas* and *Matthias*, and to irritate the rabble to a revenge. Nobody knew how far this riot might go, ſo that *Archelaus* ſent an officer with a party of ſoldiers to ſuppreſs it. The guards no ſooner appeared but the mutineers ran down the ſoldiers with ſuch a torrent of rage and clamour, that the whole multitude falling upon them with ſtones and other weapons, deſtroyed them all, ſave only the officer himſelf, and ſome few wounded men along with him, that eſcaped. After this action they went on with their divine ſervice. The conteſt was now carried to ſuch a pitch that *Archelaus* muſt either cruſh that rabble, or fall himſelf; he therefore ſent out his whole army to encounter them, with orders to his horſe to put all to the ſword that ſhould endeavour to make their eſcape, and to keep all ſuccours out from them. Theſe horſemen cut off three thouſand men, and the reſt fled to the neighbouring mountains for ſhelter. When this was over proclamation was made for every men to return to his own home; and they were glad to get off upon theſe terms, and to leave feſtival and all, for fear of a worſe miſchief.

Archelaus put himſelf now upon his journey to *Rome*, taking his mother, *Nicolaus*, *Ptolemy*, and ſeveral others of his friends along with him, leaving the care of his kingdom and family to his brother *Philip*. *Salome* and her family went alſo, and were accompanied by divers others of his kindred, under a colour of joining intereſts to aſſiſt *Archelaus* in his claim to the ſucceſſion, but in truth to hinder him with all their power. *Archelaus* met *Sabinus*, *Ceſar*'s procurator of *Syria*, at *Ceſarea*, poſting in all haſte towards *Judæa*, to take care of *Herod*'s money: But *Varus* arriving in the mean while, detained him from finiſhing that voyage; being himſelf, upon the invitation of *Archelaus* by *Ptolemy*, on the ſame errand; and *Sabinus*, out of reſpect to *Varus*, neither meddled with any of the forts in *Judæa*, nor ſealed up their treaſure, but left all things in the power and poſſeſſion of *Archelaus*, till *Ceſar* ſhould declare himſelf upon the matter. This he promiſed, and ſo continued in *Ceſarea*; but ſoon after, upon the embarking of *Archelaus* for *Rome*, and the departure of *Varus* for *Antioch*, *Sabinus* advanced directly to *Jeruſalem*, took up his habitation in the palace, ſent for the king's officers, civil and military, demanding their books and their keys; but they were tied up, they ſaid, by the orders of *Archelaus*, to keep all things till his return in the ſame ſtate they received them, for the uſe and ſervice of *Ceſar*.

At the ſame time *Antipas*, one of the ſons of *Herod*, took a voyage to *Rome*, in hope of getting the kingdom to himſelf. *Salome* did her part to put him upon it, under the colour of a prior right to the ſucceſſion by an antecedent will, and ſuggeſting that the firſt will ought to ſtand. He took with him his mother, and *Ptolemy*, the brother of *Nicolaus*, a particular friend of *Herod*'s. But he was adviſed by others to conſider the ſeniority of *Archelaus*, and the pretence he had to the ſucceſſion by the will of his deceaſed father; but the credit of *Irenæus*, and the incentive of his own ambition, carried it from all other conſiderations. To *Rome*, in fine, he went, and upon his arrival there his kindred came all over to him, not ſo much out of any kindneſs to him, as an averſion they had to *Archelaus*, their heads being altogether ſet upon liberty and a *Roman* governor: Or they fancied however, in caſe of the worſt, that *Antipas* would be the eaſier to them of the two; and for theſe reaſons they employed their intereſt that way.

Sabinus had now ſent an information to *Ceſar* againſt *Archelaus*; and *Archelaus*, by the hand of *Ptolemy*, preſented *Auguſtus* with a memorial of what he had to offer in his defence, containing the ground of his claim, a recital of his father's will, an account of what monies he left, together with the ring that ſealed them up: remitting himſelf upon the whole to *Ceſar*'s good pleaſure. When *Ceſar* had peruſed theſe writings, with the letters alſo of *Varus* and *Sabinus*, what money *Herod* had left behind him, and the yearly revenue of the government; and what *Antipas* himſelf had ſuggeſted in his own right, he called a council of his friends to adviſe upon the whole, and ſo gave audience to the competitors: *Caius* the ſon of *Agrippa* by his daughter *Julia*, whom he adopted, ſitting preſident. *Antipater* the ſon of *Salome* ſtood up firſt, (an excellent ſpeaker, and a bitter enemy to *Archelaus*) delivering himſelf in terms to this effect:

"It ſeems a ſtrange thing to me," ſays *Antipater*, "that *Archelaus* ſhould now be "formaliſing about his title to a kingdom, "after ſo abſolute an exerciſe of ſovereign "power over it already, and not ſo much "as troubling his head either for *Ceſar*'s ra"tification or aſſent. I ſpeak of his late "maſſacre of ſo many *Jews* upon one of "their feſtivals: Or ſuppoſing the puniſh"ment itſelf never ſo reaſonable, that "which would have been an act of juſtice "in a lawful prince, was yet a murder in "an uſurper. If he acted as a king with"out the emperor's approbation, it was an "affront to *Ceſar*: If he pretended to exer"ciſe acts of authority in the capacity of a "private man, it was yet worſe." He ſtarted, upon the whole, a great many objections againſt him, ſome actually true, and others, conſidering the heat and ambition of a young man, raiſed on a ſudden to ſuch a pitch of dignity and power, not altogether improbable: Beſide the ill-natured extravagance of a revelling entertainment he made the very night after the death of his father.

Nicolaus argued on the behalf of *Archelaus*, in this manner: "That the blood of "thoſe that were killed in the temple reſt"ed upon their own heads, and that they "had carried the tumult ſo far, there was "no other way of ſuppreſſing it. As for "the reſt of the articles that were charged "upon *Archelaus*, they were all retorted up"on the accuſers themſelves, who were all "conſenting to the very action they com"plained of.

When *Nicolaus* had finiſhed his ſpeech, *Archelaus* threw himſelf at *Ceſar*'s feet, who preſently taking him up with great humanity, paſſed this judgment on him, That he was worthy of a crown, which was underſtood for a kind of owning of his authority.

Ceſar finding the young prince well ſatisfied, diſcharged the meeting without coming to any final reſolution at preſent, and ſo took time to conſider whether he ſhould ſettle the government upon *Archelaus* alone, or in partition upon the whole family, in regard that they all depended upon him alike.

CHAP. XI.

A great Rebellion in Judæa, *whilſt* Archelaus *was at* Rome: Varus, *Governor of* Syria, *ſtops it.* Philip, Archelaus *Brother, goes to* Rome, *in hopes to obtain one part of the Kingdom. The* Jews *ſend Ambaſſadors to* Auguſtus, *to free them from their obedience to Kings: They complain to him againſt* Archelaus, *and abhor the Memory of* Herod.

BEFORE this affair could be ſettled, *Marthace* the mother of *Archelaus* fell ſick and died; and news was brought from *Varus* the governor of *Syria*, that the *Jews* were revolted, having been very mutinous and troubleſome ever ſince the departure of *Archelaus*. But *Varus* falling upon them with his troops before they could well gather to a head, made examples of the ringleaders, and ſo having broken the neck of the ſedition, went back again to *Antioch*, leaving only one legion in *Jeruſalem* to prevent tumults.

Varus was no ſooner gone but *Sabinus*, *Ceſar's* deputy governor in *Syria*, looking upon himſelf now by the reinforcement of theſe troops and guards to be at leaſt a match for the multitude, he turned his arms againſt the *Jews*, galling and provoking them to the laſt degree of impatience, attacking ſeveral of their forts and caſtles, rifling and ſearching every where at pleaſure for concealed money, under pretext of public ſervices, but all this while advancing his own private ends of gain and booty. The feaſt of the paſſover now drawing on, brought up to *Jeruſalem* thouſands and thouſands of the *Jews* from all quarters, ſome for worſhip and devotion, and others out of ſpite and revenge. Theſe numbers gathered together not only from *Judæa*, where the outrage fell heavieſt, but from *Galilee*, *Idumæa*, *Jericho*, and from the towns beyond *ordan*, being all unanimouſly determined to bring *Sabinus* to a ſevere account. They divided their troops into three bodies, one of them took poſſeſſion of the circus, another was poſted upon the north and eaſt ſide of the temple, the third upon the weſt, where the king's palace ſtood. When they had thus begirt and hemmed in the *Romans*, they made ready for the aſſault. *Sabinus*, finding that they were deſperately reſolved either to conquer or die, ſent with all ſpeed to *Varus* for immediate relief, for the legion that he had left there would undoubtedly be cut to pieces elſe. He himſelf, in the mean time, got up to the top of a high turret belonging to the Caſtle of *Phaſael*, which was erected in memory of *Herod*'s brother who was ſlain by the *Parthians*, and from thence gave the ſign with his hands to the *Romans* to ſally out upon the *Jews*. The *Romans* had a ſharp encounter of it; for though the ſoldiers did all that was poſſible for brave men to do, the *Jews* kept up their hearts yet, notwithſtanding a great loſs of their people. They poſſeſſed themſelves after this, of ſome of the outward galleries of the temple, whence they galled the *Romans* from above, with ſtones and arrows from their ſlingers and archers; for the *Romans* below were out of diſtance of reaching their enemies. The fight continued a long time upon this diſadvantage, till in the end the *Romans* ſet fire to the timber work under the galleries, and plied it ſo hard, that the flame ſhot up to the roof in a moment, and laying hold of the pitch, wax and oils that were employed upon the ornament and gilding, put all in a furious blaze, ſo that there was not ſo much as one man eſcaped of thoſe that had poſſeſſed the galleries, but either periſhed in the flames or were cut off by the ſoldiers! As the fire ſlackened, the *Romans* preſſed through the ruins up to the very repoſitory of the holy treaſure, whereof a conſiderable part was pilfered and embezzled by the ſoldiers, and not above four hundred talents, as *Sabinus* pretended, was brought to him. The *Jews* were now in a double diſtreſs; partly for the loſs of ſo many of their dear friends, and partly for the ſacrilegious robbery committed upon their temple: However, in this fit of deſperation, they got a body together of the moſt reſolute men they had, and beſet the palace; menacing immediately to ſet fire to it, and to put every man to the ſword that ſhould eſcape the flames, if they did not in that inſtant quit the place and depart; with a promiſe of impunity to *Sabinus* and all his people, if they went away preſently; the greater part of the court being alſo on their ſide. *Rufus* and *Gratus* with three thouſand of *Herod*'s choiceſt men, went over to the *Romans*, together with the horſe that were under *Rufus*'s command; but the *Jews* plied their work nevertheleſs, mining the walls, menacing and adviſing the enemy to be gone while they might, without putting a people to the laſt extremity of deſperation that were reſolved at all hazards to maintain their liberties, with the laws and cuſtoms of their forefathers. *Sabinus* being conſcious of what he had deſerved from the *Jews*, durſt not venture himſelf upon their promiſe: And ſo he determined to hold it out, in expectation of ſuccour from *Varus*.

While matters at *Jeruſalem* were in this poſture, there were ſeveral other inſurrections alſo up and down in *Judæa* elſewhere, upon the inſtigation either of profit or of a vindictive malice. There were two thouſand of *Herod*'s diſbanded men gathered together upon this occaſion into a body, with a reſolution to encounter a party of the king's under the command of *Ahiab*, *Herod*'s nephew; but *Ahiab* knowing the people he had to do withal to be old ſoldiers and tried men he kept off from fighting, by ſhifting into faſtneſſes and defilees, where there was no coming at them.

On the other hand, there was *Judas* the ſon of *Ezekias*, the famous robber that held *Herod* formerly ſo long in play. This ſame *Judas* with a band of deſperate men, made an inroad into the king's country; ſeized his magazines and military ſtores, took the king's money; pillaging and ſpoiling wherever he came, and aſpiring, in fine, to the government itſelf; not by any arts and ways of honour, (for he had no ſkill that way) but upon the encouragement of doing what miſchief he pleaſed gratis.

While things were in this confuſion, there was one *Simon*, formerly a ſervant of king *Herod*'s, but a man mightily celebrated for his prodigious ſtrength, the gracefulneſs and the goodlineſs of his perſon and ſtature. This man had the vanity and confidence to venture at the crown, took his guards about him, and was ſaluted every where by the mad multitude, with acclamations of "God ſave the king:" And for a prologue to his greatneſs, he began with the burning and the rifling of the palace at *Jericho*, making the ſame havock in other of the king's houſes; ſtill allowing his followers the advantage of the booty. But *Gratus*, advanced with his troops againſt *Simon*, and there paſſed a very ſharp and obſtinate fight betwixt them: But *Simon*'s people were totally routed and cut to pieces, and *Simon* himſelf being taken priſoner, *Gratus* ordered his head to be ſtruck off.

This humour of the common people was up every where; for the royal palace at *Amatha* by the river *Jordan*, was burnt to the ground too by ſuch another ſort of rabble as thoſe that followed *Simon*.

There was one *Athronges* too, a man neither of birth, virtue, nor fortune, but one of the meaneſt even of ſhepherds; only a huge bulk of body, and a brutal ſtrength of limbs. With theſe qualifications, he put in for a pretence to the government. He had four brothers, as ſtrong and as gigantick as himſelf, and each of them a troop of ſoldiers under his command. There were vaſt multitudes of people that came in to theſe five brothers, and *Athronges* made uſe of his four brethren to go upon parties, and to act as his lieutenants, while he himſelf ſat in council with a crown upon his head, giving orders and reſolutions in affairs of ſtate. They fell upon a *Roman* convoy out of an ambuſh near *Emmaus*, with corn and arms for the camp; killed the commander *Arius*, with forty of his ſoldiers, and the reſt muſt have expected the ſame fate too, if *Gratus* had not brought them off with a party juſt in the nick, leaving their dead behind them. They kept on ſkirmiſhing at this rate for a long time, but in the concluſion they were all taken, one in an encounter with *Gratus*, another by *Ptolemy*. The eldeſt fell into the hands of *Archelaus*, and the laſt, finding the caſe deſperate, their men ſpent with toil and ſickneſs, and no hope of recruits or redreſs, yielded himſelf to *Archelaus* upon his oath and honour for the performance of conditions. But this was ſome time after.

In this licence of robbery and confuſion, every new band of mutineers would be ſetting up new kings; which tore the common-wealth to pieces: The *Jews* eſpecially, that were ſtill ſplitting into feuds and factions among themſelves; but the *Romans* all this while came off cheap.

The news that *Varus* had received from *Sabinus* of the danger he was in, put him into ſo great an apprehenſion for the third legion (which was the whole number they had in *Syria*) that he took the other two, and four troops of horſe, with the auxiliaries of the king's, and the *Tetrarch*'s, and haſtened away into *Judæa* to the relief of the beſieged; appointing the rendezvous at *Ptolemais*, and taking fifteen hundred men along with him from *Berytus* by the way. There was alſo *Aretas* the *Petræan*, who ſupplied him with a conſiderable enforcement both of horſe and foot; but when the army was drawn all into a body at *Ptolemais*, *Varus* gave the command of part of it to his ſon, and one of his particular friends, with order to march into *Galilee*, which is not far from *Ptolemais*. Upon this inroad into the country, he took *Sepphoris*, laid the city in aſhes, and ſold the people for ſlaves at an outcry. *Varus* himſelf advanced with his army toward *Samaria*, but there was no damage done to the city, becauſe he knew them to be well affected: But he encamped at a village called *Arus*, which belonged to *Ptolemy*. This village the *Arabians* burnt, in revenge to the very friends of *Herod*, for *Herod*'s ſake. The army advanced afterward to *Sampho*, which the ſame *Arabians* rifled, though a ſtrong place, and afterward ſet it on fire. *Emmaus* was burnt by the order of *Varus*, in revenge of his ſoldiers that were ſlain there; but the inhabitants had quitted it firſt. Upon his approach toward *Jeruſalem*, the *Jews* that had beſieged the legion upon that quarter, immediately upon the ſight of the army, abandonded their poſt. *Varus* fell very ſeverely upon the *Jeruſalem-Jews* for this ſcandalous uproar; but they had this to ſay in their excuſe, that it falling out in a time when there was ſo vaſt a recourſe of people to *Jeruſalem*, it was the ſtrangers made the war, not the inhabitants: As for *Sabinus*, he withdrew himſelf out of the city toward the ſea.

Varus, upon this, ſent all over the country to inform himſelf of the ring-leaders of the revolt, and upon clear proofs againſt them, ſome he puniſhed, others he pardoned and let go, crucifying a matter of two thouſand upon this occaſion. *Varus* finding no further occaſion for his army, ſent it away: But hearing afterward that ten thouſand of the *Jews* were got into a body, he ordered out a detachment to fall upon them in their quarters; yet without ſtriking a blow, they delivered themſelves up to *Ahiab* priſoners at diſcretion. *Varus* ſet the common people at liberty, ſent the heads of the riot to *Ceſar*, and forgave all the reſt, ſaving only ſome relations of *Herod* that had ſo little honour or conſcience, as to engage in ſo wicked a war. Matters being thus compoſed, *Varus* left the ſame legion ſtill in garriſon at *Jeruſalem*, and went back to *Antioch*.

This difficulty was no ſooner over in *Judæa*, but *Archelaus* encountered another at *Rome*, that happened as follows. The *Jews* with the permiſſion of *Varus*, ſent an embaſſy to *Auguſtus*, for leave to manage and converſe among themſelves, according to their own laws. There were fifty *Jews*, joined in the commiſſion, and upward of eight thouſand more of the city, that preſented themſelves to ſecond them. *Ceſar* hereupon appointed a ſelect number of his friends to attend him in the temple of *Apollo*, a moſt magnificent ſtructure of his own erecting. Thither came the ambaſſadors alſo with a long train of *Jews* after them, and *Archelaus* with his friends likewiſe. There was alſo *Philip* the brother too, that came out of *Syria* by the advice of *Varus* in the proſpect of aſſiſting *Archelaus*, for whom he had a particular tenderneſs and reſpect: But yet *Philip* all this while was not without hope, that if the ambaſſadors ſhould gain their end, and the dignity come to be divided among *Herod*'s children, he might come to put in for a part of the kingdom himſelf.

The firſt thing the ambaſſadors inſiſted upon in their addreſs, was an earneſt requeſt that they might be no longer under the power of kings, and they began with the hiſtory of the miſgovernment and iniquity of *Herod*. "He was a king," they ſaid, "only in name, but in the exerciſe of his power a tyrant, and not only verſed in the common arts of oppreſſion, but fruitful in inventions of his own, to improve the myſtery. It would be to no purpoſe to reckon up how many lives he has taken away, when the ſurvivors were yet more miſerable than thoſe he deſtroyed, for they lived in perpetual danger and terror under ſo mercileſs and rapacious a maſter, and as much at mercy in their fortunes as in their perſons. Wherefore the people might well be allowed to compliment *Archelaus* upon the death of his father, for they were ſure beforehand, they could never have a worſe in his place. But *Archelaus* quickly gave the people to underſtand that he was his father's own ſon, and they might ſee even before he was in the ſeat, what might afterward be expected when he came to govern. His whole fortune was as yet at the mercy of *Ceſar*, and to give his new ſubjects ſome taſte beforehand of his virtue, modeſty, and juſtice, he ſacrificed three thouſand citizens of his own tribe to the honour of God, in the very temple, with as little regret, as if they had been but ſo many common victims."

The ambaſſadors, in fine, ſummed up their whole buſineſs in a ſhort requeſt to *Ceſar* to change the form of their government, and deliver them from the oppreſſion of a monarchy; annexing them to *Syria* under ſuch rulers as *Ceſar* ſhould think fit to appoint: And it would then appear whether they were a people that delighted in broils and innovations, or men of order and obedience, under the authority of lawful governors.

The ambaſſadors having now delivered what they had to ſay, *Nicolaus* ſtood up in the defence both of *Herod* and *Archelaus*. "Pray how came it," ſays he, "if *Herod* "was guilty of all this, that he ſhould never be called to an account for it in his "life-time, when they might have appealed "to the juſtice of *Auguſtus* for remedy. As "for the caſe of *Archelaus*, he was forced "to it by the contumacy of a faction that "firſt trampled upon the laws in a ſeditious "tumult, and then, with ſwords and ſtones, "cut the throats and beat out the brains of "thoſe that were ſent to quiet them. "But," ſays he, turning to the accuſers, "ſo long as this ſpirit of anarchy reigns, "there is never any peace to be expected, "for nothing will ever ſatisfy theſe people, "if they may not be their own judges and "carvers."

CHAP. XII.

Ceſar *confirms* Herod's *Teſtament, and appoints his Children to be his Succeſſors.*

WHEN *Ceſar* had heard both ſides, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and after ſome fews days declared *Archelaus* ſucceſſor to the one moiety of *Herod's* juriſdiction, but under the title of an ethnarch, not of a king, with a promiſe yet of the kingdom too, whenever he ſhould make himſelf worthy of that honour. The other half was divided between the two ſons of *Herod*, *Philip*, and that *Antipas* that had the diſpute with *Archelaus* about the entire ſucceſſion. This *Antipas* had for his ſhare *Galilee*, with the country beyond *Jordan*, and two hundred talents a year in revenue. *Philip's* portion was *Batanæa*, *Trachonitis*, and *Auranitis*; and part of the palace of *Zenodorus*, (as they called it) and a hundred talents in yearly revenue. *Archelaus* had *Judæa*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*, which was diſcharged by *Ceſar* of a fourth part of the duty, for ſtanding loyal when the reſt were in rebellion: There fell to his lot alſo the tower of *Straton*, *Sebaſte*, *Joppa*, and *Jeruſalem*: For *Gaza*, *Gadara*, and *Hippon*, living in a conformity to the *Greek* cuſtoms and manners, were no longer dependencies upon the kingdom, but annexed by *Auguſtus* to *Syria*. The whole revenue of *Archelaus* was ſix hundred talents.

Thus ſtood the patrimony of the ſons of *Herod*. To *Salome*, (beſide the cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phaſaelis*, and five hundred thouſand pieces of minted money, which her brother had given her by will,) *Auguſtus* gave a palace in *Aſcalon*, within the dominion of *Archelaus*, and her income was reckoned at ſix hundred talents a year. All the other legacies to the reſt of the king's relations were made good alſo according to tne will of *Herod*. *Auguſtus* beſtowed likewiſe upon *Herod's* two virgin daughters, over and above what their father left them, two hundred and fifty thouſand pieces of ſilver each, and married them to the two ſons of *Pheroras*. Nay, he divided his own legacies among the ſons of *Herod* too, except ſome few pieces of plate which he kept to himſelf, not for the value thereof, but for the memory of the donor.

CHAP. XIII.

An Impoſtor counterfeits himſelf to be Alexander, Herod'*s Son*; Auguſtus *finds out his Cheat, and ſends him to the Galleys.*

THERE was a certain young man, a *Jew*, and trained up at *Sidon*, with a freeman of *Rome*, who had ſo ſtrange a reſemblance of *Alexander* the ſon of *Herod*, who was put to death by his father, that it was almoſt impoſſible to have diſtinguiſhed the one from the other. This *Jew* took the hint by the right handle, and inſinuated, by a glancing way, ſome remote pretenſion that he might have to the crown. While this fancy was in his head he conferred with one that had run through all the cabals and intrigues of the court, and a man made for plots and miſchief: It was this ſharper's advice, that the young man ſhould ſet up for that very *Alexander* that was ſaid to be dead; and the ſtory was to run thus. That the perſon intruſted with the execution of the two brothers, (*Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*) had ſet up two other bodies in their places, and ſo preſerved them both. The cheat paſſed current, inſomuch that coming to *Crete*, and after that to the iſle of *Melos*, the *Jews* all ſwallowed it ſo readily, that he took up ſeveral ſums of money among them, upon the credit of his blood royal. He began now to dream of principalities and powers, and with theſe crotchets in his head away he went for *Rome*, with a fair troop of his new courtiers and diſciples at his heels. When he came to *Puteoli*, he had no ſooner ſet foot aſhore there, but all the *Jews* that ever had any friendſhip or acquaintance with *Herod* received him as their king. The rumour of this diſcovery coming to *Rome*, brought all the *Jews* out of that quarter to meet him upon the way. He was carried in a litter with a princely pomp and equipage, followed with multitudes of people, loud acclamations, prayers, and good wiſhes. But the great honour they did him was for ſake of his ſuppoſed mother *Mariamne*. Now *Ceſar* looking upon *Herod* as a man not to be eaſily impoſed upon in a matter of this importance, would not believe one ſyllable of the ſtory, but yet for the ſake of certainty he ſent a freeman of his, one *Celadus*, a cotemporary and companion of the two brothers, to fetch this new *Alexander*, that he might have a ſight of him, which he did; and *Celadus* was impoſed upon as well as the reſt. But *Ceſar* obſerving how exactly the maſter and the ſcholar agreed in the ſame tale, and that it was all but a made ſtory, aſked him what was become of *Ariſtobulus*, and ſince they were both delivered together, how it came to paſs they did not both appear together, and put in for their pretenſions to their inheritance. The impoſtor made anſwer, that *Ariſtobulus* ſtaid at *Cyprus* for fear of the danger of the ſeas; for if they ſhould both have miſcarried together, the whole race of *Mariamne*, would have been extinct, and ſo care was taken for *Ariſtobulus* in caſe of the worſt.

The falſe *Alexander* affirming this, and and the contriver of the ſtory joining exactly with him in the concert, *Ceſar* took the young man aſide. "Look ye," ſays he, "put none of your tricks upon me at your peril. Speak truth now, and I'll give you your life. Therefore tell me immediately what you are, and who it was that put you upon this practice; for you have not attained years enough to be ſo malicious, without ſome other inſtigation." When the fellow found there was no ſhifting, he told *Auguſtus* the whole hiſtory, with the author of the invention, and the manner of the proceeding. So *Ceſar* condemned him only to the gallies, being of a robuſt conſtitution of body, and proper for that ſervice. His adviſer was put to death; and as for the *Jews* of *Melos*, they were ſufficiently puniſhed in the expence they had been at for the honour of ſuch a piece of pageantry.

CHAP. XIV.

The Hiſtory of Archelaus *in his* Ethnarchy.

ARCHELAUS being now returned to *Judæa*, and in poſſeſſion of his *Ethnarchy*, removed *Joazar* the ſon of *Boethus* from the pontificate, for having taken part (as was pretended) with a ſeditious faction; and ſo conferred the dignity upon *Eleazar* his brother. He rebuilt the palace at *Jericho*, at a moſt magnificent expence, and drew one half of the ſtream that watered the village of *Neara*, to a grove of palm-trees that he had lately planted in the field below. He built alſo a new village, which he called *Archelais*, after his own name; and without any regard to the laws of his country, he took *Glaphyra* to wife, the daughter of king *Archelaus*, and the widow of his brother *Alexander*; by whom he had ſeveral children; though ſuch marriages with brother's wives are expreſly forbidden by the *Jewiſh* law; neither had *Eleazar* any long joy of his dignity; for *Jeſus* the ſon of *Sias* was put into his office while he was yet living.

In the tenth year of the government of *Archelaus*, the head men of the *Jews* and *Samaritans* were ſo diſguſted at the tyrannical way of his adminiſtration, that they joined in a complaint againſt him to *Ceſar*; who had expreſly charged him to govern his people with tenderneſs, impartiality, and juſtice. Upon the hearing of this clamour, he ſent for *Archelaus*, who was his agent at *Rome*, to come to him immediately, and bad him go preſently and fetch the other *Archelaus* to him; without vouchſafing him a letter. *Archelaus* poſted away into *Judæa*; where he found the other *Archelaus* making merry with his friends; ſhewed him *Ceſar*'s order, and called upon him to haſten away. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, *Ceſar* heard both charge and defence; paſſed a ſentence of baniſhment upon *Archelaus*, with confiſcation of all his goods, and ſo ſent him away to *Vienne*, a city in *Gaul*.

His wife *Glaphyra*, the daughter of king

Archelaus, had an odd kind of a dream. This *Glaphyra*'s ſecond huſband, after the putting of the firſt to death by his father, was *Juba*, the king of *Mauritania;* and after his death, living a widow with her father in *Cappadocia*, *Archelaus* turned off his former wife *Mariamne*, and falling in love with *Glayhyra* he married her. During the time of her cohabiting with *Archelaus* ſhe had this dream. She fancied that ſhe ſaw her firſt huſband, *Alexander*, coming toward her, and that when ſhe thought to receive him into her arms with all poſſible joy and kindneſs, he entered with her into this manner of expoſtulation. "*Glaphyra*," ſays he, "thou haſt made good the old ſaying, "there's no truſting to women. Was not "I the huſband of your virginity? And had "we not children betwixt us, the pledges "of that love? How could you forget that "obligation ſo far as to engage yourſelf in a "ſecond marriage, and after that into a "third; and ſo ſhameleſly to break into my "family and take my brother *Archelaus* for "your huſband? But notwithſtanding this, "I will not forget the love that I have born "thee, but will deliver thee from this re"proach, by retaining thee for my own, "as heretofore thou haſt been." She told this dream to ſeveral of her female friends, and within a few days after departed this life.

As to the lands of *Archelaus*, *Ceſar* laid them to *Syria*, and *Ceſar* ſent *Cyrenius*, a man of conſular authority, to tax the province, and diſpoſe of the palace of *Archelaus*.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK XVIII.

From the Year of the World 3973, to 4003.

CHAP. I.

Judas *and* Sadoc *taking opportunity, by virtue of the tax which was impoſed upon all* Judæa, *endeavour to eſtabliſh a fourth Sectary, and kindled a great Civil War.*

CYRENIUS was at this time ſent governor by *Ceſar* into *Syria.* He was a man of eminent fame, a *Roman* ſenator, and one that had paſſed through all the degrees of honour, up to the dignity of a conſul. *Coponius*, who commanded the horſe, went along with him, as governor of *Judæa*; but *Judæa* being already annexed to *Syria*, it was *Cyrenius*'s province to tax thoſe people, and to make ſeizure of the money and moveables of *Archelaus*.

The *Jews* grumbled at this way of aſſeſſing at firſt, but between the perſuaſion and authority of the high-prieſt *Joazar*, they were prevailed upon to comply. There came in play ſoon after this one *Judas*, a *Gaulanite* of the city of *Gamala*, who, with one *Sadoc* a *Phariſee*, inveigled the people into a revolt. They ſaid taxes were only marks of ſlavery, and therefore the whole nation ſhould do well to ſtand up for an univerſal liberty, and one lucky hit would make them free and eaſy for ever, and advance them in their reputation, as well as ſecure them in their poſſeſſions.

This was enough to put the multitude in tune for any ſort of miſchief, and it is not to be expreſſed the havock theſe turbulent incendiaries made in the nation, what with murders, robberies, depredations, without diſtinction of friend or foe, aſſaſſinations, maſſacres, and what not; under a pretext all this while of advancing the common good of liberty and property; and nothing at laſt but paſſion and private intereſt in the bottom. And at the ſame time, while the citizens were tearing one another to pieces at home with a civil war in their own bowels, a foreign war upon them from abroad, and a terrible famine to encounter beſide, nothing could yet put a ſtop to the outrageous courſe they were in, of blood and deſolation; till at length the horrible miſchief took ſuch a head, that they conſumed the temple of God, and burned all the ſtately buildings.

This was all owing to *Judas* and *Sadoc*, who out of a capricious ſingularity of humour, would needs be ſuperadding a fourth ſect to the three former; by which bait of innovation they drew in a mighty party to them, and not only proved the occaſion of a preſent confuſion, but laid the foundation of greater miſchiefs to come. Wherefore it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomewhat in this place of thoſe pernicious opinions and principles that wrought us all this woe.

CHAP. II.

The Phariſees *Practices and Opinions. The Way of the* Sadducees. *The* Eſſenes; *their Doctrine, Courſe of Life, and Government. A fourth Sect for abſolute Liberty.*

THERE were of old three famous ſects of religion among the *Jews*; the *Eſſenes*, the *Sadducees*, and thoſe that they called *Phariſees*. The *Phariſees* manner of life is ſimple and auſtere: They make a conſcience of keeping cloſe to the dictates of reaſon, and pay ſuch a veneration to the counſels of their elders, that they hearken to them without any contradiction or control: They aſcribe all things to fate, but not ſo as abſolutely to exclude free-will: For though all things are done, they ſay, by God's order and appointment; this does not yet hinder the concurrence of the will, in caſes that have a regard either to good or evil. They believe the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment in another world.

The *Sadducees*, on the other hand, hold that our bodies and ſouls die together, and that we have no other obligation upon us than to obſerve the law: Inſomuch that they value themſelves upon a right they have to diſpute the higheſt points with their teachers. Theſe people are not many in number, but for the moſt part men of quality, and matters go ſeldom their way, for when they come once to bear offices, how unwillingly ſoever, they are forced to go over in a conformity to the *Phariſees*, for the common people will not ſuffer it to be otherwiſe.

The *Eſſenes* aſcribe the government of the world to God's providence without any exception. They hold the immortality of the ſoul; and celebrate juſtice, both in practice and doctrine, as the ſovereign virtue. They ſend their gifts to the temple, without going thither themſelves, for they offer their ſacrifices apart, in a peculiar way of worſhip, and with more religious ceremonies. As to their converſation, they are men of excellent morals, and their whole buſineſs in the world is huſbandry. They are eminent for their juſtice, beyond either *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, as a virtue that hath been a long time their application and ſtudy. Their goods are all in common, without any diſtinction of rich and poor among them. They have neither wives nor ſervants, for they look upon the one as an encroachment upon the natural liberty of mankind, and the other as a circumſtance that carries trouble and uneaſineſs along with it: So that they chuſe rather by a mutual exchange of good offices to help one another. This is their way of life, and they reckon themſelves to be upward of four thouſand ſouls in this ſociety. Their treaſurers and commiſſaries are men of integrity, choſen from among their prieſts, and it is their care to make proviſion out of the fruits of the earth, for the feeding and maintaining of the whole body. They live, in a word, much at the rate that they do who are called *Pliſti* among the *Danes*.

The fourth ſect was founded by *Judas* of *Galilee*, which accordeth altogether in all things with the *Phariſees*; but they are extremely zealous of their liberty, acknowledging but one only God, Lord and maſter of all things; and had rather themſelves, with their deareſt children and kindred, ſhould endure the moſt grievous and bitter torments that may be imagined, than call any mortal man their lord. Of which conſtancy of theirs, I forbear to diſcourſe any further at this time, for it is ſufficiently known unto divers, who have been eye-witneſſes thereof: neither do I fear leſt any one ſhould ſuppoſe thoſe things to be incredible which I have ſaid of them; but rather that I have ſpoken leſs than they themſelves make evident, in contemning their grievous tortures and puniſhments, which courage and magnanimity of theirs increaſed very mightily amongſt our nation, being kindled by the moſt grievous injuries which were offered us by *Geſſius Florus* our governor, by which means at length it came to paſs, that they revolted and rebelled againſt the people of *Rome*.

Thus much concerning the ſects among the *Jews*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Salome's *Death.* Auguſtus's *Death, whom* Tiberius *ſucceeds.* Herod *builds a City, and calls it* Tiberias. Phraates *murdered by his Son* Phraataces. *The Son deſtroyed by a Tumult.* Herod *cut off by a Conſpiracy; with other Occurrences.*

AFTER *Cyrenius* had made ſale of the forfeited goods and eſtate of *Archelaus,* and ſettled a tax according to his order, which happened in the thirty ſeventh year after the battle of *Actium,* wherein *Ceſar* got the better of *Anthony,* the people broke out into a tumult againſt *Joazar* the high-prieſt, and *Cyrenius* depoſed him from his dignity, ſubſtituting *Ananus,* the ſon of *Seth,* to ſucceed in his place.

Herod and *Philip,* being now ſettled in their tetrarchies, put all things in the beſt order they could. The former began with the fortifying and walling in of *Sephoris,* which he made the bulwark and the capital of all *Galilee,* and after that, he fortified another town alſo, which at that time was called *Betaramphtha,* but he changed the name afterward to *Julias,* in honour of the empreſs. *Philip* beautified and enlarged *Paleas* at the head of the river *Jordan,* and gave it the name of *Ceſarea,* and the village of *Bethſaida,* upon the bank of the lake of *Geneſareth,* he made a magnificent city, giving it the name of *Julias,* out of reſpect to *Julia* the daughter of *Ceſar.*

As for *Coponius,* there happened this diſorder while he was there in his government. It is uſual for the prieſts upon the feaſt of unleavened bread, or the paſchal feaſt, to open the doors of the temple after midnight. Now there was a company of *Samaritans* that ſlipped privately into *Jeruſalem,* and waiting for the opening of the doors, ſtept immediately into the temple, and threw dead men's bones about, into the galleries, and every where up and down. The prieſt after that kept a better guard.

Coponius a little after this returning to *Rome, Marcus Ambivius* ſucceeded him to the government: In whoſe time died *Salome* the ſiſter of *Herod,* and left to *Julia* the city of *Jamnia, Phaſaelis* upon the plain, and *Archelais,* with ſeveral plantations of palm-trees, that bear ſuch excellent fruit.

Annius Rufus ſucceeded *Ambivius,* and in his time *Auguſtus Ceſar* departed this life. He was the ſecond of the *Roman* emperors, and ruled the commonwealth fifty ſeven years, ſix months and two days, having been for fourteen years of the time a partner and companion with *Anthony* in the government; and upon the whole, his age was ſeventy ſeven years.

Tiberius Nero, his ſon-in-law, and the ſon of *Livia* his wife, ſucceeded *Auguſtus,* being the third emperor of the *Romans,* and ſent *Valerius Gratus* to be governor of *Judæa* inſtead of *Annius Rufus.* He removed *Ananus* from the pontificate, and put *Iſrael* the ſon of *Fabius* in his place; who was ſoon after depoſed, and the honour transferred to *Eleazar* the ſon of *Ananus* the high-prieſt: And it was taken from him in one year more too, and given to *Simon* the ſon of *Camith,* who after another year was commanded to deliver it up to *Joſeph*, whoſe ſurname was *Caiaphas*. *Gratus* having been now eleven years in his government, went back to *Rome*, and *Pontius Pilate* ſucceeded him.

Herod the tetrach was now in great favour with *Tiberius*, and erected a city to his honour by the name of *Tiberias*. He built it upon the beſt ſpot of ground in all *Galilee*, on the bank of the lake *Genezareth*, and not far from the hot baths at *Emmaus*.

Phraates, the king of the *Parthians*, was at that time treacherouſly murdered by his ſon *Phraataces*, by the aſſiſtance of his mother *Thermuſa*: In order to which ſhe perſuaded her huſband *Phraates* to ſend his other children to *Rome*, as hoſtages. But *Phraataces* made himſelf ſo odious to the people, both for the parricide and for the inceſt, which he was ſuppoſed to commit with his mother, that before he could come to enter upon the government, he was driven out by a tumult, and ſo periſhed.

The *Parthian* nobility, reſolving not to ſet any prince on the throne, but of the *Arſacidæ*, (the blood of *Phraates* being already ſufficiently tainted by the luſts of this beaſtly woman) they ſent ambaſſadors with an invitation to *Herod*, who was, 'tis true, of the royal line, but ſo hateful withal to the multitude, for the outrageous cruelty of his nature, that a band of conſpirators ſet upon him and killed him, the *Parthians* never going without their ſwords. Some ſay the execution was done at a ſacrifice or banquet, but the moſt received account is, that he was killed when he was hunting.

Upon this they ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, deſiring one of the *Parthian* hoſtages for their king, to ſupply the preſent vacancy, and making choice of *Vonones* before the reſt of the brothers. But the *Parthians* being naturally fickle and haughty, quickly repented of their choice: Their ſtomachs were too big to truckle to a ſlave, they ſaid, impoſed upon them by any law of arms, but a ſcandalous condition of a ſhameful peace. In this heat of indignation, they ſent for *Artabanus*, who was then king of the *Medes*, and of the blood of the *Arſacidæ*, who was eaſily prevailed upon, and came preſently with a conſiderable army. *Vonones* encountered him, and beat him back again into *Media*; the generality of the *Parthians* ſtanding as yet firm to their duty; but *Artabanus* being in a ſhort time reinforced, gave a notable overthrow to *Vonones* in a ſecond battle, ſo that he had much ado with ſome few horſe to ſave himſelf in *Seleucia*. This action put him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Parthia*. *Vonones* in the mean time fled into *Armenia*, with a project in his head to make himſelf maſter there; ſolliciting *Ceſar* alſo at the ſame time by an embaſſy to aſſiſt him in his deſign; but *Tiberius* would not meddle in the matter. This blaſted all *Vonones*'s hopes, eſpecially finding that the great men of *Armenia* that bordered upon *Niphates*, ſided with *Artabanus*. So that in the concluſion, he delivered himſelf up to *Syllanus* the governor of *Syria*, who out of a reſpect to former acquaintance with him at *Rome*, gave him a very honourable reception. *Artabanus*, being now at eaſe, made his ſon *Orodes* king of *Armenia*.

There happened about that time, upon the death of *Antiochus* king of *Comagena*, a controverſy between the lords and commons, the former were for reducing the kingdom into the ſtate of a province, and the other for being under a king ſtill, as they were before. Upon this diſpute, *Germanicus* was ordered away into the eaſt by a decree of the ſenate for the compoſing of this difference, and fortune improved this occaſion to the ruin of that excellent prince: For after he had ſettled and quietted affairs in *Syria*, he was poiſoned by the practice of *Piſo*.

CHAP. IV.

Standards ſet up in Jeruſalem *with* Ceſar's *Image upon them. The* Jews *petition againſt them.* Pilate *oppoſes it; and lays an ambuſh for them, commanding them on pain of Death to depart. The* Jews *peremptorily refuſe; and upon that the Images are removed.* Pilate *demands Money out of the holy Treaſury. The* Jews *gather in a Tumult. The Soldiers diſperſe them.* Joſephus's *Teſtimony of* JESUS CHRIST.

PILATE the governor of *Judea*, upon the removal of certain troops from *Ceſarea* to their winter quarters to *Jeruſalem*, brought ſeveral ſtandards into the city with the image of *Ceſar* upon them, to the ſcandal of the *Jewiſh* laws, which expreſsly prohibit the uſe of ſuch figures. *Pilate* was the firſt that ever tranſgreſſed this rule; and they were brought into the town by ſtealth too, and there planted in the dead of the night. But the next morning the citizens gathered together in great multitudes, and went to *Pilate* in *Ceſarea*, with a petition for the removal of thoſe images to ſome other place. After ſeveral days waiting, and *Pilate* ſtill refuſing, at laſt, upon the ſeventh day of the *Jews* attendance, he commanded a party of ſoldiers to be privately ready with their arms where he appointed them, and thereupon mounted a tribunal that he had cauſed to be erected in the circus, the people preſſing him ſtill about the the ſame buſineſs, till *Pilate* at laſt gave a ſignal to the ſoldiers to come out, and ordered them immediately to cut all their throats, if in that inſtant they ſhould not every man depart to his own home and be quiet: But the *Jews* caſt themſelves all flat upon the ground, and ſtretching out their necks, gave to underſtand that their very lives were not ſo dear to them as the laws of their country. This wonderful conſtancy wrought ſo far upon *Pilate*, that he preſently cauſed the image to be carried back again from *Jeruſalem* to *Ceſarea*.

Pilate being now upon a deſign of bringing an aqueduct to *Jeruſalem*, two hundred furlongs off from the city, demanded money out of the holy treaſury to defray the charge of the work. The people took this ſo heinouſly, that they got ſeveral thouſands of them in a body together, to try what might be done by multitudes and clamour, to divert him from his purpoſe. Some there were in this rabble that gave *Pilate* perſonal provocations, with foul language, inſomuch that he ordered a certain number of ſoldiers to put themſelves in a ring about the multitude, with clubs under their coats, telling them what they were to do, upon his giving the word, in caſe of any further reviling or reproach. The rabble went on with their ribaldry, and the word being given, the ſoldiers fell on with their clubs, and the *Jews* were ſome killed, others wounded and diſperſed, and ſo an end put to the tumult.

At the ſame time there was one *JESUS*, a wiſe man, if man he may be called. He was a great worker of miracles, and a teacher of thoſe that were curious and deſirous to learn the truth, and he had a great many followers, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. This was the *CHRIST* that was accuſed by the princes and great men of our nation. *Pilate* delivered him up to the croſs; and notwithſtanding all this, thoſe that loved him at firſt did not forſake him. He was ſeen alive again the third day after his crucifixion, as had been foretold by ſeveral prophets; with other wonders that he wrought; and there are a ſort of people that to this day bear the name of *Chriſtians*, as owning him for their head.

CHAP. V.

Profligate Jews *ſet up for Doctors. The Women follow them. They gather Money for the Temple, and then keep it to themſelves.* Saturninus *complains of it to* Tiberius. *The* Jews *are all baniſhed upon it. A* Samaritan *Impoſtor.* Tirathaba *beſieged.* Pilate *cuts them to Pieces. The* Samaritans *excuſe themſelves to* Vitellius. Marcellus *made governor of* Judæa, *and* Pilate *ſummoned before* Ceſar.

THERE was a certain profligate *Jew*, that was forced to fly his country to avoid the ſtroke of public juſtice. This man paſſed at *Rome* in thoſe days for a kind of *Rabbi*, in concert with three more of the ſame ſtamp and cabal: And theſe four held forth for leaders and expoſitors upon the laws of *Moſes*. By this pretence, they gained ſeveral diſciples, and among others, one *Fulvia*, a woman of quality and conſcience, and *Judaical* by profeſſion. This woman was by them prevailed upon to ſend oblations of gold and purple to the holy temple at *Jeruſalem*, which from time to time they converted to their own uſe, as they ever intended it. When this abuſe came to be made known to *Tiberius*, he commanded all the *Jews* forthwith to depart the city. There were four thouſand ſoldiers entered upon the conſul's roll, and ſent away for *Sardinia*; beſide a vaſt number of thoſe that made a conſcience of bearing arms, becauſe of their religion; and theſe were put to grievous torments: So that for the ſake of four flagitious hypocrites, the *Jews* were all baniſhed to a man.

And the *Samaritans* were not without their troubles too; for there was at that time a certain impoſtor who gave it out, that if the people would but meet at the mountain

Garizin, he would undertake to ſhew them the holy veſſels which *Moſes* had cauſed to be buried there ſo long ſince. Theſe credulous fools betook themſelves to their arms, and beſieged *Tirathaba*, waiting for ours to come in and join them, and ſo to march up the mountain together with a conſiderable army. But *Pilate*, with a ſtrong body of horſe and foot prepoſſeſſed the mountain, whence they made a charge among the *Samaritans*, routed and killed great numbers of them, took and carried away a multitude of priſoners; and for thoſe of intereſt or quality, *Pilate* ſtruck off their heads. The principal men of the *Samaritans*, applied themſelves upon this defeat to *Vitellius*, a perſon of conſular dignity, and at that time governor of *Syria*, with a complaint againſt *Pilate*; and charging him with murder. For they inſiſted upon it, that their meeting at *Tirathaba*, was no defection from the *Romans*, but the ſeeking for a refuge for themſelves againſt the violence of *Pilate*. *Vitellius*, upon this, ſent his friend *Marcellus* to take charge of the government of *Judæa*, and ordered *Pilate* to *Rome*, to anſwer before *Ceſar* the accuſations that were exhibited againſt him. He had now been ten years in his government; and upon this order put himſelf upon a journey to *Rome*; but *Tiberius* died before he got thither.

CHAP. VI.

Vitellius *reſtores the High-Prieſts Veſtments to the* Jews, *to keep as they did formerly: He treateth in* Tiberias's *behalf with* Artabanus *King of the* Parthians. Artabanus *betrayed, but reinforced and recovers his Kingdom. A Treaty between* Tiberias *and* Artabanus. Darius *ſent in Hoſtage.* Eleazar *a* Jew *of ſeven Cubits Stature.* Philip *dies without Children: His Dominions are re-united to* Syria.

VITELLIUS went into *Judæa*, and ſo to *Jeruſalem*, (this being the feaſt of the paſſover, as we call it) where he was received with great honour, and very graciouſly remitted to the inhabitants the whole duty upon fruits. He reſtored to the prieſts alſo the keeping of the pontifical robes and habits again, as they had them of old, being as then depoſited in the caſtle of *Antonia*, as they had been ever ſince the time of *Hyrcanus* the high-prieſt.

At the ſame time he received letters of direction from *Tiberius*, to make a league with *Artabanus*; for he was afraid, if he ſhould make himſelf maſter of *Armenia*, that it might be dangerous to the empire: But this to be done only upon condition of one of the king's ſons for an hoſtage. After this was done, *Vitellius* tampered with the kings of *Iberia* and *Alania*, by great ſums of money to engage them immediately in a war with *Artabanus*. The *Iberians* could not be prevailed upon any further than to leave the *Alanians* a free paſſage through their city, and ſo by the *Caſpian* mountains, to open them an inroad into the kingdom of *Artabanus*. Upon this irruption the *Parthians* preſently loſt *Armenia*, and that blow was followed with ſo deſperate a ravage upon their own country, that the nobility was almoſt entirely cut off, together with the king's ſon, and ſo many thouſands of the common people that they were in a manner unpeopled by this invaſion. *Artabanus* found by this time that his very friends and relations were bribed into a plot with *Vitellius* to deſtroy him: So that not knowing whom to truſt he made his eſcape out of hand into the upper provinces, where he was reinforced with ſo conſiderable an army of the *Dahi* and *Saci*, that he not only overthrew his enemies, but recovered his kingdom.

Upon this turn of affairs, *Tiberius* propoſed an alliance with *Artabanus*, and they met by conſent to treat about it, (the king, and *Vitellius*, with their guards) upon the middle of the bridge over the river *Euphrates*. At the concluſion of the treaty, *Herod* the tetrarch gave them both a magnificent treat, in a tent that he had erected upon the ſame river; and *Artabanus* ſent his ſon *Darius* not long after, as an hoſtage to *Tiberius*, with variety of preſents; and one among the reſt was a man of ſeven cubits in height, and profeſſion a *Jew*, whom they called *Eleazar* the giant. *Vitellius*, after this, returned to *Antioch*, and *Artabanus* to *Babylon*.

At that time alſo *Philip*, *Herod*'s brother, died, in the twentieth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, after he had reigned himſelf for ſeven and thirty years in *Trachonitis*, *Galonitis*, and *Bathanæa*. During all the time of his government, he behaved himſelf very peaceably, for he made his abode within his own dominion. He walked, being accompanied with a ſmall number of his choſen ſervants, and had the ſeat carried after him wherein he was accuſtomed to ſit and do juſtice; to the end, that if any one preſented himſelf, and required his aſſiſtance, he might, without delay, do him right: For upon the firſt motion, the ſeat was placed in that part wherein the plaintiff met him, and being ſeated thereon, he examined the cauſe, puniſhing thoſe that were guilty, and abſolving the innocent. He died in *Juliade*, and was buried in the ſepulchre which he himſelf had cauſed to be built; and his obſequies were performed with great ſolemnity and majeſty. And having left no male heirs behind him, *Tiberius* ſeized on his eſtate, which he united to the government of *Syria*, ordaining that the tributes that were gained in his tetrarchy, ſhould be kept within the bounds of the ſame country.

CHAP. VII.

A War betwixt Herod *and* Aretas. Herod *marries the Daughter of* Aretas; *and falls in Love with* Herodias; *propoſing to marry her, and to part with the other. His wife diſcovers it.* Aretas *reſents it.* Herod *routed by* Aretas.

THERE happened a war, at this time, betwixt *Herod* and *Aretas* the king of *Petra*, upon this ground: *Herod* the tetrarch married the daughter of *Aretas*, and they had lived a long time together; but being called afterward to *Rome*, he took *Herod* his brother-in-law in his way; (the ſon of the daughter of *Simon* the high-prieſt) where he fell ſo paſſionately in love with *Herodias*, his brother's wife, and the daughter of *Ariſtobulus*, their brother, who was alſo the ſiſter of *Agrippa*, afterwards king, that he had the confidence to make a propoſal of marriage to her upon his return from *Rome*, and of parting with his wife, the daughter of *Aretas*; which was agreed to on both ſides, as the condition of their marriage.

After this, he proſecuted his voyage for *Rome*: And ſo ſoon as he had diſpatched the buſineſs he went there about, he returned home again. His wife having by this time gotten intelligence of his intrigue with *Herodias*, was telling him ſlily once, how glad ſhe would be if he would but let her go to *Machærus* a little; (a caſtle upon the borders of *Aretas*'s dominions) *Herod*, without imagining the matter, gave way to her going. Now *Machærus* being a place at her father's devotion, every thing was there in readineſs for her journey; ſo that the governor of the place furniſhed her immediately upon her arrival with *Arabian* guards that conducted her, to her father's palace: Where ſhe gave him at large the hiſtory of *Herod*'s new amour. This begot a heart-burning, and there being a controverſy a-foot at that time about the bounds and abuttals of ſome lands in *Gamala*, and two armies ready in the field to diſpute the queſtion, they laid hold of this pretence, and by their deputies brought it to a battle, where *Herod* was utterly routed by the treachery of a certain band of refuges, that came over from *Philip* and were at that time in *Herod*'s pay. This prince had no ſooner given *Tiberius* intelligence of the diſaſter, but he preſently in a rage ordered *Vitellius* to make war upon *Aretas* for this inſolence, and either bring him alive to *Rome*, or to ſend his head.

CHAP. VIII.

A Judgment upon Herod *and his army.* St. John *the* Baptiſt *put to Death.* Vitellius *marches towards* Petra. *The* Jews *are ſcandalized at Images in the Colours.* Vitellius, Herod, *&c. go to* Jeruſalem *to worſhip. The High-Prieſthood transferred from* Jonathan *to* Theophilus. *News of* Tiberius's *Death.* Vitellius *ſwears the people to* Caius. *The Wizzards foretel the event.* Vitellius *goes back to* Antioch. *The Family of* Herod *the Great.*

THE generality of the *Jews* were of opinion that this defeat of *Herod*'s was only a juſt judgment of God upon him and his army, for the buſineſs of *John* ſurnamed *Baptiſt*, which excellent man this tetrarch murdered. And what was his crime, but only his exhorting the *Jews* to the love and practice of virtue; and in the firſt place, of piety and juſtice, and to a regeneration by baptiſm and a new life, not by abſtaining from this or that particular ſin, but by an habitual purity of mind, as well as of body. Now ſo great was the credit and authority of this holy man, as appeared by the multitude of his diſciples, and the veneration they had for his doctrine, that *Herod* did not know how far the reputation of a man of his ſpirit might influence the people towards a revolt. So that for fear of the worſt, he choſe rather to take him out of the way in time, than to hazard an unprofitable repentance when it ſhould be too late. Wherefore he ſent him away bound to *Machærus*, with order to have him put to death, which was accordingly executed; and that impious fact was followed with a divine vengeance upon *Herod*, as the *Jews* reaſonably enough perſuaded themſelves.

Vitellius was now preparing for the *Arabian* war; and upon his march towards *Petra* with two legions and all the auxiliaries. When he was advanced as far as *Ptolemais*, and thinking to take his paſſage acroſs *Judæa*, the great men of the country met upon the way with earneſt ſupplications that he would ſteer ſome other courſe; for the images the *Romans* carry commonly in their colours, were an offence to the *Jewiſh* laws and religion. The general was prevailed upon, and ſo ſent his army about by the compaſs of a great plain; while he himſelf, with *Herod* the tetrarch and his friends, went up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip upon a public feſtival that was at hand. His entertainment was with as much honour as poſſible, and he made three days ſtay there; in which time, he transferred the high-prieſthood from *Jonathan* to his brother *Theophilus*. Upon the fourth day came letters to him of the death of *Tiberius*; upon which intelligence he made the people ſwear allegiance to *Caius Caligula*, the ſucceſſor, called back his troops and ordered them into winter quarters; putting a ſtop to the war upon this change in the government.

There goes a report that upon the news of this expedition of *Vitellius*, *Aretas* conſulted the wizzards and diviners about the event of this undertaking; who gave him this reſolution: That the army now upon their march, ſhould never come up to *Petra*; for either one of the princes ſhould die; or he that commanded the war, or he that executed that command, or the perſon againſt whom it was carried on. And ſo *Vitellius* went back to *Antioch*.

Agrippa, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, had been now a year at *Rome*, attending *Ceſar* about ſome important affair. But it will be more to my preſent purpoſe to ſay ſomewhat in the firſt place of Herod and his family.

Herod the great had by Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, two daughters; Salampſo the one, who married Phaſael the ſon of Phaſael, the king's elder brother, with the father's conſent. The other's name was Cypros, who married Antipater, the nephew of Herod by his ſiſter Salome.

Phaſael had by Salampſo, five children; Antipater, Herod, Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; who married Agrippa the ſon of Ariſtobulus; but Alexandra was married to one Timius a nobleman of the iſle of Cyprus, who died without children. Agrippa had by Cypros, two ſons and three daughters. The daughters were Berenice, Mariamne, and Druſilla: The ſons were Agrippa and Druſus; the latter dying in his minority. Agrippa the father was brought up under his grandfather Herod the great; together with his brothers, Herod and Ariſtobulus; and ſo was Berenice alſo, the daughter of Salome and Coſtobarus. The children of Ariſtobulus were at that time infants, when their father and his brother Alexander were put to death by Herod. But after they grew up, this Herod the brother of Agrippa married Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias (who was king Herod's daughter) and of Joſeph, Herod's brother, by whom he had Ariſtobulus. Now Ariſtobulus the third brother of Agrippa, married Jotape the daughter of Sampſigeram king of the Emeſenes, by whom he had a daughter that bare her mother's name and was born deaf. Theſe were the children of the three brothers; but Herodias their ſiſter married Herod, the ſon of Herod the great, whom he had by Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-prieſt, and from thence came Salome; after whoſe birth, Herodias made no ſcruple, in defiance of all law and conſcience, to take Herod the tetrarch of Galilee for her ſecond huſband, though her huſband's brother by the father's ſide; having alſo abandoned a former huſband that was yet living. Salome the daughter married Philip the ſon of Herod the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who died without children, and then ſhe married Ariſtobulus the ſon of Herod and the brother of Agrippa, by whom ſhe had three ſons, Herod, Agrippa, and Ariſtobulus. Let this ſuffice as to the family of Phaſael and Salampſo.

Cypros had by Antipater, a daughter of the mother's name, who was married to Alexas Selcius the ſon of Alexas, and by her he had one daughter, Cypros. But Herod and Alexander, who were the brothers of Antipater, died without iſſue. Now Alexander, the ſon of king Herod, that was put to death by his father, had by Glaphyra the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Alexander and Tigranes.

This Tigranes was that king of Armenia that had an accuſation brought againſt him by the Romans, and died without children. Alexander had a ſon Tigranes alſo, after the name of his uncle, whom Nero advanced to be king of Armenia, and had a ſon Alexander, who married Jotape, the daughter of Antiochus king of Comagena, and was made king of Leſis in Cilicia by Veſpaſian. The race of Alexander quickly declined from the Jewiſh laws and diſcipline to the religion of the Greeks; and the other daughters of Herod the great left no children behind them.

CHAP. IX.

The Riſe of Agrippa. *His vaſt Profuſion. He retires to* Malatha. Cypros *writes for him to* Herodias. Herodias *gets him a Penſion.* Agrippa *goes to* Flaccus. Ariſtobulus *undermines* Agrippa. *A Diſpute between* Damaſcus *and* Sidon. Flaccus *caſts off* Agrippa, *who is hard put to't for his Debts, but gives his Creditors the Slip. He takes up Money upon his Wife's Credit.*

A Little before the death of *Herod* the great, *Agrippa*, being then at *Rome*, and frequently in the emperor's family, was got much in favour with his ſon *Druſus*, and ſo likewiſe in the good graces of *Antonia*, the wife of *Druſus* the elder, by the means of his mother *Berenice*, for whom *Antonia* had a ſingular value. He was naturally generous, but while his mother lived kept within compaſs: Till coming at laſt by her death to be left to himſelf, what with expenſive treats, and extravagant bounties and profuſions, he had run himſelf ſo deſperately in debt, that he durſt not ſhew his head any longer in *Rome*. *Tiberius*, at the ſame time alſo, loſing his ſon, would not endure any of *Druſus*'s favourites ſo much as in his ſight to mind him of his loſs.

When he had thus ſquandered away his money he went back to *Judæa*, and out of deſpair of retrieving his fortune, he retired to *Malatha*, a caſtle in *Idumæa*, with a reſolution there to put an end to his wretched life. *Cypros* finding her huſband deſperately out of humour, wrote to her ſiſter *Herodias* about it, with a very punctual account of his neceſſitous condition; adjuring her by all the ties of honour and affinity of blood, to give him ſome aſſiſtance. This wrought ſo far upon *Herodias*, that both ſhe and her huſband ſent away preſently to fetch *Agrippa* to them, gave him a penſion in money, and the command of *Tiberas* for his preſent ſubſiſtance: But this did not hold long, for being in their cups once at *Tyre*, *Herod* contemptuouſly reflected upon *Agrippa* for his poverty, and caſt it in his teeth that it was his purſe that maintained him.

Agrippa could not digeſt this indignity, and ſo he betook himſelf to *Flaccus*, an ancient friend of his, at that time governor of *Syria*. He gave him a frank reception, having *Ariſtobulus* with him in the houſe before, who, though *Agrippa*'s brother, was yet his enemy, and would never be quiet till he had wrought *Flaccus* into an ill opinion of *Agrippa*; which was thus brought about. There was a diſpute between the people of *Damaſcus* and thoſe of *Sidon*, about the limits of their territory. The cauſe was to be tried before *Flaccus*, and the people of *Damaſcus* being told that *Agrippa* and he were all one, they could not do better, they thought, than to engage *Agrippa* for a ſum of money in their intereſt. They ſtruck the bargain, and *Agrippa* was for *Damaſcus* againſt *Sidon*. *Ariſtobulus*, finding it out, complained of his brother to the governor,

nor, who upon examination and proof of the matter caſt off *Agrippa*, and left him to ſhift for himſelf: So he returned to *Ptolemais*, with a reſolution to go back again into *Italy*. In this extremity he put *Marſyas*, a freeman of his, upon it to take up money of the brokers upon any terms, to ſupply his preſent occaſions. So he went to *Protus*, a freeman of *Berenice* the mother of *Agrippa*, and his late patroneſs, that had in her laſt will and teſtament recommended him to the ſervice of *Antonia*; and ſo propounded the matter to him. The other told him that he was in his books already: However he ſqueezed out of *Protus* twenty thouſand *Attic* drachmas upon bond, two thouſand five hundred of which he kept to himſelf, for his trouble in procuring it, which *Agrippa* was not in condition to diſpute.

Upon the receipt of the money, *Agrippa* went to *Anthedon*, where he met with a ſhip for his purpoſe, and prepared himſelf to put to ſea. But this coming to the ears of *Herennius Capito*, the procurator of *Jamnia*, he ſent ſoldiers to him to demand the payment of a debt of three hundred thouſand pieces of ſilver that he borrowed of the king's money when he was at *Rome*. *Agrippa* promiſed them fair, but ſo ſoon as it was dark cut his cable and put to ſea, ſtanding his courſe for *Alexandria*. When he came thither he deſired *Alexander*, the head officer about the revenue, to furniſh him with two hundred thouſand pieces, which *Alexander* refuſed to let him have upon his own ſecurity, but lent him upon the ſecurity of *Cypros* five talents at *Alexandria*, and letters of credit for the reſt at *Puetoli*. *Cypros* found there was no hindering her huſband's journey; ſo ſhe and her children went back again to *Judæa* by land.

CHAP. X.

Agrippa *goes to* Tiberius *at* Capreæ. Agrippa *charged with defrauding the King, and forbid the Court till he pays his Debts.* Antonia *lends him the Money.* Agrippa *made Governor to* Tiberius Nero. Agrippa, Caius's *Favourite.* Eutychus *hears dangerous Words, informs* Piſo, *and is ſent bound to* Tiberius. *The dilatory Humour of* Tiberius.

AGRIPPA, upon his coming to *Puteoli*, gave *Tiberius Ceſar* to underſtand by a letter, being then at *Capreæ*, that he was come ſo far to pay him his duty, and deſired leave to wait upon him. *Tiberius* ſent him back the kindeſt anſwer, inviting him to *Capreæ*: And upon his arrival received him very graciouſly; but on the day following *Ceſar* received letters of complaint from *Herennius* againſt *Agrippa*, ſetting forth, that being three hundred thouſand pieces in the emperor's debt, and the money long ſince due, he had only demanded ſatisfaction on the bond, and *Agrippa* gave him the ſlip upon it: So that *Ceſar* was in danger to loſe his money. *Tiberius* took this ſo heinouſly that he ordered the officers of his bedchamber not to open a door to *Agrippa* till he had paid the debt. *Agrippa* took no notice of the emperor's diſpleaſure, but went away to *Antonia,* the mother both of *Germanicus* and of *Claudius,* who came afterwards to the empire, and telling her how he was like to loſe *Ceſar*'s favour for want of three hundred thouſand pieces, ſhe lent him the money. With this money *Agrippa* diſcharged the debt, and ſo ſet himſelf right again with the emperor. This gained ſo far upon *Ceſar,* that he committed his grand-child *Tiberius Nero,* the ſon of *Druſus,* to *Agrippa*'s government and care. *Agrippa* was ſo ſenſible of the obligations he had to *Antonia,* that he made his court in the firſt place however to her grandchild *Caius,* whom all people had a great eſteem for. There was at that time a freeman of *Ceſar*'s, a *Samaritan,* who gave *Agrippa* credit for a million of pieces; part of it went to the payment of *Antonia,* and the reſt toward the expence of his entertainment in his attendance upon *Caius,* who had now taken him into the greateſt confidence and friendſhip imaginable.

As they were one day together in a chariot, there happened to be ſome occaſion of mentioning *Tiberius,* upon which *Agrippa* ſaid, "I could wiſh with all my heart it "would pleaſe the Heavens that *Caius* were "in his place." Theſe words were overheard by *Eutychus, Agrippa*'s freeman, who was at that time driving the chariot. This coachman was charged not long after this with robbing his patron, and taken up and carried to *Piſo,* the governor of the place, to be examined about it. *Piſo,* upon the examination, aſked him what made him run away. He made anſwer that *Ceſar*'s life was in danger, and that he was going to make a diſcovery of the plot. *Eutychus,* upon this, was ſent bound to *Capreæ,* and there kept in chains by *Tiberius,* who was in all ſuch caſes the moſt unſettled, dilatory man, that ever was born, either prince or uſurper. He would not ſo much as admit ambaſſadors without delay, nor ſupply vacancies in governments of provinces, till the former deputies or governors were certainly dead. In two and twenty years time of his reign he ſent only two governors into *Judæa,* that is to ſay, *Gratus* and his ſucceſſor *Pilate*; and proceeded at the ſame rate in all other parts of the empire. The reaſon he gave for the delay of bringing priſoners to their trial, was to keep them the longer in pain, and to puniſh them for their paſt crimes, by a lingering torment worſe than death itſelf.

This was the true cauſe of *Eutychus* being kept ſo long in chains before *Ceſar* would vouchſafe to hear him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Antonia *preſſes* Tiberias *to give* Eutychus *a Hearing.* Ceſar *yields to it.* Eutychus *is brought to* Ceſar, *and delivers his Information.* Agrippa *put in Chains, and the* Guards *drag him to* Priſon *in his* Robes.

TIBERIUS after ſome time coming from *Capreæ* to *Tuſculanum,* about a hundred furlongs from *Rome, Agrippa* deſired *Antonia* to move for *Eutychus,* that he might have a hearing, to the end it might be known what he had to object againſt his patron. Now *Tiberius* had a very geat honour for *Antonia,* partly for nearneſs of blood, as being his ſiſter-in-law, and the widow of *Druſus,* and partly for the reputation of her modeſty and virtue in the refuſal of a ſecond marriage, though ſhe was earneſtly put upon it by *Auguſtus* himſelf, and this in the prime of her years too: Her whole converſation, in ſhort, being exemplary, without the leaſt blemiſh or ſcandal. Now *Tiberius,* over and above all other reſpects, had perſonal obligations alſo to *Antonia* never to be forgotten. For if it had not been for her ſagacity, faith and induſtry, that deſperate plot of his minion *Sejanus* had certainly coſt him his life. So that upon the importunity of *Agrippa* ſhe preſſed *Tiberius* yet over and over to give *Eutychus* a hearing. "Well!" ſays *Tiberius,* "if this fellow has belied *Agrippa* in any thing, let him content himſelf with the puniſhment he has ſuffered already; but let him have a care how he carries the proſecution too far, for fear the miſchief he deſigns to *Eutychus* ſhould, upon a full examination, come at laſt home to himſelf." But *Agrippa* ſtill preſſing *Antonia* for a hearing, *Tiberius* commanded *Macro,* the ſucceſſor to *Sejanus* in his commiſſion for the guards, to cauſe *Eutychus* to be brought thither. And immediately upon his coming, *Ceſar* put this queſtion to him. "What have you to ſay," ſays he, "againſt your patron *Agrippa,* that gave you your freedom?" "Sir," ſays *Eutychus,* "as I was driving *Caius* and *Agrippa* one day in my chariot, I heard *Agrippa* ſpeak theſe words to *Caius.*" "Ah," ſays he, "that we could but ſee the old man's head laid once, and you left maſter of the world, for when he's gone, his grand-child *Tiberius* would be nothing in your hands; and over and above the univerſal comfort it would bring to mankind, I myſelf might hope to come in for a part of the bleſſing."

Tiberius, upon this, turning to *Macro,* "put him in chains," ſays he: But *Macro* not underſtanding of whom he ſpoke, made a little pauſe to be better informed in his meaning. *Ceſar,* in the mean time, after a turn or two in the circus, ſeeing *Agrippa* ſtill at liberty, called to *Macro* again: "Did not I order," ſays he, "that man to be put in chains?" "Which man?" ſays *Macro*: "That man, *Agrippa,*" ſaid *Tiberius.* *Agrippa* then betook himſelf to prayers and ſupplications, but all to no purpoſe for the guards dragged him away to priſon in his robes of honour, as they found him. The weather being extremely hot, and *Agrippa* ready to periſh with a burning raging drought, for want of drink, he eſpied one *Thaumaſtus*, a ſervant of *Caius*, with a pitcher of water in his hand, and called to him for a ſup of it to quench his parching thirſt. He gave it him readily, and when he had taken a hearty draught of it, "Well, *Thaumaſtus*," ſays he, "ſince you have been ſo kind as to do me this ſervice in my bonds, you ſhall never repent this good office;" and he was afterward as good as his word; for ſo ſoon as ever he came to the crown he begged *Thaumaſtus* of *Caius*, and made him free, entruſting him alſo with the management of his eſtate, and at his death recommended him to his ſon *Agrippa*, and to *Berenice* his daughter, to continue him in that charge, wherein he acquitted himſelf with great honour and eſteem all the remainder of his life.

CHAP. XII.

An Owl perches over Agrippa's *Head. A* German's *Prediction upon it.* Antonia *makes* Agrippa's *Condition eaſy to him.* Tiberius *falls deſperately Sick.* Tiberius *conſults the Oracle about his Succeſſor; the Oracle directs him, and* Caius *is the Man.* Tiberius *conſults Fortune-Tellers. He gives* Caius *the Government, and bids him be kind to his Brother, which he promiſes he will, but afterwards takes away his Life.*

AS *Agrippa* was ſtanding in his chains before the palace, with others of his fellow-priſoners in the ſame condition, and leaning in a melancholy poſture upon a tree, there came an owl, and perched upon it. A *German* that was there in bonds, taking notice of it, derſied the ſoldier who ſtood by him to let him come a little nearer to *Agrippa*, for that (underſtanding he was a *Jew*) he had a great mind to learn from him ſomething of the cuſtom of his country. This being granted, and an interpreter allowed him, the *German* ſpoke to him after this manner. "Young man," ſays he, "this ſudden and ſurpriſing change of your fortune makes you ſad I perceive, and you will not eaſily believe how near you are to your deliverance, under the favour and protection of a divine providence that watches over you. I call all the Gods to witneſs, both yours and ours, by whoſe permiſſion it is that we are here in bonds, that I do not ſpeak this to amuſe and flatter you with vain hopes; for I know very well that prognoſtics of this kind, if the event does not an-

" ſwer the prediction, do a great deal more " hurt than good. But I reckon it my duty, at what hazard ſoever, to tell you, " that you ſhall ſee ſuch a turn of times and " things, as ſhall advance you out of this " calamitous condition, to the moſt glorious " height of honour and power, and render " you the envy of thoſe that either deſpiſed " or pitied you before. The remainder of " your days ſhall be happy, and you ſhall " leave children behind you to ſucceed to " your good fortune. But now remember " what I tell you further, Whenever you " come to ſee this bird again, the fifth day " after will be your laſt." This was afterwards ſurpriſingly fulfilled.

When *Agrippa* had been a priſoner ſix months, *Tiberius* returning from *Capreæ*, was taken at his firſt coming back with a faint indiſpoſition, which by degrees grew worſe and worſe, till he was quite given over. And now perceiving his caſe deſperate, he ſent *Evodus* his favourite freeman to fetch him his children early the next morning, to take the laſt leave of their dying father. I ſpeak of his adopted children, for he had none of his own, *Druſus* his only ſon being dead. But *Druſus*'s ſon *Tiberius*, ſurnamed *Gemellus*, was yet alive; and ſo was *Caius* the ſon of *Germanicus*, who was now at man's eſtate, a young man of letters, and qualified for all honourable purpoſes.

Tiberius after this ordered *Evodus* to have his ſons come to him early the next morning, and put up a prayer to the gods of his country to direct him by ſome particular token, which of the two he ſhould chuſe for his ſucceſſor, wiſhing with all his heart that the lot might fall upon *Tiberius*, but he durſt not venture, however, to prejudge and determine ſo high a point without conſulting his oracle. And ſo he propoſed to govern himſelf by this token, that he of the two that came firſt to him in the morning ſhould be his ſucceſſor. This reſolution being taken, he gave it in charge to his grandchild's tutor, to be ſure to bring his pupil to him by break of day, taking for granted that Heaven would declare itſelf in favour of *Tiberius*; but upon the emperor's ſending out *Evodus* by break of day next morning to look for his ſons at the door, and to bring him in firſt him he ſaw firſt, he only found *Caius* there. *Tiberius*, it ſeems, not imaging his grandfather's buſineſs, ſlipped his time by ſtaying to take his breakfaſt. The emperor (who was moſt ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to fortune-tellers, and had it predicted to him that he that ſhould firſt appear to him that morning, ſhould ſucceed to the empire) was not a little ſtartled at the ſight of *Caius*; and it wrought ſo ſenſibly upon him, that he gave his grand-child already for a dead man. This unexpected diſappointment of the ſucceſſion put his head quite out of tune for ſpeeches, but yet ſomewhat or other was to be ſaid, tho' never ſo much againſt his inclination; ſo that he delivered himſelf to this effect. " I need not tell you, " my ſon *Caius*," ſays he, " that *Tiberius* " is the nearer to me in blood of you two; " but yet upon conſulting the good pleaſure " of the immortal gods, and my own reaſon, I do here transfer the rule of the " *Roman* empire into your hands: But I do " likewiſe adjure you, that in the exerciſe " of this power you do never forget the " obligation you have to him from whom " you received it; and that you ſhew your " gratitude to your patron, by all demonſtrations of love and friendſhip to your " brother *Tiberius*." Theſe were the laſt words *Tiberius* ſpoke to *Caius*, who promiſed him a punctual obedience to all his orders, but never intended it; for ſo ſoon as ever he was poſſeſſed of his command, he put his brother to death, according to the preſage of *Tiberius*, and he himſelf was aſſaſſinated ſome years after.

CHAP. XIII.

Tiberius *dies, and* Caius *ſucceeds him.* Caius *orders* Agripp *to be diſcharged.* Agrippa *crowned.* Caius *gives him a Golden Chain.*

TIBERIUS died within a few days, declaring *Caius* his ſucceſſor, after a reign of two and twenty years, five months and thirteen days. *Caius* came after him, and the fourth in the roll of the emperors. The rumour of the death of *Tiberius* was joyful news to the *Romans*; but they durſt not build too much upon the truth of it; not that they did not wiſh it true with all heir hearts, and would have given all the world long ſince to have had it ſo, but they were afraid of being over-credulous, and of diſcovering the ſatisfaction they conceived upon it before they were ſure of the thing itſelf; for there were ſo many ſpies and informers up and down, that ſuch a miſtake would have been certain death. The tidings of this emperor's death were no ſooner come to *Marſyas*, *Agrippa*'s freeman, but he poſted away immediately to carry the bleſſed news to his patron, whom he found going into a bath, and whiſpered him in *Hebrew* theſe words; "The lion," ſays he "is dead." *Agrippa* underſtood the myſtery preſently and in a kind of extaſy of joy: "Well!" ſays he "how ſhall I ever be able to requite "thee for this, and ſeveral other good offices "that thou haſt rendered me, if it be as "thou ſayeſt?" The captain that had him in cuſtody obſerving what paſſed, deſired *Agrippa* to tell him the buſineſs; who, in a kind of confidence, told him the whole ſtory. The officer joyed him of the good news, and treated him with a ſplendid ſupper: But as they were in the middle of their jollity, comes a meſſenger with intelligence that *Tiberius* was paſt danger, and would come ſuddenly to town. Theſe words went to the very heart of the captain, who being conſcious to himſelf that he had forfeited his head for making merry with a priſoner, upon the news of *Ceſar*'s death, puſhed *Agrippa* in a rage from his ſeat, and in a menacing tone: "Do you think "to come off thus with your lies, and "your tricks?" ſays he; "and could you "find nobody but me to put your ſham ſto-"ries upon, of the death of *Ceſar*? No, no," ſays he, "this ſaucineſs of your tongue ſhall "coſt you dear." And ſo he called to have him put in chains again, and kept ſtricter than before. Soon after this, there came two letters from *Caius*; one to the ſenate, to inform them that *Tiberius* had declared him his ſucceſſor; and the other to *Piſo*, the governor of the city, to the ſame purpoſe; appointing alſo that *Agrippa* ſhould be diſcharged of the priſon, and allowed the liberty of the houſe wherein he lived before; ſo that he was now out of all danger and apprehenſion; for tho' he was ſtill in cuſtody, he was in all other reſpects in a ſtate of freedom. Upon the return of *Caius* to *Rome*, and the body of *Tiberius* along with him, the funeral was celebrated with all magnificence and ſolemnity. The emperor

peror would have diſcharged *Agrippa* the ſame day; but *Antonia* was againſt it, not for want of good-will to the man; but it would be an indecency ſhe thought to do it in ſuch a hurry. But it was not many days after this that he took him home; had him ſhaved, ſhifted, and dreſſed up, and a crown put upon his head, as ſucceſſor to the tetrarchy that *Philip* had; created him king, with an addition to him of the tetrarchy of *Lyſania*; and beſtowing upon him a golden chain of the ſame weight with the iron one he had before; ſending alſo *Marallus* governor into *Judæa*.

In the ſecond year of the reign of *Caius*, *Agrippa* begged leave of *Ceſar* to go for a while, and put things in order at home, with a promiſe to be back again by ſuch a time. Which when the emperor had granted him, he came into *Judæa*, and was ſeen and ſaluted for a king, beyond all men's expectation; ſerving thereby for a moſt notable example unto men, to expreſs unto them how great the power of deſtiny is in human affairs, conſidering the poor eſtate wherein he had been before, and the happineſs he enjoyed at that time. Some termed him happy, in that he reſolutely followed his hopes; others could ſcarcely believe that he was thus advanced.

CHAP. XIV.

The Envy of Herodias. *She preſſes* Herod *to beg ſomething for himſelf.* Ceſar's *reſpect to* Herodias; *and her generous Refuſal of it. She is baniſhed with her huſband.* Caius *aſſumes to himſelf divine Honours.*

IT was ſo intolerable a mortification to *Herodias*, (the ſiſter of *Agrippa*, and the wife of *Herod* the tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peræa*, the country beyond *Jordan*,) to ſee her brother ſo much advanced above her huſband in ſplendor, dignity and power, that the haughtineſs of her ſpirit was not able to brook it. The envy that this thought and ſpectacle gave her was ſo inſupportable, that nothing would ſerve her, but her huſband muſt immediately away to *Rome*, and never leave *Ceſar* till he had got the like honour and preferment for himſelf. She followed him ſo cloſe, in fine, that he was wrought upon at laſt, even in his own defence, to comply with her importunities, and ſo away they went to *Rome* together; *Herod*, and *Herodias*, with an equipage ſuitable enough to the occaſion. *Agrippa* being aware all this while of every thing that paſſed, bethought himſelf of this way of countermining them. He kept his freeman *Fortunatus*

natus in readineſs with letters and preſents for the emperor: who, ſo ſoon as ever *Herod* ſhould ſet ſail for *Rome*, was to put to ſea after him, with particular inſtructions how to behave himſelf when he came there. *Fortunatus* had a quick paſſage, and arrived at *Puteoli* juſt with *Herod*; but *Caius* happened to be at that time at the *Baiæ*, a little town in *Campagne*, about five furlongs from *Puteoli*, a place ſamous for royal palaces; the emperors that frequented the hot baths there, ſome for their pleaſure, others for their health, ſtriving to out-do one another in the ſtate and curioſity of their buildings.

Upon coming to this place, *Herod* made his reverence to the emperor, and *Fortunatus* within one minute after preſented him his letters. *Caius*, upon the peruſal, found them to be a point-blank accuſation of *Herod:* Firſt, for being a party to the conſpiracy of *Sejanus* againſt *Tiberius*; and now again for ſiding with *Artabanus* the *Parthian* againſt *Caius*, offering this for a proof againſt him, that he had at that inſtant a magazine of arms for ſeventy thouſand men. *Ceſar* preſently in a paſſion demanded of *Herod* whether he had ſuch a proviſion of arms or not? The thing was ſo plain and evident that he could not deny it: So that the emperor never looked further for any proof of the treaſon, but took away his government and gave it to *Agrippa*, with his money alſo, as a reward for his diſcovery. As for *Herod*, he ſentenced him to a perpetual exile, and a confinement in *Lyons*, a ſamous city in *France;* but for *Herodias*, whom he knew to be *Agrippa*'s ſiſter, he gave her the command of whatever belonged to her, and without making her a partaker of her huſband's calamity, he promiſed to treat her ſavourably for her brother's ſake; whereupon ſhe told him: "Sir, I do "not think it reaſonable or honeſt, after "the ſhare I have had in my huſband's better "fortunes, now to abandon him in his "adverſity." This greatneſs of mind in a woman gave ſuch an offence to *Caius*, that he baniſhed, confiſcated, and confined *Herodias*, together with her huſband.

The reign of *Caius*, for the firſt and ſecond year of his government, was temperate and prudent, and gained exceedingly upon the people, both at *Rome* itſelf and in the provinces: But ſuch was the pride and vanity of his heart, in the contemplation of his greatneſs and power, that after a while he aſſumed to himſelf to be more than fleſh and blood, blaſphemed the gods, and in contempt of any other deity, uſurped divine honours to himſelf.

CHAP. XV.

A Controverſy between the Jews *and* Greeks *at* Alexandria. *They ſend ſix Ambaſſadors to* Caius *about it; three of a Side.* Appion *and* Philo *the Chiefs.* Appion *accuſes the* Jews *for refuſing to pay divine Honours to* Caius. Caius *thinks himſelf affronted. He commands* Petronius *to ſet up his Statue.*

WHEREAS there aroſe a ſedition between the *Jews* and *Grecians* that inhabited *Alexandria*, three choſen ambaſſadors on either ſide were ſent unto *Caius*: One of theſe ambaſſadors of *Alexandria* was *Appion*, who accuſed the *Jews* of many failings, and amongſt other things alledged, that they made no account of honouring *Ceſar*; and that whereas all other ſubjects of the *Roman* empire had erected altars and temples in honour of *Caius*, and in all other things received him as a god, the *Jews* ſuppoſed it to be a diſhonour for them to honour his ſtatues, or ſwear by his name.

After *Appion* had urged many things, and inveighed bitterly againſt the *Jews*, hoping that *Caius* would be provoked againſt them, as in all likelihood and appearance it ſhould have fallen out, *Philo*, the chiefeſt among the ambaſſadors of the *Jews*, a man of great worth, and brother to *Alexander Alabarcha*, being experienced in philoſophy, addreſſed himſelf to anſwer thoſe accuſations which were urged againſt the *Jews*; but *Caius* commanded him ſilence, and willed him inſtantly to withdraw himſelf, and was ſo diſpleaſed, that it appeared very manifeſtly that he intended ſome cruel revenge againſt them.

Philo departed, after he had been grievouſly threatened, and ſpoke thus unto the *Jews* that flocked about him: "We muſt be of good courage, ſince *Caius* in words ſeemeth to be diſpleaſed with us; for, in effect, he will arm God in our behalf, againſt himſelf."

Caius took it for ſuch an affront, to find that the *Jews* were the only people in the world which ſtood in defiance of his orders, that he preſently ſent away *Petronius* into *Syria*, in the place of *Vitellius*, with orders to enter *Judæa* with a ſtrong army, and ſet up his ſtatue in the temple there. If they ſubmitted to it, well and good: But in caſe of refuſal, his orders were to force it upon them by dint of arms. *Petronius* took upon himſelf the adminſtration, and made what haſte he could toward the putting of *Ceſar's* commands in execution: That is to ſay, he got a body of auxiliaries together, and two *Roman* legions, which he put into winter quarters in *Ptolemais*, to be ready to march early the next ſpring.

CHAP. XVI.

The Jews *beg of* Petronius *not to ſet up the ſtatue of* Caius *in the Temple. A ſtrange Providence.* Petronius *writes to* Ceſar. Agrippa *preſents* Ceſar *with a ſplendid Treat; who promiſes a large Requital.* Agrippa *begs the recalling of his Order to* Petronius. Caius *grants his Requeſt, and writes to* Petronius. *A Commotion among the* Jews. Caius *writes a menacing Letter to* Petronius: *But the News of* Caius*'s Death came before the Letter.* Petronius *delivered by Providence.*

THERE came at this time vaſt multitudes of *Jews* to *Petronius* at *Ptolemais*, begging of him not to preſs them upon any thing againſt their conſciences, and the rules of their profeſſion. Or if it was of neceſſity that a ſtatue muſt be ſet up in their temple, they had no more to do but to take away their lives firſt, and they might do afterward what they pleaſed. But ſo long as they had breath in their bodies, they could never ſuffer the violation of thoſe laws and [illegible] that have been handed down to them through ſo many generations, from their famous progenitors.

Petronius, gathering from hence the inflexible ſtiffneſs of theſe people, took ſome of his friends, and went to *Tiberias* to be within diſtance of being more particularly informed in the manners, cuſtoms and affairs of the people he had to deal with. This approach of the *Romans* put the *Jews* in a great dread of a war. So that ſeveral thouſands of them in a body went directly to *Petronius*, deſiring him not to drive the multitude upon deſperate neceſſities, by offering to prophane their holy temple with forbidden images; caſting themſelves down upon the ground at the ſame time, and baring their necks, as who ſhall ſay, Strike when you will, we are ready for you. They were at this paſs a matter of forty days, without either plowing or ſowing, or attending any office of huſbandry, though the ſeaſon of the year required it: For they were all unanimouſly agreed upon it rather to die than to admit the ſtatue.

While matters were in this ſtate, *Ariſtobulus* the brother of king *Agrippa*, and *Elcias* ſurnamed the great, with ſeveral noblemen of the family, and others of the firſt quality among the *Jews*. applied themſelves to *Petronius*, deſiring him to poſſeſs *Caius* of the difficulties of the caſe, the ſtubborneſs of the party, how they had left all their lands untilled, that this neglect of their huſbandry muſt expoſe the country to robberies and rapines, and diſable them from paying their taxes. They ſuggeſted that poſſibly this might make *Ceſar* relent, and conſequently remove all colour for a rebellion: Or if nothing could divert him from carrying on the war, that might be as well done at laſt as well as well as before. Thus far went *Ariſtobulus*.

Petronius was no ſtranger to the revengeful humour of *Caius;* eſpecially where any ſtop or delay was put to the execution of his commands; but yet ſuch was the reverence he had for God, and his own conſcience, and ſuch the horror he had to think of ſacrificing ſo many lives to the fury of a madman, that he came to a reſolution of writing plainly to *Caius* all the difficulties of the caſe, at what hazard ſoever.

Petronius, upon this, ſummoned a meeting of the *Jews* at *Tiberias*, where they attended in prodigious numbers; and that which he had to ſay to them was this. "It is not of my own head," ſays he, "that I have undertaken this expedition; but upon command of *Ceſar*. I ſhall not need to tell you the danger of deferring the execution of my orders. But I do not ſo much conſider my own perſonal ſecurity, or my credit with my maſter, as I do the welfare and preſervation of a conſcientious people in the warrantable defence of their worſhip and laws. Neitheir do I approve of the prophaning of God's holy houſe at the pleaſure of lawleſs princes. Wherefore I am now ſending expreſs to *Caius*, to let him know your final reſolution about the ſtatue. In the mean time let every man betake himſelf to his own home and buſineſs. Go to your lands and tillage again, and leave me to manage with the emperor. *Petronius* had no ſooner made an end of ſpeaking theſe comfortable things to the *Jews*, but there fell a ſhower, to the admiration of all people, in as clear a day as ever ſhined, and without one cloud to be ſeen. This happened after a long drought, and was looked upon by the *Jews* as a bleſſing upon *Petronius*'s prayers, and as an earneſt of more to come: Neither was any body more ſenſible of it than *Petronius* himſelf: For it was ſo convincing an evidence from heaven in favour of the *Jews*, that would not bear the leaſt doubt or contradiction. *Petronius* was very particular in his report to the emperor in this whole affair, and laid all the neceſſary points before him.

King *Agrippa* happened to be at *Rome* when *Petronius* wrote to *Ceſar*, and every day more and more in the good graces of the emperor: a kindneſs that he cultivated by all the ſtudy and application imaginable. As in particular, he made *Caius* one treat, that for expence, variety, curioſity, and delicacy, order, and contrivance, out-did all that ever was heard of before him; not excepting the moſt ſplendid entertainments even of *Ceſar* himſelf. *Caius* was ſo taken with the generous magnificence of this collation, that the emperor took a fancy in his head to vie good offices with him. "*Agrippa*," ſays he, "this is not the firſt proof I have had of your friendſhip and affection. In the days of *Tiberius* I had many evidences of it to your hazard; and you have now obliged me to your coſt. It would be a baſe thing for me now to ſuffer myſelf to be overcome by benefits, and therefore I am reſolved at preſent to make you ſome amends for any thing that I ever fell ſhort in before; and the addition that I intend to my former bounty, ſhall be ſuch as will very much advance the condition of your life and fortune for the future." *Caius* expected, upon this frank and unlimited promiſe, that *Agrippa* ſhould preſently have begged lands, commiſſions, nay whole provinces, and ample revenues; while *Ceſar* was in the giving mood. But *Agrippa* replied, my deſire is only this, that you will recal your order to *Petronius* for ſetting up your ſtatue in the temple of the *Jews*. *Agrippa* knew well enough that this propoſal was like the chance of a die for life or death, as that was the hazard of croſſing any of *Caius*'s decrees; but however, the emperor granted him his aſking, and ſo wrote to *Petronius*; approving all he had done in drawing his troops together, and obſerving his orders. "As for the ſtatue," ſays he, "if it be ſet up already, let it ſtand; and if it be not, trouble yourſelf no farther about it; but diſ-

" charge your army, and go back again to " *Syria.* I am content to remit this diſobedience for *Agrippa's* ſake, for whom " I have ſo great an honour and reſpect " that I can deny him nothing." This was the ſubſtancee of the emperor's letter to *Pet onius,* which was written before there was any inkling of an inſurrection intended among the *Jews*: But *Caius,* upon the rumour of a commotion among the *Jews* that followed ſoon aſter, broke out into ſuch a paſſion to ſee his authority ſo affronted by that rebellious people that he imediately changed his ſtile, and wrote a ſecond letter to *Petronius,* to this effect. " Since you " have thought fit to do more for the *Jews* " money, than for my commands, as appears " by your neglecting the one to gratiſy the " other, be you yourſelf the judge what you " are to expect now from my indignation " and juſtice. I am reſolved to make an " example of you, both to the preſent age, " and to poſterity, to give the world to un- " derſtand that ſovereign power is not to be " played with." This letter was ſent to the preſident while *Ceſar* was yet alive, but not delivered till aſterwards; the bearer of it having a ſlow paſſage: So that the dea th o *Caius* came firſt to *Petronius,* to whom God was infinitely merciful and gracious, in conſideration of the zeal he ſhewed, and the dangers he underwent for his honour, and for the religion of his people the *Jews*: But *Caius* being cut off in the career of his blaſphemous vanity, for uſurping to himſelf divine honours, *Petronius* had the thanks of the *Romans,* as well as of the provincials, for his eminent ſervices to the public upon that occaſion; and more eſpecially the acknowledgements of the prime men of the ſenate, whom *Caius* took a pride as well as a delight to torment and trample upon, in a more particular way of inſolence and ſcorn. The news of the emperor's death to *Petronius* was followed with the letter that brought him the menace of his own: And as he could not under thoſe circumſtances but rejoice at the former; ſo neither could he but magniſy and admire the goodneſs and providence of God, that in the ſame inſtant rewarded the veneration he had paid to the honour of his holy temple, and likewiſe delivered the *Jews* out of their diſtreſs.

CHAP. XVII.

The Story of Aſinæus *and* Anilæus, *two Brothers, who from a mean extraction became ſo Powerful as to give enough to do to the* Parthians.

THE *Jews* of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylon* were at this time in ſo miſerable a ſtate of calamity and confuſion, that we read of nothing like it in any of their former iſtories: But this ſtory is not to be written exactly without tracing it down it in a line from the original. There is in the province of *Babylon,* a city they call *Nearda,* a place wonderfully populous, and the ſoil fruitful enough to maintain the inhabitants

tants. The town is well walled and fortified, with the river *Euphrates* about it, and not far from it, another ſtrong city called *Niſibis*, upon the ſame river. There was no fear or danger of any enemy breaking in upon this quarter: So that the *Jews* laid up in theſe two places the common ſtock of their holy treaſure, as it was dedicated and brought in from time to time according to cuſtom. From hence it was tranſmitted to *Jeruſalem* in the proper ſeaſon, under ſtrong convoys, for fear of the *Parthians* upon the road, who were then maſters of *Babylon*.

There were among the *Jews* of *Nearda*, two brothers, *Aſinæus* and *Anilæus:* Their father was dead, and their mother had put them out to the weaving trade, to learn to make ſail-cloth, which is accounted no diſparagement among thoſe people where the men are uſed to card and ſpin. Theſe brothers coming one day late to work, their maſter gave them correction for it, which they took ſo heinouſly, that they preſently armed themſelves with what came next in the houſe, and went to a place upon the parting of the river, where was great plenty of corn, graſs, fruit, and all manner of proviſions for a winter ſtore. While they lay in this retreat, there gathered about them a neceſſitous crew of bold, luſty young fellows, that armed and liſted themſelves under their command, no creature daring to control them. With the aſſiſtance of this party they erected an impregnable fort, and then ſent out their emiſſaries and collectors up and down the neighbourhood to raiſe contributions.

The prince of *Babylon*, upon this intelligence, finding himſelf concerned to nip the ſedition in the bud, drew his troops together both out of *Parthia* and *Babylon*, and marched away preſently with the groſs of his army, to get up time enough to the mutineers to ſurpriſe them. When he was advanced by defiles and by-ways, to the ſkirts of a marſhy piece of ground, he halted, and depending upon it that the next day, being the ſabbath, they would not venture a battle, he moved gently forward, propoſing to fall upon them at unawares, and make ſure of a victory. While *Aſinæus* was at this time ſitting idly upon a bank, with his companions about him, and his arms lying by: "Hark ye, my fellow ſoldiers," ſays he, "methinks I hear the "neighing of horſes preſſing to a battle, and "we had beſt have a care we are not ſurpriſed: Wherefore let ſomebody go out "this inſtant for diſcovery." A ſcout was ſent out accordingly, and in a very little time came back with news that the enemy was upon the very point of executing their revenge. "They have horſes enough," ſays the ſcout, "to over-run and trample "us all under foot; beſide that, we are but "ſo many naked men, and forbidden by "the very laws of our religion to prophane "the ſabbath with any ſort of reſiſtance." But *Aſinæus* told them it was an unreaſonable thing for them to ſtand ſtill and have their throats cut, only to gratify a barbarous enemy. Upon this exhortation he led his companions on to the combat, where finding the enemy careleſs and ſecure, they made a great ſlaughter upon the place, and put the reſt to flight.

The bravery of the two brothers gave the king of *Parthia*, upon the news of this defeat, ſuch a curioſity and impatience to have an interview, and to exchange ſome diſcourſe with them, that he ſent one of his guards with a meſſage to invite them to court, aſſuring them of his friendſhip, a ſafe paſſage, and indemnity for their perſons. *Aſinæus* was not over-fond of their journey, but ſent his brother *Anilæus* however upon the compliment, with ſuch preſents as he was able to furniſh. Upon his coming to the king, *Artabanus* aſked him why he did not bring his brother with him: *Anilæus* anſwered, that he was not willing to truſt himſelf to the mercy of any man. The king ſwore by his gods, that not a hair of either of their heads ſhould be touched: And for a ratification of his oath he gave *Anilæus* his right hand upon it; which with the *Barbarians* is the moſt ſacred tie of good faith that can be given. *Artabanus*, after having given this aſſurance o *Anilæus*, ſent him back again to bring his brother, in contemplation of the ſervices they two might do him by keeping thoſe provinces in awe that were wavering toward a revolt in the king's abſence.

Aſinæus underſtanding how great a tenderneſs *Artabanus* had expreſſed for them both, was eaſily prevailed upon to wait upon the king with *Anilæus*, and they went together. *Artabanus* received them with great eaſiſineſs and good will; but upon comparing the Dignity of *Aſinæus*'s mind with the diſagreeabe figure of his perſon, he would be ſaying that the ſoul of that man was never made for his body. He took occaſion one day as he was at the table to ſpeak of him to *Abdagaſus*, his general, of his martial performances very much to his advantage. *Abdagaſus* made no other reply, but only to beg his majeſty's leave to cut his throat in revenge for the affront he had put upon the *Parthians*. "No," ſays the king, "I ſhall "never ſuffer ſuch a thing as that to a man "that has committed himſelf to my honour, "and whom I am bound by oath and contract to protect. But, if you have ſuch a "mind to exerciſe your courage, you may "attack him in his return, without making "me privy to your purpoſe." The next morning early the king called for *Aſinæus* again, and ſaid: "It is time, young man, "for you to return home, before the ani"moſity of my officers run too high againſt "you. Pray let me commend *Babylon* to "your care, and do what you can to maintain "peace there, and preſerve the province "from robberies." And ſo the king diſpatched him away to take charge of his command, where he applied himſelf inſtantly to the buſineſs of his commiſſion.

Things went on proſperouſly with the brothers for about fifteen years: But when they came once to decline in their piety and manners, and abandoning the ſtudy of virtue, and the diſcipline and precepts of their foreſathers, to give themſelves up to ſenſual pleaſures and foreign innovations, they ſunk then in their credit too. As for example: There happened to come into theſe provinces a certain *Parthian* governor, and his wife along with him, who was a miracle of a woman, as well for her admirable qualities, as for the charms of her perſon and beauty. This woman *Anilæus* fell deſperately in love withal, and, having no other way to compaſs his end, he made war upon her huſband; killed him upon the firſt encounter; got poſſeſſion of the woman, and ſo took her to his bed. This woman had conſtantly about her certain images of barbarian gods: And upon *Anilæus*'s taking her to himſelf, and owning her publicly for his wife, ſhe did as publicly own the exerciſe of her religion too. The beſt friends that the two brothers had, were moſt horridly diſguſted at the licence of this abominable practice in the marrying of a barbarous woman, and an idolatreſs, in ſo audacious a defiance of the rites, laws and cuſtoms of the *Jews*: inſomuch that the people came open mouth in crowds and tumults to *Aſinæus*, with complaints againſt his brother. *Aſinæus*, could not but own himſelf to be fully convinced of the dangerous conſequences both to himſelf and to his people, of this wickedneſs of his brother's; and finding himſelf daily more and more perſecuted and clamoured at, he was ſo plain with his brother, as to check him for what was paſt, and to caution him for the future; charging him to ſend the woman home to her friends again. But this wrought nothing upon him; for the woman finding the mutinous humour of the people to increaſe, and conſequently fearing that ſome miſchief might beſal *Anilæus* for her ſake, ſhe poiſoned *Aſinæus*.

Anilæus, having now gotten the whole power into his own hands, made an incurſion with his army into the country of *Mithridates*, the ſon-in-law of *Artabanus*. *Mithridates* hearing of this inroad and ravage drew together a body of his choiceſt troops, and ſo marched away with his army to give *Anilæus* battle. The next day being the *Jews* ſabbath, he ſtopt ſhort at a village that night, with an intent to fall upon them by ſurpriſe on the following day. A *Syrian* that lived there in the neighbourhood, gave *Anilæus* intelligence of the deſign, and particularly where *Mithridates* was to be that night, at a ſolemn entertaiment. *Anilæus*, upon this advice, ordered his people to march that night up to the enemy, to take them at unawares: And about the fourth watch, he fell into their quarters; and ſome he took aſleep; others in a conſternation were put to ſhift for themſelves in the dark. *Mithridates* alſo was taken priſoner, and mounted naked upon an aſs, which the *Parthians* looked upon as an ignominy to the higheſt degree. When they carried him thus into a certain wood, ſeveral of *Anilæus*'s friends were for killing him out of hand; but he himſelf was againſt it, and brought the reſt over to be of his opinion. So that *Mithridates*, by conſent, was ſet at liberty and diſcharged. But his wife perceiving at his coming back upon what terms he was returned, received him with a thouſand reproaches.

Now ſo it was, that betwixt the bitterneſs of theſe daily taunts, and the apprehenſion that this high-ſpirited woman would proceed to a divorce, he put himſelf at the head of an army. As ſoon as *Anilæus* heard that *Mithridates* was marching towards him, he marched forward to meet him at the head of a body of men that ſcarce knew what it was to be worſted, a matter of fourſcore furlongs into a dry ſandy country, and when they were ſo ſpent with the drought of the place, the fatigue of the march, and the heat of the day, that they were hardly able to ſtand upon their legs, *Mithridates* fell upon them with freſh men, put them to a total rout, and cut off ſeveral thouſands of them upon the chace. *Anilæus*, with thoſe that got off, made to a foreſt there near hand, in the greateſt confuſion imaginable, leaving *Mithridates* in the happy poſſeſſion of an abſolute victory. There came in to *Anilæus*, after this defeat, ſuch multitudes of looſe deſperadoes, that his army was ſoon recruited up to its former number, but they were raw, undiſciplined men, and not comparable for valour to thoſe that fell. With theſe men however he marched into the *Babylonians* quarters, and laid all waſte: Hereupon the *Babylonians* ſent to the *Jews* at *Nearda* to deliver up *Anilæus* to juſtice; but the man was not in their power. The next propoſal was to invite him to a peace, or at leaſt to a treaty. This they agreed to, and ſent commiſſioners on both ſides, *Jews* as well as *Babylonians*, to manage the debate. The *Babylonians* taking ſtrict notice of the place where *Anilæus* and his companions were together, broke in upon them in the dead of the night by ſurpriſe; and finding them drunk and drowſy, they killed all in their way without any oppoſition, and *Anilæus* himſelf among the reſt.

The *Babylonians* and the *Jews* were perpetually at variance one with another of old, upon the ſubject of differing rites, cuſtoms, and ways of living. But the *Babylonians* that were kept in ſome ſort of awe while *Anilæus* was yet living, took heart now to affront the *Jews* at every turn, and made them weary of their lives: Inſomuch that they forced them by their intolerable inſolencies to withdraw themſelves to *Seleucia*, the captial city of that province, being a place of liberty, where *Macedonians*, *Greeks*, and *Syrians*, lived promiſcuouſly together in abundance. The *Jews* were eaſy enough here for the firſt five years; but the plague breaking out at *Babylon* in the ſixth, they were forced to withdraw more and more to *Seleucia*; which proved the occaſion of the greateſt miſery they had felt yet. The *Greeks* and the *Syrians* in this city could never agree; but in all their bickerings the *Greeks* had ſtill the advantage, till upon the coming in of the *Jews*, the *Syrians* with their aſſiſtance got the upper hand. The *Greeks* finding themſelves run down, they dealt underhand with ſome they had among the *Syrians* to think of ſome way how they might bring matters to a better underſtanding betwixt them. This propoſition was well enough received, and the conſideration of it referred to ſome leading men on both ſides to adviſe upon the expedient, who without much difficulty put an end to the controverſy, upon condition that the *Greeks* and *Syrians* ſhould join in a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the *Jews*. In purſuance of this agreement they fell upon the *Jews* by ſurpriſe, and killed them upward of fifty thouſand, not a ſoul eſcaping but thoſe that were ſaved and protected by ſome neighbour or friend. The miſerable remainder withdrew to *Cteſiphon*, a *Greek* city near *Seleucia*, where the king of *Parthia* commonly keeps his reſidence in the winter, and the greater part of his rich furniture. In this place they took up their abode, not doubting of their ſecurity within the verge of the king's court and palace; but the *Jews* were under ſuch a terror from both *Babylonians* and *Seleucians*, over and above the conſpiracy of the *Syrians* againſt them, that the greater part of them betook themſelves to *Nearda* and *Niſibis*, depending upon the ſtrength of the places and the bravery of the men that were to defend them.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK XIX.

From the Year of the World 4003, to 4009.

CHAP. I.

The Outrages of Caius *upon the* Jews. *He challenges Adoration as a God.*

THE barbarous and inhuman outrages of the emperor *Caius* upon the *Jews*, were not confined to *Jeruſalem* alone, and the neighbouring provinces, but moſt induſtriouſly propagated over ſea and land, from one end of the *Roman* empire to the other; and with ſuch deliberate cruelties as were never heard of in ſtory before. Neither did any place ſuffer more under his ſavage brutalities than *Rome* itſelf, the ſenators and *Patricians* eſpecially, and the reſt of the nobility; thoſe alſo that they called equites, or knights, a degree of men for wealth and dignity next under the ſenators, the ſenators themſelves being likewiſe choſen out of that order. What delight did he take to torment thoſe people with all manner of indignities, contumelies, baniſhments, murders, confiſcations! making it death itſelf to have any thing to loſe.

He took upon himſelf the majeſty and apellation of a god; and nothing leſs would ſerve him from his ſubjects than divine adoration. He had the confidence, in the capitol itſelf, which is the moſt celebrated of all the temples in *Rome*, in reſpect of the dedication of it, to ſalute *Jupiter* by the name of brother, and he was as vain and mad to a thouſand other purpoſes. He had a deſign once to paſs from *Puteoli*, a city of *Campania*, to *Miſenium*, a ſea town on the other ſide of the water, and looking upon it as a derogation to his dignity to croſs it in a galley, he laid a bridge over from one promontory to the other, and ſo paſſed and repaſſed in his chariot, triumphing that he had ſubjected the ſea as well as the land, in a way becoming the greatneſs of his divinity.

CHAP. II.

Caius *riſles all Temples to adorn his Palace. Several Conſpiracies againſt him.* Chereas, *being aſſiſted by ſeveral others, kills him. Some* Germans *of his Guard kill ſome of the Senators afterward. The Senate condemns the thoughts of his Memory; and inclines to ſet up for itſelf.*

THERE was not ſo much as one temple in *Greece* that he did not rifle of all the curious paintings, ſculptures and other precious donatives and dedications, with orders for the tranſporting of the ſpoil to his palaces, gardens and houſes of pleaſure: Nay he had the confidence to ſend to *Memmius Regulus* for the ſtatue of the *Olympian Jupiter*, to have it brought to *Rome*: That admirable piece of *Phidias*, the famous *Athenian* ſtatuary, and ſo called from the place in *Greece* where it is ſo much adored. But this was not yet done; for the great maſters told *Memmius Regulus*, to whom the care of doing it was committed, that it was impoſſible to move the image out of the place without ſpoiling it; and there goes a tradition too, that while *Memmius* had it under conſideration, he was affrighted from the doing of it by an incredible prodigy or viſion, and that this made him delay it, as he gave *Caius* to underſtand in a letter by way of excuſe: But that excuſe would have coſt him his head, if the death of the emperor himſelf had not prevented it.

He was puffed up, in fine, to that degree of beſotted madneſs, that upon the birth of a daughter, he had the child carried into the capitol, and placed upon the knee of *Jupiter*, as if *Jupiter* and *Caius* had been partners in the girl; and expoſing himſelf to the company to judge which was the more honourable father of the two.

He did not only give ſlaves leave, but encouragement to accuſe their maſters of what crimes they thought fit. As *Claudius* was charged with a capital crime by his bondman *Pollux*, and *Caius* upon the bench to countenance the accuſation againſt the life of his own uncle.

There were three famous conſpiracies on foot againſt the life of this beaſtly man, and every one of them had a perſon of eminent note in the head of it. *Æmilius Regulus*, a *Spaniard* of *Corduba*, commanded one party: *Caſſius Chereas*, the tribune, had another detatchment; and ſo *Annius Minucianus* had another gang; and they were all reſolutely bent upon the deſtruction of this tyrant: But none ſo hot upon the exploit as *Chereas*. They were now in the ſolemnity of their circus games and excerciſes; an entertainment that the people of *Rome* are wonderfully delighted with. Now it having been formerly the cuſtom for the multitude to come thronging into the place, and petition the emperor, at liberty, for what they thought fit, and hardly ever receiving a denial, they came now open-mouth, in crowds, praying to be eaſed of their tributes and taxes. *Caius* was ſo enraged, both at the requeſt and at the clamour, that he commanded his guards immediately to ſeize the people that made the outcry, and put them to death; and this order coſt many a man his life. The people patiently ſuffered all this and made no more noiſe; taking it for a warning not to venture their lives to ſave their money, ſeeing how many had ſuffered for it already. Theſe horrible barbarities animated *Chereas* more and more, to haſten the attempt, and ſo put an end to the bloody rage of this brute of a man.

Chereas in this heat, put on his ſword and went to court, as the tribunes uſually do in the like caſes; it being his turn that day in courſe, as captain of the guard, to go to the emperor for the word. The people were now preſſing in mighty multitudes toward the palace, crowding, thruſting, and joſtling one another to get places; and *Caius* himſelf not a little pleaſed with the ſight of this ſcuffle and confuſion: for here were no ſeats or benches kept apart for ſenators, knights, or other degrees of people, according to their qualities; but men and women, maſters and ſlaves ſat all promiſcuouſly together, and firſt come firſt ſerved. This ſolemnity being dedicated to the honour of *Auguſtus*, *Caius* went now, and offered up a ſacrifice to the imperial patron: And it ſo happened, that upon the fall of the victim, ſome of the blood ſpringing out, dropt upon the robe of *Aſprenas*, one of the ſenators. *Caius* made himſelf merry with the omen, but others were troubled at it; and it was his lot, purſuant to that foreboding, to be ſlain in he following tumult. It was much taken notice of, and wondered at, that *Caius* was in better humour this day than ordinary. So ſoon as the ſacrifice was over, he took his friends about him, and went to the theatre, which was only a frame of woodwork to be taken to pieces, and put together again, as it was every year upon this occaſion.

Now this being the laſt day of the ſpectacle, *Caius* was in ſome diſpute within himſelf whether he ſhould ſtay it out while he was there, or go off for a while to waſh and eat, and ſo come back again. *Minucianus* taking his place near *Caius*, and ſeeing *Chereas* go forth, roſe from his ſeat to encourage him in his reſolution for fear of loſing the preſent opportunity; but *Caius* taking him gently by the ſkirt, aſked him in a friendly way, "Whither is this good man going?" So *Minucianus* ſat him down again, but a while after roſe once more under the former apprehenſion, and *Caius* let him go, not knowing what neceſſary buſineſs it might be that called him aſide. *Aſprenas*, upon this, being all along privy and aſſiſting to the plot, propoſed it to *Ceſar* to go out, and waſh and eat, and refreſh himſelf, as he was uſed to do, and afterward to return.

Chereas having by this time poſted the conſpirators in their proper ſtations, and given them their neceſſary inſtructions, was ſo impatient of any longer delay, being already paſt three in the afternoon, that he was for going back to the theatre again, and aſſaulting *Ceſar* as he ſat, though he knew very well that it muſt of neceſſity coſt the lives of a great many knights and ſenators to go through with it: But he reckoned upon the deliverance of the public to be a benefit infinitely more valuable than the loſs of ſo many particular men's lives. As

Chereas was marching toward the theatre, the word was given in the crowd that *Ceſar* was up, and returning to his palace. The conſpirators called out to make the emperor way, as if it had been done by order and direction; but in truth to get themſelves more elbow-room for the execution of the enterprize. *Claudius*, the uncle, went firſt, and then *Marcus Minucianus*, the huſband of his ſiſter, and *Valerius Aſiaticus*; perſons whoſe qualities gave them a privilege of precedency without any interruption; *Caius* himſelf with *Paulus Aruntius* following them. When he came at laſt to enter the palace, he left the ordinary way, which *Claudius* and the reſt had taken before him, and where his officers and ſervants attended to receive him; and ſo turned off into a by-way leading to the baths, to ſee ſome boys there that were ſent him out of *Aſia* for their ſkill in ſinging and compoſing of holy hymns, and in the *Pyrrhick* way of dancing. In this narrow paſſage, *Chereas* came up to *Caius* for the word; which was ſo foul and beaſtly, (at the old rate) that the tribune returned the indignity with language in his own way; and upon that, a terrible cut with his ſword, but the wound was not yet mortal. It was given betwixt the neck and the ſhoulder, where it chopt upon a bone that ſtopt it from going farther. He made no outcry upon the receiving of it, but gave a groan, and made an attempt to get away, but *Cornelius Sabinus* prevented it by a blow that brought him to his knees: And that being followed by an unanimous outcry of "down with him, diſpatch him," they cut him to pieces.

But the great difficulty was yet behind; that is to ſay, how *Chereas* and his companions ſhould get off again, after the finiſhing of this mighty work. Beſide the aſtoniſhment they were in upon ſuch an atchievement, they had the outrage of a wild and ſeditious multitude to encounter, for the death of a popular prince; the fury and revenge of the ſoldiery: The ways narrow where the fact was committed, and covered with officers and guards that were there upon duty. So that finding there was no getting back again by the way they came; they ſtruck off to the houſe of *Germanicus*, the father of *Caius* whom they had juſt then butchered, where they were ſafe enough at preſent, ſo long as the death of *Ceſar* could be concealed.

The *German* guards of the body, known by the name of the *Celtick Legion*, were the firſt that got intelligence of it; men naturally fierce and cholerick, and like other barbarians, that for the moſt part underſtand little of what they do. The firſt man they met with was *Aſprenas*, that had his robe ſtained with the blood of the ſacrifice, a moſt unlucky token, and him they tore to pieces. The next they ſeized was *Norbanus*, of the firſt quality of the city, and one that had the blood of ſeveral eminent generals in his veins. He diſarmed the firſt man that aſſaulted him, and would never have died unrevenged, if he had not been oppreſſed by numbers. The third that had the ſame hard fortune with the former was *Anteius*, with ſome few others.

When the news of *Ceſar*'s death was brought to the theatre, the wonder and aſtoniſhment it met with was more than the credit, for though people would be well enough content to hear of what they had ſo long and ſo often wiſhed for, many were afraid yet of believing it, for fear it ſhould prove falſe, and others as loth to believe it, becauſe they were afraid of finding it true.

In this diſtraction, the *Germans* with ſword in hand beſet the theatre, every man there expecting have his throat cut immediately upon the place. While they ſtood trembling in the anxiety of a ſuſpence, the ſoldiers breaking in upon them, put the whole theatre into a frightful clamour, with a thouſand ſupplications, ſubmiſſions, deprecations, proteſtations and excuſes, accompanied with tears, groans and invocations upon all the gods to atteſt their innocence. This diſmal ſpectacle drew compaſſion from the hard hearts, even of the *Germans* themſelves, and put a ſtop to the farther progreſs of their fury.

But while things were in this confuſion, there was one *Aruncius*, a public crier, a man of an eſtate, and of ſo great power and credit with the people, that he did what he would with them. This *Aruncius* came into the theatre, in deep mourning, like a nobleman of *Rome*, and with all the formalities of ſorrow that are cuſtomary upon the death of our neareſt relations; where he made proclamation with a loud voice, that the emperor was dead. Upon this the *Germans* reſented, and the officers commanded the ſoldiers to put up their ſwords, whereupon the whole uproar was quieted.

This was moſt certainly the ſaving of the people's lives that were cooped up in the theatre, and of all others whatſoever that might have fallen into the power of the *Germans*; for ſo long as they could have flattered themſelves with any hope of the emperor's being alive, they would never have ſtuck at any manner of miſchief. They had ſo great an affection for *Caius*, that they would have redeemed his life even with the loſs of their own, and without any regard to the miſerable ſtate of the common-wealth But now upon the certainty of the thing, that impetuous deſire of revenge fell of itſelf; when there could be no longer any occaſion for the conferring of obligations on the one ſide, or for returning acknowledgements on the other: Beſide the apprehenſion they had of the power of the ſenate upon continuing their violence. in caſe that government ſhould ever come in play again.

Thus was the fury of the *Celtick* legion appeaſed.

The ſenate, in the mean time, met in the palace, where the multitude preſſed in upon them in throngs, to demand juſtice upon the murderers of the emperor. The people were in earneſt, but the ſenate only held fair with them for a countenance. While the rabble was in this fit of ſtorming and hunting up and down after the aſſaſſins, *Valerius Aſiaticus*, a conſular man, put himſelf among them in the heat of their outcries and clamours to know what was become of the murderers of *Caius*, and who was the villain that killed him. "Would "I had been the man myſelf," ſays *Valerius*, and ſo he went his way.

The ſenate proceeded then to a decree, in condemnation of *Caius*, and paſſed an order for both people and ſoldiers to depart quietly to their own homes and quarters, with promiſes of certain exemptions and privileges to the one, and of rewards and gratuities to the other, if they demeaned themſelves peaceably as they ought to do. The whole bench of ſenators being now met, and thoſe eſpecially that were of the plot, they began to have ſome thoughts of taking the power into their own hands, and and ſetting up for themſelves again.

CHAP. III.

The Soldiers reſolve to promote Claudius, Caius's Uncle, *to the Imperial Dignity.* Chereas *cauſes the Empreſs* Ceſonia, Caius's *Wife, and her Daughter, to be put to Death. The Character of* Caius.

WHILE the ſenators were debating on the one had, the ſoldiers were at work in a council of war on the other, upon the queſtion, whether a popular or an imperial government, and came to this reſolution, that the former was neither good for the whole body nor for themſelves; for the people, they ſaid, could never anſwer ſo many preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate: Neither was it for their own intereſt either to be put quite out of play by a wrong choice, or to have ſo many maſters, having been rather the companions than the ſervants of the former adminiſtrator: So that they were of opinion in this unſettled ſtate of affairs to chuſe *Claudius* emperor, being the uncle of the deceaſed, and much ſuperior, both for his birth, princely qualities, and education, to any of the ſenators that were then gotten together, not making any doubt but he would remember thoſe that raiſed him, and oblige all people according to their deſerts. So that *Claudius* was immediately fetched away from his houſe by the ſoldiers, and declared emperor. This was carried preſently to the ſenate-houſe to *Cnæus Sentius Saturninus*, who finding matters upon ſuch a pinch that now or never the buſineſs was to be done, he ſtood up and made a ſpeech, in which he deplored their unhappineſs in the loſs of that liberty which their forefathers enjoyed, in a common-wealth, ſet forth the miſeries they ſuffered under the tyranny of *Julius Ceſar*, down to *Caius*, who had that day received his fate, and recommended it to them to join in reſtoring the common-wealth to its original ſtate of union and integrity.

This diſcourſe of *Saturninus* was mightily to the ſatisfaction of the whole body of the ſenate; but he was ſo intent upon *Caius* one way, that he forgot him another; for he had at that time a ſtone in a ring upon his finger, with a *Caius*'s head in it, which he never thought of: But *Trebellius Maximus* obſerving it, ſtarted up and it got from off his finger, and it was ordered to be broken. It was now toward night, and *Chereas* went to the conſuls for the watch word, who gave him for the word LIBERTY. The face of things was ſo ſtrangely altered now all on a ſudden, that people could hardly believe what they ſaw, this being the firſt act of authority that the ſenate had ever appeared in, ſince the time they were depoſed, for the ſoldiers had their orders from the conſuls ſtill, in former times, till the *Ceſars* took it out of their hands. *Chereas*, upon the receiving of the word, delivered it again in courſe to the troops that ſided with the ſenate. That is to ſay, to four companies of them that ſtood well affected to the lawful government, and declared themſelves againſt the uſurpation. Theſe men went away

way preſently with their officers, and ſoon after them went the people overjoyed with the thought of the preſent change, and in hopes that the ancient glory of the common-wealth was now coming about again, and all agreeing in the ſame note, that *Chereas* was their deliverer. Now *Chereas* thinking it might be dangerous after the death of *Caius* to leave his wife and daughter to ſurvive him, he ſent *Julius Lupus*, one of the tribunes, with a command to kill them both; ſingling out him the rather for that commiſſion, both as *Clemens*'s kinſman, and as a reaſonable thing for a man that was ſo deep in the conſpiracy, to have his part in the execution. *Lupus* being come to the palace, and within ſight of *Ceſonia*, as ſhe was tormenting herſelf in the bitterneſs of her anguiſh and diſtreſs, the princeſs begged of him with tears and paſſionate lamentations, only to take a view of the miſerable ſpectacle of her mangled huſband. But quickly gathering from his countenance what his fatal buſineſs was, and from his words afterward, ſhe was no farther concerned at what he ſaid, than after a ſhort ejaculation upon the miſery of her condition, immediately to preſent her bare throat to the execution; preſſing him to diſpatch what he had undertaken, and to finiſh the tragedy that his companions had begun. She encountered the ſtroke with a wonderful conſtancy of mind; her daughter, an infant, died by the ſame hand with her mother, and the tidings of it was ſent away to *Chereas* as ſoon as the work was done.

This was the end of *Caius*, in the fourth year of his reign; a man brutal and malicious to the higheſt degree, even in his private condition; ſenſual in his appetites, a patron of calumniators and informers, a coward in all caſes of danger, and conſequently bloody. He valued dominion for nothing more than that it put it in his power to oppreſs the innocent, and to make way to confiſcations, and forſeitures, by murders, and rapines. He valued himſelf upon the ſlaviſh flatteries and adorations of the common people, and nothing leſs than temples and altars muſt be raiſed to his honour to ſatiſfy his frantic and extravagant ambition. He hated all reſtraints of law as well as of virtue, and would not ſpare the beſt friend he had in the world upon the leaſt freak of a pique or revenge. He was an enemy to all good men, and impatient of contradiction in whatſoever he had a mind to, even to the degree of whoring his own ſiſter, which made the people abhor him. For inceſt was a brutality ſo abominable in thoſe days, that it was almoſt incredible, and a ſcandal that had not been ſo much as heard of among them for many ages. He never did any thing truly good, except the having built and made harbours and ſtorehouſes about *Rhegium* and near *Sicily*, for the convenience of the corn ſhips out of *Egypt*. But notwithſtanding all this, he was an excellent orator, had a wonderful preſence of mind, an admirable faculty in ſpeaking off hand upon any ſubject, and a talent peculiar to him of gaining upon the judgments and affections of men, in affairs even of the greateſt moment.

CHAP. IV.

Claudius *hides himſelf. His Character. The Heads of* Aſprenas, *&c. ſhewn for a Spectacle.* Claudius *diſcovered in a corner by* Gratus, *who puts him into poſſeſſion of the Government. The Soldiers unanimous for* Claudius. *They carry him to the Camp, and ſo finiſh'd the Work,*

CLAUDIUS, as we ſaid before, hearing of the death of *Caius*, and the uproar the whole court was in upon that diſaſter, crept into a private hole to ſave himſelf, though in no danger at all, unleſs perhaps for the ſake of his blood and quality. For his fancy lay ever to a retired life; his behaviour temperate and modeſt; a lover of letters, *Greek* eſpecially, and an utter enemy to the noiſe and hurry of buſineſs.

The multitude being now at their wits ends, the palace thronged with ſoldiers running up and down like mad, in a furious conſternation, and the common people hurrying from place to place at a venture, without any regard to the order or authority of government, the guards in this tumultuary confuſion, being men of the beſt credit among the ſoldiers, found it high time to bethink themſelves what was to be done: And their trouble was not ſo much the death of the prince, who they thought ſuffered according to his deſert, as how to provide for the ſettling of their own affairs. And then the rage of the *Germans* againſt the murderers had more in it of a private intereſt, than of any reſpect or good will for the public. Theſe things, all together, did but farther increaſe the apprehenſions of *Claudius*, eſpecially upon the ſight of the heads of *Aſprenas* and his companions, that were carried up and down in triumph. *Claudius* was gotten into a place where there was no coming to him but by certain blind ſteps; and there he ſtood to conceal himſelf in the dark. *Gratus*, one of the emperor's guards, got the glimpſe of a man there in a corner, that had a mind to lie cloſe; but not being able to diſcern what he was, he went up to him, though the other deſired him to forbear; and upon drawing him out found that he knew him, calling aloud to the people that followed him, "This is *Germanicus*, "and no man fitter to fill the vacancy of "the empire." Upon theſe words the ſoldiers were ready to lay hold of him; and *Claudius*, for fear they ſhould put him to death for *Caius*'s ſake, earneſtly beſought them to ſpare him, making proteſtations of his innocence upon the whole matter. *Gratus*, upon this, deſired him not to trouble himſelf with any ſort of apprehenſion for his ſafety, but rather to diſpoſe his thoughts towards the receiving of the empire: So they mounted *Claudius* upon their ſhoulders. While this was ſaying and doing, the guards gathered together about *Gratus* in greater numbers, and fell to muttering among themſelves what pity it was for the poor innocent *Claudius*, a perſon that had lived ſo private and ſo quiet, and had run ſo many hazards for *Caius* himſelf, to be hurried away thus out of his life; for they took all this buſtle to be for the carrying of *Claudius* to his execution, while others were for appealing to the conſuls. But as the ſoldiers crouded in more and more, the people that had no arms ſhifted ſeveral ways for themſelves. This put a ſtop to *Claudius*'s progreſs; for he was not in condition to march on foot, and his bearers had given him the ſlip upon the former miſtake, for fear of running the ſame fate with their maſter. So that the military men being now poſſeſſed of the palace, (that part of the city which they ſay was firſt inhabited) their numbers increaſing, and having a clear ſtage to themſelves, they took it into conſideration upon this juncture, how they might ſettle the common-wealth. The ſoldiers were glad at heart to ſee *Claudius* there, and one and all for advancing him to the empire, partly in honour to his brother *Germanicus*, for whoſe memory all the world had an infinite veneration, and partly to keep off other ambitious and troubleſome pretenders among the ſenators, who having formerly embroiled the ſtate, would in all likelihood do as much miſchief over again, if it lay in their power. They looked upon the republican form of government to be gone paſt recovery, and therefore ſince an emperor was of neceſſity to be choſen, it would concern them to take care they thought, that no perſon whatever ſhould be advanced to that dignity without being beholden to them for his preferment, and taking up *Claudius* on their ſhoulders, carried him away to the camp, there to finiſh what they had begun, and the whole army along with him for his guard.

While this was on foot there happened a miſunderſtanding between the ſenate and the common people. The former were for the re-eſtabliſhing of the common-wealth in its ancient glory, and for the vindicating of their authority from tyrannical uſurpations: The other out of an envy to the power the ſenate aimed at deſired nothing more than an imperial check upon the proud and covetous ſenators, and a ſecure appeal for themſelves to a higher court from republican oppreſſions; ſo that the people were overjoyed at the elevation of *Claudius*, in hope that under his protection they might be preſerved from civil wars, and the diſmal confuſions over again of the war betwixt *Pompey* and *Ceſar*.

The ſenate were no ſooner informed of the ſoldiers tranſporting *Claudius* to the army, but they diſpatched away a certain number of choice men of their own order, with inſtructions to admoniſh *Claudius* not to attempt the aſſuming of the government to himſelf by violence, but rather to content himſelf in the ſtation of one of the ſenators, and to leave the care of the public to that body, who were qualified by the laws to manage by themſelves, and by their direction all the offices of adminiſtration. They were alſo to mind him how tyrannically the people had been treated by former maſters, and even by *Caius* himſelf, and of the part likewiſe that he himſelf had in the common danger from that tyrant: And how ill it would become any man that condemned tyranny in another, to ſet up the practice of it himſelf. But if he would ſubmit to the ſenate, and return to his former courſe of life and principles, he ſhould be crown'd with honours by a free and powerful people, and gain the reputation of a wiſe and good man: But if he ſhould go on in his purpoſe after this judicial example upon *Caius*, they muſt certainly oppoſe him in his deſign; for they wanted neither ſoldiers, nor arms. But the envoys finding *Claudius* ſo beſet with military men, and that the power of the conſuls was nothing in compariſon to that of the ſoldiers, they made him only this ſhort requeſt, That if he were reſolved upon the ſovereignty, he ſhould rather accept it from the ſenate, and take it upon him without violence; which would be much fairer and more auſpicious, to receive it with the good will of the people, than to take it from them by force.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Claudius *ſticks to his Pretenſions.* Chereas, Lupus, *&c. put to death.*

CLAUDIUS was no ſtranger to the haughtineſs of the people he had to do withal, and ſo gave their deputies as fair an anſwer for the preſent as he could diſcreetly do, without laying himſelf at mercy. But what with the temptation itſelf, the advice and importunity of the ſoldiers; the inſtigation of *Agrippa*, and their promiſes to ſtand by him in the aſſerting of his pretenſions, *Claudius* was over-ruled into a reſolution not to let go his hold in the right he had to the dignity, which they had voluntarily conferred upon him.

Upon this the ſenators ſummoned a court, who met the next morning before day, in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

While they were in the middle of a debate, upon the matter in hand, there was an outcry of ſoldiers at the door all on a ſudden, to the ſenators to appoint them ſome one man to govern them, for many heads they ſaw did but breed confuſion; and for the fitneſs of the perſon they left that to the ſenate. This overture was ſuch a ſnare, that they knew not which way to turn themſelves; for inſtead of the liberty they promiſed themſelves from *Claudius*, they found him now to be the perſon they had the moſt reaſon to fear: Not that they wanted men among themſelves, that for the honour of their extraction, and their relation to *Ceſar*, might well enough pretend to ſet up for the dignity.

It was now toward break of day, when up comes *Chereas* with his people about him, and gives the ſoldiers to underſtand by a ſign he made for ſilence, that he had ſomewhat to ſay, and deſired a hearing. But their buſineſs was (they cried) to demand the choice of an emperor without any more ado; and ſo they ſtopt his mouth with noiſe and clamour. The ſenate found this was not a time to think of ſettling the government, when their authority was run down at this rate by ſword-men, and the dignity of that noble order ſubjected to the inſolence, ſcorn, and mockery of a company of ruffians. This put the conſpirators out of all patience; inſomuch that *Chereas* told them in the concluſion, if nothing but an emperor would ſerve their turn, he'd give them one, if they would but fetch him an order from *Eutychus* to juſtify him in what he did. Now this *Eutychus* was a favourite charioteer of *Caius's*, and an infamous wretch, that ſerved his maſter in all manner of baſe offices. *Chereas* followed this ſcandal with a thouſand other reproaches, declaring that he would rather bring them the head of *Claudius*, than ever own him for an emperor. “What!” ſays he, “have we not had enough already of a madman, but we muſt now make choice of a fool?” But this was only ſo much breath loſt; for the ſoldiers without minding what he ſaid, immediately drew their ſwords, and marched with their colours to find out *Claudius*, and to join in the ſame oath that the other had taken before.

Thus was the ſenate abandoned by thoſe that ſhould have defended it, and the conſuls reduced to the condition of little more than private men, while all people were at their wits end, in grief and aſtoniſhment, to think of what would become of them after the putting of theſe indignities upon *Claudius.* In the heat of this ſquabble, out ſtept *Sabinus*, one of the confederates, in a fury, with the proteſtation that he would ſtab every man before him rather than ever ſubmit to the acknowledging of *Claudius* for his maſter, or ſo much as to ſee him poſſeſſed of the empire, and ſo to become a ſlave by his own conſent.

While matters were in this diſorderly way of agitation, people came thronging into the camp from all quarters, to make their court to *Claudius*, and among the reſt, one of the conſuls, *Quintus Pompeius*, whom the ſoldiers hated ſo much the more, for encouraging the ſenate to ſtand up in defence of their liberties. Upon his advancing, they had undoubtedly killed him, if *Claudius* had not taken him into his protection, and placed him by his own ſide. But the reſt of the ſenators that came along with him were in very great danger. At the inſtance however of king *Agrippa*, *Claudius* was prevailed upon to treat the ſenators and men of quality, with gentleneſs and reſpect; "for," ſays he, "when theſe are gone you will have no ſubjects left you, but what you will be aſhamed to own." *Claudius* took his advice, and ordered them to meet him at the palace, whither he himſelf was carried in his litter.

At the ſame time, *Chereas* and *Sabinus*, two of the moſt eminent of the confederates, ſhewed themſelves in public, expreſly againſt the order of *Pollio*, whom *Claudius* had made captain of the guards but a little before. *Claudius* being now brought into the palace, and his friends about him, pronounced a ſentence of death upon *Chereas*, and he was executed accordingly.

As for *Sabinus, Claudius* did not only pardon him, but continued him in the ſame command he had before, upon a generous conſideration, that even in his treachery he was yet true to his truſt. But *Sabinus*, after all, made no farther uſe of his clemency than to deliver himſelf from a life he was weary of, upon the point of his own ſword, and with his own hand.

CHAP. VI.

Claudius *kind to* Agrippa. *A Sedition between the* Jews *and* Greeks.

THE firſt thing that *Claudius* did after his eſtabliſhment, was to clear his army of all ſuſpected perſons; and that being done, he confirmed *Agrippa*, by an edict, in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom formerly conferred upon him by *Caius*, aſcribing very much to *Agrippa*'s addreſs and induſtry in his ſervice. He caſt in over and above *Judæa* and *Samaria*, as formerly belonging to the kingdom of his grandfather *Herod*.

But for *Abela*, and the bordering lands upon mount *Libanus*, which formerly belonged to *Lyſanias* this he caſt into the bounty out of his own. The articles of alliance betwixt this king and the people of *Rome*, were graven in a copper-plate, and ſet up in the middle of the great market place of the city, for a memorial to poſterity.

He diſcharged his old friend *Alexander*; *Syſimachus*, the great cuſtom officer, that *Caius* had clapt up in a rage; and one that formerly managed for his mother *Antonia*. He likewiſe gave *Berenice*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, in contract to his ſon *Marcus*; but the young man dying before the conſummation of the marriage, *Agrippa* married the virgin to his brother *Herod*, and *Claudius* beſtowed the kingdom of *Chalcis* upon him at *Agrippa*'s requeſt.

The *Jews*, that had been terribly perſecuted and oppreſſed by the *Alexandrians* in the reign of *Caius*, began now to get heart again, and in a ſhort time betook themſelves to arms, which was the beginning of a ſedition between them and the *Greeks*. *Claudius*, upon the firſt tidings of this commotion, wrote away to the governor of *Egypt* to take all poſſible care to quiet it: And at the inſtance of the two kings, *Agrippa* and *Herod*, ſent an edict to *Alexandria*, and into *Syria*, in ſubſtance as follows.

Tiberius Claudius Ceſar Auguſtus Germanicus,
tribune and prince of the ſenate, greeting.

"Whereas we are given to underſtand that the *Jews* of *Alexandria* have ever from time to time enjoyed the ſame freedoms and privileges from former kings of *Egypt* in common with the reſt of the inhabitants, as appears by ſeveral royal decrees and inſtruments of record at this day extant in confirmation thereof: And likewiſe that thoſe rights and benefits have been continued to them ever ſince the annexing of that city by *Auguſtus* to our empire, and ſo tranſmitted uncontroverted through *Aquila*'s days, and all the governors of *Alexandria*, ſucceſſively, that have been ſent thither; having liberty granted them alſo by the ſame *Auguſtus* upon the death of their ethnarch, to ſubſtitute another in his ſtead; enjoying the free exerciſe of their religion and diſcipline without any moleſtation or control.

"Now foraſmuch as *Caius Ceſar*, in a blaſphemous exceſs of madneſs, hath rigorouſly preſſed upon the *Jews* to worſhip him as a god, contrary to the good faith and honour of the imperial grant, and in a manifeſt violence upon their conſciences, and breaking into outrages againſt the refuſers, irritated a faction in *Alexandria* againſt the *Jews*, their fellow citizens: This is now to declare all thoſe proceedings of *Caius* null and void, and the ſaid privileges of the *Jews* to remain ſtill in full force; requiring and commanding both the one and the other, by this our ſovereign authority, to live, as far as is poſſible, in a right underſtanding together, without troubling the public peace." Theſe are the contents of the edict; and after this, in particular for *Alexandria*, there was another ſent abroad by the ſame prince, in favour of the *Jews* all over the empire.

CHAP. VII.

King Agrippa *goes to his Kingdom, and puts his Chain, being a token of his Impriſonment, into the Sacred Treaſury of the Temple of* Jeruſalem.

CLAUDIUS *Ceſar* gave to underſtand by theſe two edicts, how affectionate an eſteem he had for the *Jews*: And the next thing he did was to order king *Agrippa* away to his government, crowning him ſtill with more and more honours, and giving him ſeveral letters of ſpecial recommendation to all the governors and intendants of the provinces where he was to paſs. He made a quick, and a happy diſpatch of his buſineſs, and ſo haſtened away to *Jeruſalem*, where he acquitted himſelf of all his holy vows, and offered ſacrifices according to the punctual formalities of the law: Cauſing great numbers of the *Nazarenes* to cut their hair. *Tiberius* having formerly manacled *Agrippa* with iron chains, *Caius* gave him a gold chain in exchange, juſt of the ſame weight with the iron one. This chain *Agrippa* dedicated to God, and cauſed it to be hung up in the veſtry over the box of the holy treaſure, as a monumental memorial of the power and goodneſs of providence, in relieving men when they are at the loweſt; and for an inſtruction to mankind, that the ſame God that caſts us down, is able to raiſe us up again.

So ſoon as *Agrippa* had paid his duty to God, he depoſed *Theophilus* the ſon of *Ananus* from the pontificate, and ſubſtituted *Simon* the ſon of *Boethus*, whoſe ſurname was *Canthara*, in his ſtead. This *Simon* had two brothers who had been high-prieſts too, and *Boethus* the father, whoſe daughter king *Herod* married.

The office of the pontificate being ſettled, the king made it his firſt buſineſs to pay his acknowledgements to the people of *Jeruſalem* for the honour and good will that they had ſhewn him, by remitting the tax upon houſes that they had formerly paid. He made *Silas* general of his army, in remembrance of the many difficulties and hazards they had run together.

A while after this, there was a gang of raſh heady young fellows of *Doris* got together, who, under a colour of religion, dedicated a ſtatue to *Ceſar* in the *Jews* ſynagogue, which tranſported *Agrippa* to the higheſt degree, as the ready way to make their religion deſpicable, and to bring all to ruin. Wherefore *Agrippa* complained to *Petronius* the governor of *Syria*, of this horrible outrage; who declared himſelf with as much indignity as the other, and wrote a ſharp letter to the innovators.

But for *Abela*, and the bordering lands upon mount *Libanus*, which formerly belonged to *Lyſanias* this he caſt into the bounty out of his own. The articles of alliance betwixt this king and the people of *Rome*, were graven in a copper-plate, and ſet up in the middle of the great market place of the city, for a memorial to poſterity.

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CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Silas *ſets up for a ſhare in the Government.* Agrippa *claps him up in a priſon.* Agrippa's *Death.*

KING *Agrippa*, after this, removed *Simon Canthara* from the high-prieſthood, with an intent to reſtore it to *Jonathan* the ſon of *Ananus*, as a perſon better deſerving ſuch a dignity: But he declined the acceptance of it, with an acknowledgment of the honour the king deſigned him; but recommended his brother as a man untainted with the vanities of the world; innocent and inoffenſive before God and man, and conſequently better qualified for the function. The king was ſo delighted with the man's candour and modeſty, that he laid the thought of *Jonathan* aſide, and according to his advice, tranſferred the pontificate to his brother *Matthias*. It was not long after this, that *Petronius* was diſmiſſed from his government of *Syria*; and *Marcus* ſucceeded him.

Silas, *Agrippa*'s general, being very ambitious, thought that as they had been familiar friends and partners in the dangers of the war, ſo it was but reaſonable that they ſhould go ſhares in the dignity and prerogatives of the government: And theſe things conſidered, he accounted himſelf to ſtand upon the ſame level with the king himſelf; and took liberties with him to the degree of ſaucineſs. This behaviour of his was ſo reproachful and weariſome, that the king began to be ſick of this intemperate freedom: Yet *Silas* went on ſo far, that the king would bear it no longer; but in the heat of a paſſion, he not only ſtript him of his commiſſion, but ſent him away bound into his own country. When he came afterward to bethink himſelf how ſevere he had been upon a perſon that had done and ſuffered ſo much for him, the anniverſary of his birthday coming on, and all people diſpoſing themſelves for mirth and jollity, his heart began to ſoften, and he ſent for *Silas* to make one at the royal feſtival. Now he being a blunt plain fellow, and one that could not diſſemble indignation, called out aloud to the people that brought him the invitation, telling them what he ſuffered, and reproaching the king as he had done before. Upon which *Agrippa* found the freak to be incurable, and ſo remanded him to priſon.

The king turned his thoughts now to the care of the city, and fortified the walls of the new town as they call it, at a public charge; making them much ſtronger, thicker, and higher than they were before, and would in the end have made *Jeruſalem* abſolutely impregnable, if *Marſus* the governor of *Syria* had not given *Claudius Ceſar* a cautionary notice of it, for fear there might be ſome farther deſign: Whereupon *Claudius* wrote immediately to *Agrippa*, to go no farther in it, and this put a ſtop to the work.

The king of the *Jews* was naturally ſo generous and obliging, that he made himſelf famous by his magnificent bounties, taking no greater delight in any thing than in honourable occaſions to ſhew the munificence of a large ſoul. There was among others, one very particular inſtance of a generous goodneſs in him.

Agrippa happened to be once at *Ceſarea*; and in his abſence one *Simon*, a lawyer, reflected upon him in a public aſſembly, for a man of a looſe life. The governor ſent the king word of this accuſation, who immediately diſpatched an order for *Simon* to come to him; who went accordingly, and the king at that time happened to be in the theatre. So *Agrippa* called him, and ſaid to him, " friend," ſays he, " if you know " any thing of me that you do not like, I " would have you declare it here. The man had nothing to ſay for himſelf; but in a confuſion, begged his pardon, and the king granted it immediately.

All places wherever he came, or had to do, had ſome taſte, of his magnificence and bounty; but *Berytus* above the reſt. For there, at a moſt prodigious expence, he erected a ſtately theatre, and likewiſe an amphitheatre, not inferior to it; ſeveral bagnio's, and arched walks; ſparing no coſt for the beautifying of every thing to the higheſt point of perfection.

Agrippa after this paſſed from *Berytus* to *Tiberias*, a city of *Galilee*, where he was complimented by ſeveral kings. There was *Antiochus*, the king of *Comagena*; *Sampſigeran*, the king of the *Emeſenes*; *Cotys*, king of the leſſer *Armenia*; *Polemon*, a little prince of *Pontus*: And beſide all theſe, *Herod* the brother of *Agrippa*, and the king of *Chalcis*; who were all moſt royally entertained. While they were yet together, *Marſus* the governor of *Syria*, came over him to him; and *Agrippa*, out of a reverence to the ſovereignity of the empire, went out of town ſeven miles to receive him, which proved the occaſion (as it fell out) of a miſunderſtanding betwixt them; for *Marſus* finding ſo many kings together, and ſuch and agreement betwixt them, he did not know how it might ſtand with the public ſafety to countenance ſo powerful and ſo dangerous a correſpondence; and therefore ſent meſſages to them one by one, to depart immediately; which gave *Agrippa* ſuch a diſguſt, that he hated him for ever after.

This prince then took away the pontificate from *Matthias*, and gave it to *Elionæus* the ſon of *Cithæus*. He was now in the third year of his reign over all *Judæa*, when he came to *Ceſarea*, formerly called the tower of *Straton*; where he celebrated a ſolemnity of games and ſhews to the honour of *Ceſar*; which drew together a world of the nobility and men of quality from all parts of the province. Upon the ſecond day of this feſtival, *Agrippa* went early in the morning to the theatre in a ſilver ſtuff ſo wonderfully rich and curious, that the beams of the riſing ſun ſtriking upon it, peoples eyes were dazzled from the reflection of his habit. The ſparkling of the light ſeemed to have ſomething divine in it, that moved the ſpectators at the ſame time with veneration and horror. Inſomuch that a proſtitute crew of fawning paraſites cried him up as a God: This impious nauſeuos flattery paſſed upon him without repulſe; but while he was in the vanity of this contemplation, lifting up his eyes, he ſaw an owl in the air over his head ſitting upon a rope, which he found ſoon after to be the preſage of miſchief to him, as it had been before of good luck. For he fell immediately into a violent paſſion of the heart, with terrible gripes and torments of the guts: In which agony, directing his ſpeech to ſome friends about him, " Look ye," ſays he, " your God is " now condemned to die; and by this fatal " neceſſity, I am about to prove all my " flaterers a company of profligate lyars, and " to convince the world by dying that I am " not immortal. But God's will be done. " In the life that I have led, I have had no " reaſon to envy the happineſs of any prince " under the heavens; but I muſt ſtill be " aſpiring to be greater and greater." At theſe words his pains increaſing upon him, he was preſently removed into the palace. This extremity of pain held him from that time forward without any manner of abatement, and at the end of five days it carried him off, in the fifty fourth year of his age and the ſeventh of his reign. He governed for the firſt four years of his reign under *Caius*: The three former of them under the tetrarchy of *Philip*; the fourth in that of *Herod* too; and the other three under *Claudius*, who beſide that of *Judæa*, gave him the command alſo of *Samaria* and *Ceſarea*.

Agrippa's yearly revenue was computed at one thouſand two hundred myriads. And yet his income did not anſwer his expence. *Chelcias* the general of his troops, and *Herod* the prince of *Chalcis*, both of them bitter enemies to *Silas*, ſent *Ariſton* to kill him in priſon, as by the king's order, before the certainty of his death could be generally known.

This was the end of king *Agrippa*, who left behind him a ſon of his own name of ſeventeen years of age, and three daughters. *Berenice*, the eldeſt, being married at about ſixteen to his uncle *Herod*; the other two virgins, *Mariamne*, and *Druſilla*, the former being ten years old, and the other ſix. *Mariamne*, the elder, was contracted to *Julius Archelaus* the ſon of *Chelcias*; the younger to *Epiphanes* the ſon of *Antiochus*, king of *Comagena*.

CHAP. IX.

Ceſarea *and* Sebaſte *ungrateful to the Memory of* Agrippa. Claudius *propoſes* Agrippa*'s Son to ſucceed his Father; but he is diverted from it, and gives the command to* Cuſpius Fadus.

AS ſoon as the news of *Agrippa*'s death came to be publickly known, the people of *Ceſarea* and *Sebaſte* were ſo far from doing right to the obligations he had laid upon them, that on the contrary, they beſpattered his name and memory with the lewdeſt calumnies that could be invented. There happened to be a rabble of ſoldiers there at that time, that lugged away the ſtatues of his three daughters out of the palace, and carried them in triumph into public bawdy-houſes, feaſting and buffooning in the ſtreets, with flowers and garlands upon their heads; ointments and perfumes, as upon a ſacrifice to *Charon*, and drinking thankſgiving cups for the death of their king.

Agrippa the ſon of the deceaſed, was at this time at *Rome*, and trained up in the court of *Claudius*; who had no ſooner heard of the death of the father, and the inhuman indignities that thoſe ungrateful wretches of *Ceſarea* and *Sebaſte* had put upon his memory, but expreſſing as great a ſorrow for the loſs of *Agrippa*, as an indignation for the ingratitude of the other, he took up a reſolution within himſelf, immediately to ſend away the ſon to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of his father; which was but purſuant to an oath he had taken, as well as agreeable to the very equity and reaſon of the thing. But upon the diſſuaſion of the favourite people he had about him, he was eaſily diverted from his purpoſe. They told him it was not ſafe to venture ſo great a truſt in the hands of a raw young man, for it was ſo nice a commiſſion, that the beſt head he had in the empire would find enough to do manage it.

Upon this plauſible inſinuation, *Claudius* changed his mind, and gave the whole command to *Cuſpius Fadus*, but with this proviſion, that he ſhould not upon any terms take *Marſus* into his government, in regard that he had been a profeſſed enemy to *Agrippa*. And charged him yet more expreſly, to puniſh the people of *Ceſarea* and *Sebaſte* very ſeverely, for the barbarous affronts they had put upon the honour of *Agrippa* and his daughters: Commanding him alſo to ſend away the five cohorts, and the reſt of the troops that were in thoſe two towns to *Pontus*; and to detach a body of choice men out of the *Roman* legions in *Syria*, to ſupply their places. But this laſt order was not obſerved; for *Claudius* was prevailed with, upon an humble application, to continue thoſe troops ſtill in *Judæa*. This gave the riſe to the miſerable calamities that the *Jews* ſuffered afterwards; and proved the very ſeminary of the following wars under the government of *Florus*.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK XX.

From the Year of the World 4009, to 4030.

CHAP. I.

Claudius *gives* Marſus's *Commiſſion to* Caſſius Longinus. *A Quarrel between the* Jews *and* Philadelphians.

AFTER the death of *Agrippa*, the emperor took away *Marſus*'s command for *Syria*, and gave it to *Caſſius Longinus*, out of reſpect to the memory of his friend the late king, who in his life-time had written ſeveral letters to *Claudius*, to remove this *Marſus* from his government.

Cuſpius Fadus, coming at the ſame time to enter upon his command in *Judæa*, found the *Jews* beyond *Jordan*, and the *Philadelphians*, together by the ears, about the bounds of a ſmall village called *Mias*, inhabited by a bold and warlike people. Them from beyond *Jordan* had taken up arms without any authority from their ſuperiors, and killed ſeveral of the *Philadelphians*. *Fadus* took this ſeditious inſolence ſo heinouſly, that he cauſed three of the ringleaders, *Annibas*, *Amaram*, and *Eleazar*, to be laid in chains; the firſt to be put to death, and the other two baniſhed.

Soon after this, the famous captain of the robbers, *Tholomæus*, that had made ſuch havock in *Idumæa* and *Arabia*, was brought to him bound, and he ſentenced him to death. He ſent after this to the prieſts and the rulers of *Jeruſalem*, and ſhewed them *Ceſar*'s

Ceſar's mandate, requiring the ſacred robe, and the ſacerdotal ſtole, (veſtments peculiarly belonging to the high-prieſt) to be depoſited in the caſtle of *Antonia*, and there to remain in the cuſtody of the *Romans* as they had been in former times. They durſt not diſpute the order, and ſo choſe rather to make a reſpectful application to *Fadus* and *Longinus*, only for leave to move *Claudius* upon that point, and ſo to reſpite the proceeding till they might receive the emperor's anſwer. This requeſt was granted them upon condition of delivering up their children for hoſtages in the mean time, which they readily agreed to, and ſo their deputies went their way. *Agrippa* being at that time at *Rome*, having ſeaſonable notice both of the arrival and their buſineſs, petitioned *Ceſar* on the behalf of the *Jews*, that the holy ſtole might remain in their own keeping; and that he would vouchſafe to ſignify his pleaſure to *Fadus* by an order to that purpoſe. *Claudius*, upon this, had the commiſſioners called, and telling them that he had granted what they came for, bid them thank *Agrippa* for the grace he had ſhewn them.

Herod the prince of *Chalcis*, and brother of *Agrippa* the deceaſed, begged of *Claudius* the charge of the temple, and the holy treaſure, with the privilege of chuſing the high-prieſt, which was all granted him, and the power continued in the family till the end of the *Jewiſh* war. This prince removed *Canthara* from the pontificate, and ſet up *Joſeph* the ſon of *Caneus* in his ſtead.

CHAP. II.

Helen *the Queen of* Adiabena, *and her Son* Izates, *turn* Jews. Monobazus *marries his Siſter* Helen. *A voice heard as they were in Bed together. He has two Sons by* Helen. Monobazus *and* Izates *their Hiſtory.*

MUCH about this time *Helen* the queen of *Adiabena*, and *Izates* her ſon, came over to the religion of the *Jews*, by this occaſion. *Monobazus*, otherwiſe called *Bazeus*, the king of *Adiabena*, fell in love with his own ſiſter *Helen*, and married her. It happened one night, as they were aſleep in bed together, the huſband's hand reſting on his wife's belly, and ſhe with child, he fancied he heard a voice that bid him take away his hand for fear of hurting the child; for that providence had begun a work with a great bleſſing, that would be crowned with a greater yet in the end. The voice ſtartled him, and when he was well awake he told his wife the ſtory. When this conception came to light, it proved to be a male, and the father gave it the name of *Izates*. He had another ſon before this by the ſame princeſs, which he called after his own name, and he had ſeveral other ſons likewiſe by other wives. But *Izates*, in fine, carried it from them all.

The king's partiality in this preference, put the reſt of the brothers into an outrageous jealouſy. The king took notice of their ill humour, and thought it the beſt courſe for ſafety, to diſpoſe of *Izates* out of harm's way: And ſo he diſpatched him with magnificent preſents to king *Abennerigus*, at the fort of *Spaſinus*, where he was received with ſo much tenderneſs and eſteem, that he gave to him his own daughter *Samachas* in marriage, with a portion of land, by way of dower, to a conſiderable value.

Monobazus, being now far gone in years, had a great mind to ſee his ſon once again before he died. So he had him ſent for, and then embracing him with infinite affection, he gave him the province of *Cæron*, a country famous for aromatic plants; and in which place are the relicks of the ark in which *Noah* was ſaved during the deluge, and are there expoſed to view. *Izates* took up his habitation in this place during the life of his father. Queen *Helen*, upon the very day of the king's deceaſe, called her miniſters, great officers, and commanders all about her, and ſpoke to them after this manner: "I need not tell you," ſays ſhe, "that the late king my huſband "deſigned *Izates* for his ſucceſſor, as the "perſon of all his children that he judged "beſt qualified for the honour. But how"ever," ſays ſhe, "I ſhall be glad to have "your advice along with me, for one body's "opinion is not ſufficient to make a prince "happy, without the joint conſent and good "will of the people." The queen making a pauſe after theſe words, the miniſters, with a profound reverence, according to the cuſtom of the country, declared themſelves unanimouſly for the promoting of *Izates* to the crown, being fully ſatisfied that it was his father's will it ſhould be ſo, as the perſon of his family whom he looked upon to be beſt fitted for that dignity. The queen gave them thanks for this expreſſion of their zeal, and for the better ſecurity of the new king, ordered that the brothers ſhould be kept in ſafe cuſtody, and ſome other perſon entruſted with the adminiſtration in his abſence; and pitched upon *Monobazus*, the elder brother, for the viceroy, ſet the crown upon his head, gave him his father's ſignet-ring, with the royal robe, (or the ſampſera as they call it) and committed the care of the government into his hands, till his brother ſhould come to take it himſelf. *Izates* was not long coming, after he heard of his father's death; and immediately upon his arrival *Monobazus*, of his own accord, delivered up his truſt.

While *Izates* was at the fort of *Spaſinus*, a certain *Jewiſh* merchant, by name *Ananias*, having made an acquaintance with ſome of the court ladies, inſtructed them in the knowledge of the true God, according to the rites and cuſtoms of the *Jews*. Theſe women brought the merchant to the knowledge of *Izates*, who converted him likewiſe to the ſame perſuaſion, and upon great importunities kept him company in his journey to *Adiabena*, whither his father ſent to ſee him before he died. At the ſame time queen *Helen* herſelf was converted to our profeſſion by another *Jew*. *Izates*, at his return to *Adiabena*, was not a little troubled to ſee his brothers, and others of his kindred, priſoners there. He could not in conſcience either put them to death or keep them in chains; and then he thought it might be dangerous, on the other hand, to ſet them at liberty, under ſuch a provocation to a revenge: So ſent them away for hoſtages, part with their children to *Rome*, to *Claudius Ceſar;* others to *Artabanus*, the king of *Parthia*.

Izates reckoned it now high time to make profeſſion of what he was; and accounting that he could not be a thorough *Jew* without being circumciſed, he reſolved to perfect the work by initiating himſelf with that ceremony. His mother did what ſhe could to divert him from it, for fear of the dangerous conſequences that would follow upon it: "For," ſays ſhe, "your ſubjects will "all fall off from their allegiance, ſo ſoon "as they hear their king is gone over to a"nother religion, for they will never en"dure a *Jew* upon the throne." This diſſuaſion of his mother put ſome reſpite to the execution of his purpoſe: And in the mean time, the king adviſed upon the point with *Ananias*, who told him that he was abſolutely of his mother's opinion. This way of reaſoning wrought upon the king as the other wiſhed it might.

But it fell out that a while after, there came another *Jew* out of *Galilee*, *Eleazar* by name. He was a learned, well read man in the *Moſaick* laws; and being brought to *Izates*, whom he found poring upon the books of *Moſes*, “Sir,” ſays he, “how long do you intend to continue in the ſtate of uncircumciſion? If you have not as yet met with the law that requires it, pray read it now to the end that you may know how great a ſin you have to anſwer for in the omitting of it.” The king was ſo thoroughly poſſeſſed with what he ſaid, that without any more delay, he ſent for a ſurgeon, that did the office immediately.

When the queen had ſtaid long enough to ſee her ſon ſettled in a peaceable poſſeſſion of his government, ſhe had a mighty mind to make a viſit to *Jeruſalem*, for the ſake of the famous temple there, and to worſhip God, and offer up ſacrifices in it, according to the rules and uſage of the place. The queen's coming to *Jeruſalem* was in a happy hour for the citizens; for there was ſo pinching a famine in the town, that the people periſhed for want of bread. Their diſtreſs was no ſooner made known to this charitable queen, but ſhe preſently ſent away ſeveral of her train; ſome to one place, ſome to another, to look about for relief: So that in a ſhort time there were brought in great quantities of wheat from *Alexandria*; dried figs from *Cyprus*, and the like; which ſhe cauſed immediately to be diſtributed to the poor, and got herſelf immortal honour by ſo doing. Her ſon *Izates* alſo, upon the intelligence of this terrible dearth, ſent prodigious charities in money, to the governors of *Jeruſalem* for their poor.

Artabanus, the king of *Parthia*, had to do with a powerful and a factious nobility; and finding the conſpirators ſo ſtrong, he reſolved to apply himſelf to *Izates*, both for advice and aſſiſtance. So he drew together a matter of a thouſand perſons, and met *Izates* upon the way. Upon advancing near him, he firſt ſaluted him after the manner of the country, with a reverence which they call adoration; and then made himſelf and his condition known to him.

Izates came by this time to underſtand that his petitioner was no leſs than *Artabanus*; and ſo leaping down to him from his horſe, he bad him recollect his ſpirits, and comfort himſelf with this aſſurance, that the wound was not incurable; and that providence would put a ſpeedy end to his preſent diſtreſs. Upon theſe words, *Izates* mounted *Artabanus* upon his own horſe, and walked a-foot by his ſide, in acknowledgement of a duty he owed to the great king.

His thoughts being now wholly taken up how to ſerve *Artabanus*, he wrote a preſſing and an effectual letter to the *Parthians*, to call their king home again. Their anſwer was rather an excuſe than refuſal, for they had given the crown to another, one *Cinnamus*, they ſaid; ſo that it was out of their power to receive him: Beſide that the very attempt of ſuch a revocation would put all in a flame. Now *Cinnamus*, being a perſon very generous, juſt, and grateful in his nature, and having received his education under the care and direction of *Artabanus*, felt the pulſes of the nobility, and gave this anſwer, that let *Artabanus* come back when he would, he himſelf would become anſwerable for his ſecurity and reception. *Artabanus* made no difficulty at all of venturing himſelf upon this aſſurance, and ſo went back again. *Cinnamus* met him upon the way; did his reverence in form; and ſaluting him in the ſtile of king, took the crown from off his own head, and placed it upon the head of *Artabanus*. *Artabanus* expreſſed his gratitude to his benefactor by a return of all honourable duties and reſpects.

Artabanus dying ſome ſhort time after, left his ſon *Vardanes* to ſucceed him in his kingdom, who went preſently to *Izates* to try if he could engage him in a war with him againſt the *Romans*: But *Izates* was too well acquainted with the ſtrength and conduct of thoſe people, to be drawn into a league againſt ſo powerful an enemy: Beſide that having five ſons trained up among them to learn their language, and diſcipline, and his mother a conſtant woman at her devotions in the holy temple, he had ſome ſort of tie upon him, not to meddle. And he did what he could alſo to take off *Vardanes*, by harping perpetually upon the topick of the wonderful ſtrength, courage, and exploits of the *Romans*: But ſo far was the *Parthian* from being diſcouraged by big words, that he made war immediately upon *Izates*. But when the *Parthians* came to find *Vardanes* ſo ſet upon a war with the *Romans*, they took their opportunity to cut him off, and committed the government to his brother *Gotarza*; who a little while after was taken off by treachery himſelf too, and his brother *Vologeſes* ſucceeded him, who divided the government betwixt his two brothers by the father's ſide: *Pacorus* the elder had *Media*; and *Tiridates* the younger had *Armenia*. *Monobazus*, the brother of the king, together with the reſt of the kindred, taking notice of the exemplary piety of *Izates*, with reſpect to God and his worſhip, and the bleſſings that attend it; began to bethink themſelves of quitting the religion of their country too, after his example, and of betaking themſelves to the obſervance of the *Jewiſh* manners and cuſtoms. When the great men of the kingdom had got this in the wind, they ſtomached it ſufficiently, but waited for an opportunity of taking their revenge. So they wrote to *Abias*, the king of *Arabia*, to make war upon their prince, with an aſſurance, that upon the firſt encounter they would leave the king in the plain field. He abandoned the religion of his country, they ſaid, and he ſhould not carry it off unpuniſhed. *Abias* forthwith marched away with a conſiderable army againſt *Izates*. The main bodies were no ſooner come within ſight of one another but *Izates*'s men, according to their agreement, betook themſelves to their heels without ever ſtriking a ſtroke. By this time *Izates* found himſelf evidently betrayed; but made his retreat however without any confuſion, into his camp: Where, upon a ſtrict enquiry, he diſcovered a treaſon concerted betwixt his people and the enemy; detected ſome of the conſpirators, and puniſhed them according to their deſerts. On the day following he fought *Abias*, and routed him; following the king himſelf upon the heel up to the caſtle of *Arſamus*, which he took by ſtorm, and returned in triumph to *Adiabena*. *Abias* prevented his being taken alive by laying violent hands upon himſelf.

But the great men of *Adiabena*, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, in a ſupplicatory letter to *Vologeſes*, the king of the *Parthians*, begged of him to find ſome way to rid them of *Izates*, by taking them into his own protection, and appointing whom he thought fit of his own nation to rule over them. This put the *Parthian* upon picking a quarrel with *Izates*. The firſt thing he did was a revocation of all the honours and advantages which his own father had conferred upon him, together with the menace of an immediate war, if he ſhould but dare in any ſort to diſpute his pleaſure. This meſſage gave *Izates* a great deal of trouble upon ſeveral accounts; but he came in the end to this poſitive reſolution, that in a full dependence upon God's aſſiſtance, he would caſt life, honour and fortune, upon the iſſue of a battle. In this determination, he ſecured his wives and children in a ſtrong caſtle, laid up great magazines of corn and other neceſſaries in the beſt forts he had, burned and deſtroyed all the forage and hay round about him, and ſo ſtood in a poſture to receive the enemy. The *Parthian* had drawn together a mighty army of horſe and foot, and pitched his tents upon the bank of a river that parts *Adiabena* from *Media*. *Izates* encamped alſo not far from thence, with a body of ſix thouſand horſe. The piety of this good man was ſo remarkably accepted, that upon intelligence the very ſame night, of the *Dahæ* and the *Sacæ* (people of *Scythia*) falling into *Parthia* with a ſtrong army, and ravaging the country now in the king's abſence, *Vologeſus* was fain to draw off his army, to encounter this diverſion; which was a moſt evident indication of a divine providence in *Izates*'s favour.

This religious prince died a while after, in the fifty fifth year of his age, and the twenty fourth of his reign, leaving four ſons living, but yet appointing his brother *Monobazus* for his ſucceſſor, as a juſt acknowledgment of the honour and integrity of his behaviour, in delivering up the crown which he was poſſeſſed of in truſt, in the abſence of *Izates*, upon the death of their father. The mother *Helen* did not long ſurvive her ſon *Izates*. *Monobazus* ſent away the bones of his brother and his mother away to *Jeruſalem*, to be depoſited in the pyramids that ſhe had built there, being three in number, and a matter of three furlongs from the place.

CHAP. III.

Theudas, *a falſe Prophet, pretends to work Miracles. The People follow him; but* Fadus *ſcatters them, and cuts off* Theudas's *Head.*

WHILE *Fadus* was in his government of *Judæa*, there was a kind of a quack-magician, whoſe name was *Theudas*, a fellow that ſet up for a prophet, and drew a huge train of a rabble after him, upon a pretence that if they would but follow him to the river *Jordan*, and take their goods along with them, he would but give the word and the waters ſhould divide, and leave them a paſſage to go over dry. But *Fadus* turning looſe ſome troops of horſe among them before they were aware, there were many of them killed, divers taken alive, and ſo they returned triumphant to *Jeruſalem*, with the head of *Theudas* for a ſpectacle. This happened when *Cuſpius Fadus* had the adminiſtration of *Judæa*.

CHAP. IV.

Tiberius Alexander *ſucceeds* Fadus *in the Government of* Judæa; *and* Cumanus *ſucceeds* Alexander. Herod *King of* Chalcis's *Death.* Claudius *gives the Government to* Agrippa *the Younger.*

AFTER *Fadus*, ſucceeded *Tiberius Alexander*, the ſon of that *Alexander* who had been governor of *Alexandria*; a man of as great riches as any one of his time and place, who ſurpaſſed likewiſe his ſon *Alexander* in piety, who forſook the religion of his forefathers. At that time there happened a great famine in *Jewry*, during which queen *Helen* ſent vaſt ſums of money into *Egypt*, and bought corn, and diſtributed the ſame to thoſe that were in want, according as I have ſaid before. At the ſame time *James* and *Simon*, the ſons of *Judas* of *Galilee*, who had buſied themſelves to incite the people to reſiſt the government of the *Romans*, were put to death at ſuch time as *Cyrenus* valued each man's goods, as we have heretofore declared. Theſe *Alexander* commanded to be crucified.

Herod king of *Chalcis* took away the ſovereign prieſthood from *Joſeph* the ſon of *Camydas*, and transferred it to *Ananias*, the ſon of *Nebedæus*. After *Tiberius Alexander*, ſucceeded *Cumanus*. Then died *Herod*, who was brother to *Agrippa* the great, in the eighth year of *Claudius Ceſar*. He left behind him three ſons; *Ariſtobulus*, whom he had by a former wife; and *Bernicianus* and *Hyrcanus*, by *Berenice*, his brother's daughter. *Claudius Ceſar* gave his kingdom to *Agrippa* the younger.

Under the adminiſtration of *Cumanus*, there fell out a ſedition at *Jeruſalem*, which coſt a great many *Jews* their lives, the occaſion of which was as follows.

CHAP. V.

The horrid Inſolence of a Roman *Soldier cauſes the death of twenty thouſand* Jews. *Another Soldier's Inſolence.*

THE paſchal feaſt, or the *Jews* feaſt of unleavened bread, being now at hand, brought up vaſt multitudes of people to the ſolemnity. *Cumanus* ſet a company of ſoldiers for a guard upon the temple; ſufficient to quiet a tumult, if any diſorder ſhould happen. Upon the fourth day of the feſtival a ſoldier expoſed himſelf to the people quite naked, which put them into an outrageous exclamation againſt the beaſtly inſolence of the affront; and ſome among them railed at *Cumanus*, as if the ſoldier would never have done it of himſelf without his encouragement. *Cumanus* deſired them in fair words, not to do any thing that might look like ſedition. But he quickly found that gentleneſs would do no good; he commanded therefore the whole army into the caſtle of *Antonia*, which overlooks the temple. The common people took ſuch a fright upon the advance of theſe ſoldiers, that they ſhifted away as faſt as they could; and preſſing one upon another thorough ſeveral ſtreight and narrow paſſages, there were twenty thouſand perſons ſmothered and trampled to death in the crowd: Which turned the feſtival into a day of mourning.

This calamity was ſcarcely over when it was followed with another. For ſome of thoſe that had eſcaped being cruſhed in the preſs, and got about a hundred furlongs from the town, finding a certain domeſtic of the emperor's travelling upon the highway, whoſe name was *Stephen*, they aſſaulted him, ſtript him, and took away all he had. The report of this robbery coming to *Cumanus*, he preſently ſent away ſoldiers to the place where it was committed, with orders to rifle all the villages thereabouts, and to bring away ſome of the principal inhabitants priſoners. In the heat of the pillage and havock there was a ſoldier there had the fortune to light upon the books of *Moſes*. He brought them out, and when he had ſtormed and raged like a madman againſt both the laws themſelves, and the whole nation of the *Jews*, he tore them all to pieces in the face of the people. The ſtory of this inſolence and contempt was no ſooner brought to the *Jews*, but they immediately gathered together in multitudes, and went with their complaint to *Cumanus*, who was then at *Ceſarea*, deſiring him to do them right upon the rioter, not as in a private injury, but in the cauſe of God himſelf. The governor, upon advice with his friends, had the criminal's head ſtruck off for the violation of the law, and ſo put a ſtop to the progreſs of another tumult.

CHAP. VI.

A Quarrel betwixt the Jews *and the* Samaritans. *The Death of* Claudius Ceſar. Nero *Proclaimed Emperor. He Poiſons* Britannicus; *murders his own Mother; puts* Octavia *to Death, &c.*

AFTER this was over, there was another controverſy ſtarted betwixt the *Samaritans* and the *Jews;* and upon this occaſion. It being uſual for the *Galileans* to travel by the way of *Samaria* to *Jeruſalem,* upon the celebration of their feſtivals, they happened to paſs one time by a village called *Nais,* under the juriſdiction of *Samaria,* and ſituated in the great plain, where there fell out a quarrel betwixt the paſſengers and the villagers, and ſeveral of the *Galileans* were ſlain. Some of the chief among them took this affront in ſuch indignation, that they animated the *Jews* to take up arms, and with ſword in hand to aſſert their liberties. The magiſtrates did what they could to make things eaſy, and undertook ſo far for *Cumanus,* that he ſhould give them ſatisfaction upon the authors of this tumult. But the people were deaf to all terms of pacification: Nothing but arms would ſerve their turn, and they made choice of *Eleazar,* the ſon of *Dinæus,* to head them. This *Eleazar* had been for ſeveral years a mountaineer, and one that made it his profeſſion to live upon the ſpoil, particularly ravaging up and down in *Samaria* with fire and ſword. *Cumanus* drew out ſome ſquadrons of horſe from *Sebaſte,* and four companies of foot, with a body of the *Samaritans* in arms, and ſo advanced upon the *Jews,* killed them a great many men, and took more priſoners.

Their condition was now ſo hopeleſs, and forlorn, that the beſt men among them betook themſelves to prayer and humiliation, and begged of the people, as ever they loved their country, their lives, liberties, families, laws, and religion, to betake themſelves to more moderate counſels for the future; and fairly to go back again to their own houſes, lay down their arms, and be quiet. This way of reaſoning brought them ſo far to their wits again, that the common people ſlipt away, and the tumult diſſolved; the rovers returning to their old quarters and trade again; from which time forward *Judæa* became a neſt of thieves.

The heads of *Samaria* went now in a body to *Numidius Quadratus,* the governor of *Syria,* with a complaint againſt the *Jews* for firing and rifling their villages; which they were not ſo much troubled at, they ſaid, upon their own account, as for the encroachment upon the ſovereign authority at *Rome,* which had ſingly and ſoley the cognizance of caſes of that quality. When the *Samaritans* had told their tale, the *Jews* on the other ſide turned the whole blame, both of the riot, and of the combat, upon the plaintiffs; but laying the main ſtreſs of the charge upon *Cumanus,* who had been bribed, they ſaid, into a connivance at a moſt notorious murder. *Quadratus* adjourned the hearing; telling both parties that he would go into *Judæa* himſelf. He went a little after this into *Samaria*, and upon hearing the cauſe, found the *Samaritans* guilty of the riot. He was informed likewiſe of a practice among the *Jews* to raiſe a commotion, and cauſed ſeveral priſoners that *Cumanus* had taken into cuſtody, to be put to death. But as for *Ananias*, the high-prieſt, and *Ananus* the captain, he ſent them bound to *Rome*, to anſwer for themſelves before *Ceſar*. He ſent alſo into *Italy* the chief of the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, with *Cumanus* the governor, and *Celer*, a tribune, in order to the deciſion of all their controverſies before the emperor. After this, he went to *Jeruſalem* for fear of new broils there; but finding the *Jews* ſo wholly intent upon their worſhip and ſacrifices, that they minded nothing elſe, he let them alone in the free exerciſe of their profeſſion, and went back to *Antioch*.

Cumanus and the *Samaritans* being now come to *Rome*, they were ordered to appear upon the day and place ſet for their trial, having made ſo great an intereſt before-hand with the freemen, and friends of *Ceſar*, that they would probably have carried the cauſe, if it had not been for *Agrippa* the younger, who was at that time at *Rome*. This *Agrippa* finding the *Jews* in danger to be oppreſſed by power, made application to *Agrippina* the wife of *Claudius*, with earneſt importunities to preſs her huſband for a fair and indifferent hearing; and for juſtice upon the criminals whoever they ſhould be found to be. *Claudius* was ſo far prevailed upon by this interceſſion, that he heard both ſides in form; and finding upon the whole matter that the *Samaritans* began the tumult, judgment paſſed againſt the plaintiffs: So that they were condemned to die; *Cumanus* to be baniſhed, and *Celer* the tribune to be carried to *Jeruſalem*, and dragged to death through the ſtreets, in the face of all the people. *Claudius Felix*, the brother of *Pallas*, was then ſent governor into *Judæa*.

This prince, in the twelfth year of his reign, beſtowed upon *Agrippa*, the tetrarchy of *Philip*, and *Batanæa*, with *Trachonitis* and *Abila*, which had been formerly the tetrarchy of *Lyſanias*: But he took away *Chalcis* from him, and when it had been four years under his government. This young man, after all theſe grants and bounties, conferred upon him by *Ceſar*, married his ſiſter *Druſilla* to *Azizus*, king of the *Emeſenes*, who was now become a *Jew*. She had been promiſed before to *Epiphanes*, the ſon of *Antiochus*, upon his promiſe to embrace the *Jewiſh* religion: But upon his refuſal to come over, the match broke off. As for *Mariamne*, another of the ſiſters, he married her to *Archelaus* the ſon of *Chelcias*, to whom ſhe had been contracted ſome time before, by her father *Agrippa*; and he had by this lady, a daugher called *Berenice*.

It was not long after this, that *Druſilla* and *Azizus* were parted, and it happened thus: *Druſilla* was looked upon to be the greateſt beauty of her time; *Felix* the governor of *Judæa* fell paſſionately in love with her. So he called *Simon* his particular friend to him (a *Jew* of *Cyprus*, and one that had the reputation of a famous magician) and told him of his amour, with inſtructions to try if he could get her off from her other huſband to marry him. *Druſilla* unadviſedly entertained the propoſition; renouncing her religion as well as her huſband, and married *Felix*, by whom ſhe had a ſon called *Agrippa*, who, in the days of *Titus Ceſar*, and in the prime of his youth, together with his wife, were both buried under a fiery eruption from the mountain *Veſuvius*.

As for *Berenice*, ſhe lived a widow ſome conſiderable time after the death of *Herod*; who was both her huſband and her uncle, but falling under a ſcandalous report of an inceſtuous familiarity with her brother, ſhe bethought herſelf of the moſt decent way how to wipe off that ſlander, which was by getting *Polemon* the king of *Cilicia* to turn *Jew*, and take her to his wife, which would paſs for a confutation of the rumour. *Polemon*, for the fortune's ſake, married the woman. But *Berenice* being a lady that did not love to have her appetite reſtrained, quickly parted with her huſband; and he at the ſame time with his religion. *Mariamne* grew as weary of *Archelaus* too, and changed her bedfellow for *Demetrius*, the moſt eminent *Jew* of *Alexandria*, as well for extraction as eſtate and at that time governor of the *Jews* at this place. By this huſband ſhe had *Agrippinus;* of whom we ſhall ſay more in due time and place.

Claudius Ceſar reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, and then died; not without a ſtrong preſumption of being poiſoned by his wife. She was the daughter of *Germanicus* the emperor's brother. Her firſt huſband was *Domitius Ænobarbus*, one of the greateſt men in *Rome*, who died and left her a widow, till *Claudius* married her. She had a ſon by *Domitius*, that was called after his father's name, which was afterwards changed for *Nero*, upon *Claudius's* adopting him into his family. This emperor had a former wife, whoſe name was *Meſſalina*, by whom he had children, *Britannicus* and *Octavia*. This *Meſſalina* he put to death upon a jealouſy*;* but for his daughter *Antonia*, whom he had by *Petronia*, a former wife, and the eldeſt child he had, he married her to *Nero*, which was the name he gave to his adopted ſon.

Agrippina's heart was ſet upon the advancing of her ſon to the empire; and therefore, as the ſtory goes, ſhe conſulted the death of *Claudius* and the ſecuring of the ſucceſſion to *Nero*, both at the ſame time, for fear *Germanicus* ſhould interpoſe and ſupplant him. She had gotten *Burrhus*, captain of the guards; the great officers, tribunes, friends and favourites, all in readineſs immediately upon *Claudius's* giving up the ghoſt, to carry *Nero* to the ſoldiers, and proclaim him emperor.

This they did; and this being done, his firſt exploit after his elevation was the ſecret poiſoning of *Britannicus;* which was followed not long after with the horrid murder of his own mother, in requital both of the life ſhe had given him, and for the empire alſo that ſhe had procured him. He likewiſe put his wife *Octavia* to death, and divers perſons of the firſt rank for integrity and honour, upon ſenſeleſs and fictitious pretences of plots againſt his perſon.

But we have had the hiſtory of *Nero* over and over ſo often already, that there needs no more be ſaid upon the ſubject: Some are as extravagant in the fulſome extreme of panegyric and flattery, as others in the contrary exceſs of rage and prejudice*;* and the truth loſt betwixt them*;* which is an intemperance not to be endured in an hiſtorian: But I do not ſo much wonder at theſe falſities in the caſe of *Nero*, when I conſider, that betwixt partiality and prepoſſeſſion, without any intereſt in the good or bad of the ſtory, the world hath as little heeded the matter of fact in the lives of his predeceſſors. But for thoſe people that do not care what they write, let them write what they think fit, ſince that liberty pleaſes them. For my own part, my buſineſs is truth upon the main, where true or falſe is the queſtion; and brevity where any thing falls in by the by. But as to what concerns our own nation, I ſhall be very particular and plain, without either ſuppreſſing our misfortunes, or palliating our miſtakes.

To return now to my text, *Azizus*, the king of the *Emeſenes*, died in the firſt year of *Nero*, and his brother ſucceeded him; and *Nero* gave the leſs *Armenia* to *Ariſtobulus*, the ſon of *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*. He gave alſo to *Agrippa*, a part of *Galilee*, ſubjecting likewiſe *Tiberias* and *Tarichea* to his government*;* with an addition of *Julias* beyond *Jordan*, and of fourteen villages more under that juriſdiction.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Felix, *Governor of* Judæa, *cauſeth* Eleazar *the High-Prieſt to be murdered; and his Murderers commit other Murders, even in the Temple. Robbers and falſe Prophets are puniſhed. A great Debate between the* Jews *and the other Inhabitants of* Ceſarea. *King* Agrippa *gives the High-Prieſthood to* Iſmael. *The High-Prieſts divide from the other Prieſts. They walk with a Guard; take away their Tithes, and ſtarve the reſt.*

THINGS went every day worſe and worſe now in *Judæa*, and the land was quite over-run with robbers, impoſtors, and ſeducers, that drew people after them in ſhoals, though ſcarce a day paſſed but *Felix* apprehended and executed ſome of the gang. *Felix* could not endure *Jonathan* the high-prieſt, for he would be ſtill minding him of his male-adminiſtration. *Felix* took all good counſel of this kind for reproach, and therefore caſt about with himſelf how he might get quit of theſe ungrateful importunities. As he was thus bethinking himſelf, it came in his head that there was one *Dora* of *Jeruſalem*, a man that was looked upon to be much in credit with *Jonathan*: So he tempted this *Dora* with the promiſe of a conſiderable ſum of money, if he could get *Jonathan* diſpatched out of the way. *Dora* undertook the commiſſion, and the buſineſs was brought about by this means. There was a certain crew of ruffians, with daggers concealed under their coats, that went up to *Jeruſalem*, as ſo many pilgrims, or at leaſt under pretence of devotion. Theſe fellows intermixing themſelves in company with *Jonathan*'s train, took their opportunity, and ſtabbed the high prieſt in the crowd, and came off withou ever being called to an account for that ſacrilegious murder. This impunity proved ſuch an encouragement to other villanies of the like kind, that the ſame pretence and diſguiſe was made uſe of afterward, upon ſuch feſtival occaſions, for the cutting of throats, whether for money or private revenge, or upon what other conſideration ſover; and this in the very temple itſelf, as if the holineſs of the place were to be a protection to ſo execrable an impiety. And what wonder is it, after the practice and ſufferance of ſuch abominable prophanations and pollutions, for God in his wrath to deliver up his city and his own houſe into the hands of the *Romans*, to be purged with expiatory flames! The whole nation of the *Jews*, with their wives and children to be condemned to miſery and bondage, to bring them to a right application of the providence, and ſo to ſanctify the affliction to them.

While the thieves and murderers were at work in one place, there were magicians and impoſtors as buſy in another, the multitude following them in droves into ſolitudes and deſarts, to ſee the ſigns and miracles they promiſed them; but they paid dear for their curioſity, for they were preſently taken up by the order of *Felix*, and divers of them put to death. There came at the ſame time a certain perſon out of *Egypt* to *Jeruſalem*, ſetting up for a prophet, and inviting the common people to follow him up to the top of *Mount Olivet*, five furlongs from the city; telling them that when he came thither he would but ſay the word, and they ſhould ſee the walls of *Jeruſalem* fall flat to the ground, and make way for them to enter the city through the ruins. When *Felix* heard of it he made his ſoldiers ſtand to their arms; they killed four hundred upon the place, and took two hundred alive; but the *Egyptian* that led them was not to be found.

The thieves were now tampering the people yet once again into a rebellion againſt the *Romans*, notwithſtanding their late defeat. The yoke was intolerable, they ſaid, why did they not ſhake it off? And at this rate they went railing up and down, from place to place, burning and pillaging all that would not join with them.

There fell out another unlucky ſquabble at the ſame time too, betwixt the *Ceſarean Jews* and the *Syrians*, upon the queſtion of ſome certain privileges. The *Jews* claimed a precedency in the right of their king *Herod* as the firſt founder of that city, which the *Syrians* did not deny: But not of the tower of *Straton*, they ſaid, which was originally the name of the place, before ever any *Jew* had footing there. When *Felix* found that this controverſy was already advanced to a kind of war, he preſſed it to the *Jews* with great earneſtneſs, to let fall the diſpute; but when he ſaw words had no effect, he ſent armed troops among them, who killed a great many of them, but took more priſoners, and gave the ſoldiers the rifling of ſeveral rich houſes for their booty. The more honourable part of the *Jews* went to *Felix*, and begged of him to call off his ſoldiers, before it went too far.

King *Agrippa*, at the ſame time, gave the high prieſthood to *Iſmael*, the ſon of *Phabeus*; and the high-prieſts themſelves began to divide from the other prieſts, and the governors of *Jeruſalem*, every man taking a guard along with him of the boldeſt, and the moſt ſeditious fellows he could pick up; railing, and throwing ſtones one at another, and no more care taken to keep the peace than in a downright vacancy of the adminiſtration. Nay, ſuch was the impudence of the high-prieſts, that they ſent their ſervants up and down into barns to take away the prieſts tithes: Inſomuch that the poorer ſort of that holy order periſhed for want of bread. Thus it was, and thus it muſt be, where faction gets the upper hand of juſtice.

CHAP. VIII.

Feſtus *ſucceeds* Felix *in the Government of* Judæa. *The Inhabitants of* Ceſarea *obtain of* Nero *to have the* Jews *freedom recalled. King* Agrippa *cauſeth an Apartment to be built, from whence all that was done about the Temple might be ſeen; the people of* Jeruſalem *cauſe a high Wall to be built to hinder it, by the Emperor's Authority.*

FELIX being now removed from his government, and *Porcius Feſtus* ſubſtituted by *Nero* in his place, ſome of the principal *Ceſarean Jews* made a journey to *Rome* together, to accuſe *Felix:* And without all doubt they had cruſhed him to death, for the violence and injuſtice of his behaviour toward the *Jews*, if his brother *Pallas*, who was at that time in great favour with *Nero*, had not obtained his pardon.

There were two eminent *Syrians* of *Ceſarea*, who by a mighty ſum of money made ſuch an intereſt with *Beryllus*, tutor to *Nero*, and his *Greek* ſecretary, that he got the emperor's letters mandatory to *Ceſarea* for the disfranchiſing of the *Jews*, and abrogating all the privileges that they pretended to within that city; which privileges had been hitherto in common both to *Jews* and *Syrians*. This was granted him without any difficulty, and that grant was the root of all the calamities that afterward befel us: For the *Ceſarean Jews* would never be quiet after this letter, till it came to a direct war.

When *Feſtus* came into *Judæa*, he found all in deſolation and diſtreſs, the country laid waſte, the people forced from their habitations, their houſes expoſed to fire and pillage, and all at the mercy of a brutal rout of vagabond free-booters, that ravaged up and down there in great numbers at pleaſure. Theſe robbers uſed ſhort ſwords, bending toward the point, betwixt the *Perſian* ſcymitar and the *Roman* faulchion. With theſe weapons they did terrible execution, by thruſting themſelves into crowds upon great days when the city was thronged, under a colour of religion; and diſpatching whom they pleaſed in that confuſion, without any difficulty, or danger of diſcovery. But at other times again they fell barefaced with fire and ſword as into an enemy's quarter, and carried all before them.

There was in thoſe days a famous ſeducer, with a long train of a credulous rabble at his heels, whom he had deluded into an opinion that if they did but follow him into ſuch a wilderneſs, no harm ſhould ever befal them; but *Feſtus*, with a detachment of horſe and foot, put a ſtop to the proceſſion, and deſtroyed maſter and diſciples all together.

King *Agrippa* cauſed to be erected near the porch of the royal palace at *Jeruſalem*, belonging formerly to the *Aſmonæan* family, a ſtately, magnificent fabric. It ſtood upon an eminence, with a noble proſpect into the city, and was ſo contrived that the king out of his bed-chamber could ſee every thing that paſſed in the temple, which was a thing he took great delight in. But on the other ſide, the principal men among the *Jews* were as much offended at it: For according to our laws we do not allow of any lookers-on upon our holy rites and ceremonies, and more eſpecially our ſacrifices: So that for prevention ſake they ran up a high wall before the ſeats that incloſed the inward part of the temple toward the weſt, which did not only blind the view from the king's bedchambers, but there was no ſight neither of the galleries to the weſtward on the other ſide of the temple, where the *Roman* guards uſed to ſtand upon high days for the ſecurity of the place. The king took this very ill; and *Feſtus* worſe: Inſomuch that he ordered the wall to be taken down again. The citizens made anſwer, that their lives were not ſo dear to them as their temple, and therefore they humbly deſired time and leave to ſend their deputies to *Ceſar* about it, before any thing ſhould be put in execution. This liberty being granted them, they ſent to the emperor ten eminent citizens, with *Iſmael* the high-prieſt, and *Chelcias* the treaſurer of the temple, as their commiſſioners. *Nero* did not only paſs over what they had done, but effectually qualified it in permitting them to continue the wall as it was. This boon was granted them upon the interceſſion of the empreſs *Poppæa*, a pious woman, in favour of the *Jews*. The ten deputies were allowed to come back again, but *Poppæa* detained *Chelcias* and *Iſmael* as hoſtages. When *Agrippa* came to underſtand what paſſed, he transferred the pontificate to *Joſeph*, otherwiſe called *Cabis*, the ſon of *Simon*, formerly high-prieſt.

CHAP. IX.

Albinus *ſucceeds* Feſtus *in the Government of* Judæa. *King* Agrippa *giveth and taketh away often the High-Prieſthood.* Ananus *the High-Prieſt cauſes* James *the Brother of* Jeſus *to be put to Death.* Agrippa *enlarges the City of* Ceſarea, *and calls it* Neronias. *The Favours he granted to the* Levites. *The Temple finiſhed. The* Jews *petition for leave to repair the Porch, and* Agrippa *refuſes it. The Hiſtory of the Pontificate.*

FESTUS being now dead, *Nero* gave his government to *Albinus*. *Agrippa* at the ſame time commanded *Joſeph* to lead a private life, and elevated *Ananus*, the ſon of *Ananus*, to the pontificate in his ſtead. This *Ananus*, the father, was looked upon as one of the happieſt men living: For he had five ſons that came ſucceſſively to the pontificate after him, which no man alive could ever ſay but himſelf. The *Ananus* we are now ſpeaking of was naturally fierce and hardy; by ſect a *Sadducee*, the moſt cenſorious and uncharitable ſort of people upon the face of the earth. This being his way and opinion, he took his opportunity in the interval between the death of *Feſtus* and the arrival of his ſucceſſor *Albinus*, to call a council, together with the aſſiſtance of the judges, and to cite *James* the brother of *Jeſus*, who was called *Chriſt*, with ſome others, to appear before them and anſwer to a charge of blaſphemy and breach of law, whereupon they were condemned and delivered up to be ſtoned. This was ſo ſurpriſing a way of proceeding to all the honeſt and conſcientious part of the city, that they preſently ſent the king private notice of it, as a very ill thing done, with a requeſt that *Ananus* might have a check for it, and a caution never to do any ſuch thing again. Others were ſent with an account of it to *Albinus*, who was then upon his journey to *Alexandria*, repreſenting it as an uſurpation and encroachment upon his authority, for without his conſent it ought not to have been done. *Albinus* took this ſo heinouſly, that he wrote a menacing letter to the high-prieſt upon it; and king *Agrippa* at the end of three months removed him from the high-prieſthood, and gave it to *Jeſus* the ſon of *Damnœus*. After *Albinus* was arrived in *Jeruſalem*, he employed all his care and ſtudy to pacify the country, by executing divers of the thieves.

But the high-prieſt *Ananias* daily encreaſed in honour and credit, and purchaſed the good will of the citizens by his liberality and great gifts. But he had ſome miſchievous ſervants about him, who converſed with thoſe that were moſt intemperate and audacious, who repaired from barn to barn, and took up many tithes that belonged to the prieſts, and beat thoſe that refuſed to render them. The prieſts uſed no leſs violence than their ſervants, having no man that might reſtrain them; whereby it came to paſs that the prieſts who were formerly maintained by the tenths, died at that time for want of victuals. And the thieves renewing their entrance into the city by night, during the feaſt that was celebrated at that time, took the ſecretary of captain *Eleazar* alive, who was the ſon of *Ananias* the high-prieſt, and having bound him, led him out of the city, ſending *Ananias* word that they would deliver his ſecretary, if he would prevail upon *Albinus* to deliver them their ten companions, then priſoners, who were taken by him; to the performance whereof *Ananias* perſuaded *Albinus* by manifeſt reaſons, and by obtaining his demand encreaſed and begat a number of miſeries; for the thieves uſed all the cunning means they could deviſe in apprehending ſome one of *Ananias*'s houſe, and when they had taken any one of them alive, they would not deliver him, except they had firſt one of their own delivered. So that encreaſing both in courage and number, they became more and more inſolent to afflict the country.

At that time king *Agrippa* enlarged the city of *Ceſarea*, ſurnamed *Philippi*, and called it *Neronias*, in honour of *Nero*. He built alſo, to his great charge, a theatre in favour of the *Berytians*: He diſtributed oil and corn for every one of the people, and adorned all the city with moſt antique and fine portraitures upon the porches. In ſhort, he tranſported into that city almoſt all the ornaments of the reſt of the kingdom; for which cauſe his ſubjects began to hate him, ſeeing he deprived them of their rare ornaments to adorn one ſtrange city.

Jeſus the ſon of *Gamaliel* ſucceeded in the prieſthood, which the king had given him, and taken away from *Jeſus* the ſon of *Damnœus*, who reſigned his place againſt his will; whereupon there aroſe a diſcord between them, and having aſſembled their moſt reſolute followers, they came from bitter words to blows and ſtones. But amongſt all the reſt *Ananias* was the richeſt, and by his bounty reconciled the more unto him. *Coſtobarus* alſo, and *Saul*, gathered each of them a band of raſcals, and deſperate men. Theſe two were of the blood-royal, and by reaſon of their affinity and alliance with *Agrippa* they were well beloved, for which cauſe they were inſolent and violent, oppreſſing always the weaker ſort. From this time forward the eſtate of our city grew deſperate, encreaſing daily more and more in wickedneſs.

When *Albinus* heard that *Geſſius Florus* was coming to ſucceed him, he had no better way, he thought, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Jews*, than to do juſtice upon the people that he had in cuſtody. So he cauſed all the priſoners to be brought before him, and upon examination of matters, proceeded againſt them according to their demerits: Putting to death thoſe that were manifeſtly guilty of capital crimes, and diſcharging the reſt, that were in only for miſdemeanours, upon fine and ranſom. This was a way to clear the priſons, and likewiſe to ſtock the country with an increaſe of thieves.

Thoſe of the tribe of *Levi*, that officiated in the temple as ſinging men, beſought the king, and prevailed upon him to call a council, and to grant them the uſe of the linen ſtole, a veſtment peculiar to the prieſts; and ſuggeſting that ſuch a conceſſion would ſtand upon record as an act of grace to the king's eternal honour. This requeſt of theirs was heard and granted in form and manner as they deſired it, and the ſinging men permitted to wear the ſtole. There was another ſort of theſe *Levites*, that officiated in the ſervices of the temple, and theſe were likewiſe allowed, promiſcuouſly, to ſerve in the quality of ſingers. Now all this was directly againſt our national laws and cuſtoms, which were never abandoned but with a judgment upon the violation.

The building of the temple being now over, and a matter of eighteen thouſand workmen, that had nothing to live upon but their labour, ready to ſtarve for want of employment; the people not caring to have money lie by them for a prey to the *Romans*, and out of a deſire to make ſome proviſion for them (for if they wrought but an hour they were ſure of their wages) propoſed the repairing of a building on the eaſt ſide of the temple, which over-looking a deep narrow valley, was ſupported by a wall of four hundred cubits high; the ſtones ſmooth wrought, and white, and every piece twenty cubits in length, and ſix in depth, being the work of *Solomon*, the firſt founder of the temple. But *Agrippa*, who was intruſted by *Claudius Ceſar* with the repairing of this glorious ſtructure, computing with himſelf how much eaſier it was to deſtroy ſuch a work than to rebuild it, eſpecially a work that would take up ſo much time and money as that which was now propounded, he did not think fit to comply with this deſire of the people; but if it might content them to beautify the city by paving the ſtreets with white ſtones, he ſaid, he would not be againſt it.

This prince took away, after this, the high-prieſthood from *Jeſus* the ſon of *Gamaliel*, and gave it to *Matthias* the ſon of *Theophilus;* and in his days began the war of the *Romans* againſt the *Jews*.

It will be proper for me in this place (with reſpect to the work I have in hand) to give ſome account of the original of high-prieſts; the qualifications neceſſary for thoſe that are to be admitted into this function, and the number of thoſe that were advanced to this dignity as far as to the end of this war. The firſt of the order was *Aaron*, the brother of *Moſes*; and after his death, his children ſucceeded him; and ſo the honour deſcended in courſe to his family: And this cuſtom of hereditary ſucceſſion prevailed ſo far with our foreſathers, that none but thoſe of the blood of *Aaron* were accounted capable of that holy office; not excepting even kings themſelves. From *Aaron* to *Phanaſus*, who was declared high-prieſt by a faction in a time of war, there were eighty three in number: Thirteen of them officiating in that ſtation from the time that *Moſes* erected a tabernacle to God in the deſart, to their entrance into *Judæa*, where king *Solomon* built and dedicated the holy temple. For at firſt there was no ſucceeding to the pontificate, but by a vacancy upon death, whereas it came to be a practice afterwards to introduce another while the former was yet living. Theſe thirteen perſons deſcending from the two ſons of *Aaron* ſucceeded to the honour in their turns. The form of government was at firſt ariſtocratical; after that monarchical; and the next tranſition was to the title of kings. From the time of *Moſes*'s carrying us out of the land of *Egypt* to the building of *Solomon*'s temple, we reckon upon ſix hundred and twelve years.

After the thirteen high-prieſts abovementioned, there followed eighteen more in four hundred ſixty ſix years, ſix months and ten days, in ſucceſſion one to another, under the government of kings: Computing from king *Solomon*, to the days of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, when he marched up to *Jeruſalem* and took it; burnt the temple, and carried away the whole nation, together with *Jozedeck* their high-prieſt, captives.

After a captivity of ſeventy years in *Babylon*, *Cyrus*, the king of *Perſia*, diſmiſſed the *Jews* home again, with leave to rebuild their temple; *Jeſus* the ſon of *Jozedeck*, exerciſing at that time the function of high-prieſt. After him came fifteen more of his poſterity, that ſucceeded him in the ſame dignity, but in a popular way of government, till the time of king *Antiochus Eupator*, which was four hundred and fourteen years, when this ſame *Antiochus*, with his general *Lyſias*, took away both the dignity and life of *Onias*, otherwiſe called *Menelæus*, at *Berytus*; put by his ſon from the ſucceſſion, and ſet up *Jacimus* high-prieſt in his place; one of the race of *Aaron*, 'tis true, but not of the pontifical family. Wherefore *Onias*, the ſon of *Onias* the deceaſed, went away into *Egypt*, and inſinuating himſelf into the good opinion of *Ptolemy Philometor* and of *Cleopatra* his wife, prevailed upon them to build and dedicate a temple to God at *Heliopolis*, in imitation of that at *Jeruſalem*, and to conſtitute him high-prieſt there. *Jacimus* died at the end of three years in the execution of the pontifical office without a ſucceſſor; ſo that there was a vacancy in the pontificate for ſeven years. But after the revolt of the *Jews* from the *Macedonians*, the dignity was transferred to the family of the *Aſmonæans*, and *Jonathan* preferred to the pontificate, which he enjoyed for the ſpace of ſeven years; and and then being taken off by the treachery of *Tryphon*, his brother *Simon* was promoted to his place; and upon his being afterward aſſaſſinated by his ſon-in-law, at a public entertainment, his ſon *Hyrcanus* ſucceeded him, who held it for the ſpace of one and thirty years; and then upon his death it went to his ſon *Judas*, otherwiſe called *Ariſtobulus*, who was the firſt that took upon him the name and quality of king; and after one year's reign, left his brother *Alexander* heir and ſucceſſor both to the pontificate and kingdom: In both which capacities he adminiſtred for the ſpace of ſeven and twenty year's; and then departing this life he tranſmitted the regency to his wife *Alexandra*, with authority to diſpoſe of the pontificate to which of the brothers ſhe pleaſed; and ſhe gave it to *Hyrcanus*, who enjoyed it for the nine years that ſhe reigned: But upon her death *Ariſtobulus* the younger brother made war upon him; overcame him, and reduced him to the condition of a private man; aſſuming both the kingdom and the pontificate to himſelf, which he held for three years, and three months: When *Pompey*, upon the taking of *Jeruſalem*, carried away him and his children priſoners to *Rome*; and *Hyrcanus* being reſtored to the pontificate, accepted alſo of the principality, but not under the title of king; enjoying the high-prieſthood three and twenty years more, beſide the other nine before ſpoken of. At the end of this term, *Barzopharnes* and *Pacorus*, generals for the *Parthians*, paſſed the *Euphrates*, and made war upon *Hyrcanus*, took him alive, and carried him away a priſoner; advancing *Antigonus* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* to the crown, who, in three years and three months after, was taken in *Jeruſalem* by *Herod* and *Soſius*: And then by the command of *Anthony*, put to death at *Antioch*.

Herod having now received the kingdom from the *Romans*, made no longer any ſcruple of chuſing the high-prieſts out of the *Aſmonæan* race; but conferred the honour indifferently upon perſons, though never ſo obſcure, provided they were but in holy orders; ſaving only in the caſe of *Ariſtobulus*; for he made choice of him, being the grand-child of *Hyrcanus* that was taken by the *Parthians*, and the brother of his wife *Mariamne*, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, who had the memory of *Hyrcanus* in great veneration. But *Ariſtobulus* was ſo generally well beloved, that *Herod* afterwards grew jealous of him, and drowned him at *Jericho* by a contrivance, ſwimming in a fiſh-pool. After this time he would never confer the pontificate upon any of the *Aſmonean* family. His ſon *Archelaus* took the ſame meaſures too in reſpect of the high-prieſthood; and from that time forward the *Romans* have enjoyed the ſovereignty over *Jewry*. From the days of *Herod*, in fine, to the burning of *Jeruſalem* and the temple by *Titus*, there were in all eight and twenty high-prieſts that governed in the whole for the ſpace of one hundred and ſeven years; ſome of them under *Herod* and *Archelaus* his ſon. But after their death the government was ariſtocratical, and the ſovereignty lodged in the pontificate.

CHAP. X.

Geſſius Florus *ſucceeds* Albinus. Florus *worſe than* Albinus. *Th Character of* Florus. *He is the cauſe of the War with the* Romans. Joſephus *promiſes the Hiſtory of the War.*

GESSIUS FLORUS, the ſucceſſor of *Albinus* to the government of *Judæa*, by the appointment of *Nero*, was the man that made the *Jews* perfectly miſerable. He was by birth a *Clazomenian*, and the huſband of a woman called *Cleopatra*, whom he brought along with him, who was every jot as bad as himſelf. It was by her intereſt with the empreſs *Poppæa*, that he obtained this dignity, which he abuſed afterwards to ſuch a degree that the *Jews* would have accounted it a bleſſing if they could have but have changed him for *Albinus* again; for though he had as much malice and miſchief in him as his heart and head would hold, yet he carried it as cloſe and private as he could: Whereas *Florus* on the contrary, made an open profeſſion and oſtentation of his wickedneſs, as if it was the buſineſs of his commiſſion to undo the nation. He was rapacious beyond meaſure, inexorably cruel, and ſo inſatiably covetous, that where there was any thing to be gotten, nothing came amiſs to him. He went ſharer with the thieves, which gave a kind of authority to the trade, when they knew before-hand they could compound the robbery for ſuch a part of the booty. The oppreſſion, in fine, was ſo intolerable, that the miſerable *Jews* were forced to abandon their habitations, their country, and their altars, and to fly for ſanctuary to the moſt barbarous of ſtrangers. But without any more words, it was *Florus* alone that forced us upon a war with the *Romans*, in a reſolution rather to fall all together, than to periſh one by one, with infamy and ſcorn. It was in the ſecond year now of *Florus*'s government, and the twelfth of *Nero*'s, when the war began; and whoever has a mind to be particularly informed in the hiſtory of what he did and ſuffered through the courſe of that war, need but read over the books we have written upon that ſubject.

I come now to the end of my Antiquities, and to the beginning of my Hiſtory of the Wars; the Antiquities I have brought down from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of *Nero*, in an hiſtorical deduction of what had befallen the *Jews* through ſo many ages: As in *Egypt* and *Syria*; what they ſuffered under the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*; how they were treated by the *Perſians* and *Macedonians*: And how, laſt of all, by the *Romans*. I have alſo given an accurate and an orderly account of the conſtant and continued ſucceſſion of our high-prieſts for the ſpace of two thouſand years. And ſo likewiſe for the deſcent of our kings, and the courſe of other forms of government, as they ſucceeded one after another; their powers, adminiſtration, and affairs: All which I have faithfully extracted from the authority of holy writ.

And I ſhall be bold to ſay this further, that no man living, myſelf excepted, whether *Jew* or ſtranger, could have given the *Greeks* ſo juſt and punctual an account upon the whole matter, as I have done. For without vanity, my own countrymen will allow me to be as well read in the *Moſaical* law as any man. And then for my ſkill in the *Greek* tongue, I have ſtudied the grammar, and the critical proprieties of it as much as another; but for the nicety of the accent in the perfection of pronouncing it, the ſpeaking of ſeveral languages is a thing that our people neither practiſe nor value, but look upon it as a kind of a profane ſtudy common to ſlaves as well as freemen. The only wiſdom and learning, in fine, that we reckon upon, is a due application to the knowledge of our laws, and the holy ſcriptures, and a right underſtanding of them: An excellency that ſome two or three, perhaps, of all that ever offered at it, have ſucceeded in to their honour and ſatisfaction.

In this place I will make an end of my Antiquities, as they are here compriſed in twenty books. And I do intend further, God willing, to draw up a ſhort relation of the whole war, from the beginning to this very day: Being in the thirteenth year of the reign of *Domitian*, and of my age the fifty ſixth.

The End of the Jewiſh Antiquities *of* Flavius Joſephus.

THE HISTORY OF THE WARS AND UTTER RUIN OF THE JEWS.

IN SIX BOOKS.

WRITTEN BY
FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS:

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED FROM THE
ORIGINAL GREEK.

BIRMINGHAM:
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THE AUTHOR's PREFACE TO THE *WARS* of the *JEWS*.

OF all the wars that were ever ſeen or heard of in this age, whether national or civil, that of the Jews with the Romans was certainly the moſt conſiderable: And there are ſeveral pretenders to the writing of the ſtory. Some take up their materials barely upon truſt and hearſay, without any knowledge at all of the matter in queſtion. And there are ſome again that ſpitefully ſtifle and diſguiſe the evident truth of things, with partial reports and falſe gloſſes; more like orators than hiſtorians, in favour of the one ſide or the other, as the faction ſtands affected, without any regard to the good faith or reputation of the work.

Upon this conſideration, I Joſeph the ſon of Matthias, an Hebrew born, and a prieſt of Jeruſalem, have now bethought myſelf of turning that narration into Greek, for the common benefit of the ſubjects of the Roman empire, which I formerly communicated in my mother-tongue to the Parthians, Babylonians, and other Barbarians, for their better information. And I ſhall give farther to underſtand, that having firſt born arms for the Jews againſt the Romans, I found myſelf afterwards under ſome ſort of neceſſity to intereſt myſelf in their ſervice.

This terrible war broke out upon a nick of time when the Romans were all embroiled among themſelves; and the Jews being ſtrong, rich, and ſeditious, wanted neither men, money, nor good will, to improve the opportunity; which they enflamed into ſo deſperate a tumult, that they not only flatter'd themſelves with the hope of carrying all before them, but at the ſame time ſtruck whole nations in the eaſt with an apprehenſion of being totally over-run: For the Jews, as well thoſe beyond Euphrates, as the reſt, were all in a confederacy to riſe as one man. The Gauls were alſo in motion upon the borders of Italy; the Germans unquiet; and, in a word, every thing in confuſion upon the death of Nero: Some ſetting up for the empire itſelf; others for making their fortunes by a change of government, the ſoldiery as well as the reſt, and all bent upon innovations.

In this ſtate of affairs I reckoned myſelf bound in honour and conſcience to vindicate ſo many important truths from impoſture and miſtake: And after having inſtructed the Parthians, the Babylonians, the moſt remote of the Arabians, the Jews on the other ſide of the Euphrates, and the Adiabeni, in a juſt account of the riſe, progreſs, and event of the war, not to ſuffer the Greeks, and ſo many of the Romans, that had nothing to do in the controverſy, to be impoſed upon by flatteries and fictions, and to continue wholly ignorant upon the main.

But with what face ſhall people cry up that for hiſtory, which has neither ſenſe nor connection in it, nor ſo much as one ſyllable (in my opinion) that makes for their purpoſe? As if they could not do honour ſufficient to the Romans, without viliſying the Jews. Now I do not underſtand the glory of triumphing over a weak adverſary.

Far be it from me at laſt to enlarge upon the exploits of the Jews, as others do upon the Romans; for the thing I pretend is to do right indifferently to both parties, without adding or diminiſhing; to ſay no more than I am able to prove; and to content myſelf in the conſcience of an affectionate and tender affliction for the ruin of my country: But we were undone by our own diviſions; and then for the burning of the holy temple, it was the tyranny of our own governors that forced the Romans (how much ſoever againſt their wills) upon that extremity. Witneſs Titus Ceſar himſelf, under whoſe command the thing was done. How did he compaſſionate us all along, when he ſaw how we were torn to pieces by inteſtine factions, even to the degree of ſuſpending the final deſtruction of the city, when he might have laid it in aſhes out of hand: And all this on purpoſe to give the authors of the war time to bethink themſelves and repent. If it ſhall be objected, that in this paſſion and bitterneſs of mine againſt the oppreſſors and ſpoilers of my country, I have paſſed the laws and bounds of an hiſtorian, I have nothing to offer, but the impotency of an ungovernable ſorrow in my excuſe. For of all the places that ever fell under the dominion of the Roman empire, Jeruſalem was undoubtedly the city that had the greateſt ſhare in both extremes, by turns, of glory and miſery: From the creation of the world, in fine, to this inſtant, never any thing came near it. And for a farther aggravation of the calamity, we laid violent hands upon ourſelves, which makes the caſe yet more inconſoleable. Now if any man ſhall think me too ſenſible in ſo deplorable a ſtate of things, let him diſtinguiſh between the tragical circumſtances of the ſtory, and the good-natured infirmities of the author.

Upon this occaſion, I cannot but blame and wonder at ſeveral eloquent men among the Greeks, to ſee them only by-ſtanders and eye-witneſſes of the moſt memorable revolution for war and military actions, that ever appeared under the ſun, without concerning themſelves in any memorials of the hiſtory: Nay, (which is worſe) and derogating at the ſame time from the ability of others that were willing to perform that office; never conſidering that what they fall ſhort of in capacity and talents, is ſupplied abundantly by humanity and good-will. And yet theſe cenſorious criticks can take upon them at the ſame time to compile hiſtories of the Medes and Aſſyrians, tho' done already to their hands by ancient writers, to whom they are as much inferior for ſtile and matter, (notwithſtanding this tacit reproach) as for deſign. But their way of writing was to report what they had ſeen, ſpeak upon knowledge, and to be as good as their words, without laying themſelves open to the ſcandal of a contradiction, by any diſguiſe or falſe ſuggeſtion whatſoever. It is the part of a faithful and a judicious hiſtorian, to furniſh himſelf with materials that are new and not common; and ſo to tranſmit the memorials of his own time to poſterity. Now that man cannot properly be ſaid to be a man of ſkill and induſtry, that only tranſpoſes like a plagiary the order and diſpoſition of another man's writings: But he rather that obliges the world with an entire body of hiſtory that's all new, and his own. It has coſt me a great deal of money, and labour, (being a ſtranger) to furniſh both Greeks and Romans with a memorial of tranſactions worthy to be known. But for the Greeks themſelves, tho' their mouths are open enough either upon the ſubject of controverſy or profit, yet in the matter of hiſtory, which requires truth and pains, they are all as mute as fiſhes: Leaving it to a company of pitiful wretches that underſtand nothing at all, to manage the province of hiſtorians, and communicate to the world the lives and actions of princes. But the good faith of hiſtory is never the leſs venerable with us for the Greeks undervaluing it.

I ſhall begin my hiſtory with the twelfth year of Nero's reign, when our wars with the Romans began. And ſet forth what paſſed under the command of Ceſtius, with the notable exploits of the Jews upon their firſt entring into arms. Their fortifying the borders upon the diſaſters of Ceſtius, and Nero's putting Veſpaſian at the head of the army, for fear he ſhould loſe all: How this general, with his eldeſt ſon, entered into Judæa with a mighty army of Romans; the defeat of a body of auxiliaries that were ſcattered all over Galilee, with the number of the ſlain: How he took ſome of their towns by force, while others ſurrendered. I ſhall deliver nothing, in fine, but upon ſight, and certain knowledge: With a reſpect to the Roman management of war, their government and diſcipline, the bounds and content of both Galilees, the condition and limits of Judæa, the particular quality of the ſoil, the lakes and fountains, what towns were taken, and the miſeries they endured by fire and ſword. I ſhall do all this without ſuppreſſing any part of my own misfortunes, wherein I doubt not of being believed, for I write to thoſe that know I ſpeak the truth.

My next point will be to ſhew how the tidings of Nero's death coming to Veſpaſian, juſt as he was poſting away to Jeruſalem; (the Jews at that time being very low) the affairs of the empire diverted him, and called him away to Rome. I ſhall take notice alſo of the preſages he had of his future greatneſs, the changes he found there, and the ſoldiery declaring him emperor, even againſt his will.

How upon his going into Egypt to give neceſſary orders, the Jews broke out into a violent ſedition; the ſlavery they endured under tyrannical oppreſſors; and the fierce animoſities one againſt another; how Titus, upon his return into Egypt, made two inroads into Judæa; how he levied an army, where he drew them up, and in what form of battle.

How many deſperate commotions he had ſeen in Jeruſalem with his own eyes: The number of his approaches, the ſtrength and vaſt ſize of his works; the compaſs and the thickneſs of the walls; the fortifications of the city, and likewiſe of the temple; the figure and the dimenſion of the altar. All this ſhall be exactly and faithfully reported. And ſo for our feſtivals, and the ceremonies that attend them. Nothing of this ſhall be either altered or omitted, but punctually ſet down, without making it more or leſs.

I ſhall then come to the cruelty of our own governors towards thoſe of their own tribe and profeſſion; and to the humanity of the Romans, even toward ſtrangers; and ſhew how often and how generouſly Titus, out of an honourable deſire to ſave both the the temple and the city, preſſed and invited the Jews to come to an agreement among themſelves. I ſhall enlarge alſo upon the ſufferings and calamities of the people, and the variety of afflictions they laboured under, by war, ſedition, and famine, till in the end they were made priſoners: Neither ſhall I paſs over the deſtruction of the fugitives, or the torments inflicted upon thoſe that were taken.

I ſhall not forget neither the conflagration of the temple, againſt the very will and liking of Ceſar himſelf: the ſacred treaſure of all ſorts that was there conſumed; the remainder of the city laid wholly in aſhes: The prodigies and portents that preceded the captivating of our tyrannical maſters, and the ſlavery of the people that were carried away; with an account of their reſpective adventures, the eager purſuit of thoſe that eſcaped the dint of war, and the raſing of the retreats and habitations of the conquered down to the ground. I. ſhall likewiſe ſay ſomewhat of Titus's progreſs thro' the country, to put things in ſome ſort of order again, and then of his return into Italy, and of his triumph.

Theſe are the heads of the following books, which I have written for the ſake of truth, not diverſion, in confidence that no man that knows any thing either of buſineſs or of this war, will blame me for it.

THE

WARS of the *JEWS*.

BOOK I.

From the Year of the World 4030, to 4031.

CHAP. I.

Ceſarea *the occaſion of the* Jewiſh *War. The barbarous Proceedings of the* Roman *Governor* Florus.

THE tyranny of Florus, whom the Roman emperor Nero had ſent governor over Judæa, was a dangerous temptation to the Jews for a rebellion againſt the Romans: But notwithſtanding, they ſtood firm even againſt that provocation, and afterward that which happened at Ceſarea was as a ſpark that kindled the flame of war.

There was a certain Greek had a houſe in Ceſarea, cloſe upon the place where the Jews had their ſynagogue. They would fain have made a purchaſe of this houſe, but inſtead of agreeing to that, or giving them more eaſe, he fell to blocking of the way in a manner quite up, by crowding ſo many little ſhops into the paſſage, that there was hardly room leſt for one ſingle body to get into the ſynagogue. Upon this ſome of the hot young men of the Jews went out preſently to the workmen, and cautioned them not to go on at their peril.

Florus countermanded that prohibition, ſo that the Jews had nothing more to do but try the governor with a ſum of money, and contracted with Florus for eight talents to forbid the building. They delivered the money, but immediately upon the receipt of it, away goes he from Ceſarea to Sebaſte, as if it had been on purpoſe to leave them at liberty for an uproar; as who ſhould ſay, eight talents is the price of an opportunity for you to cut one another's throats.

The next day being the Jews ſabbath, when the people were all together in the ſynagogue, a ſpiteful Ceſarean ſet an earthen veſſel juſt before the door, with a ſacrifice of birds upon it. This contemptuous mockery put the Jews out of all patience to ſee their laws had in deriſion, and the place profaned. The more moderate and ſubſtantial men of the party were for appealing to the men of the government for juſtice and redreſs: but for the ſeditious, hot-brained young fellows of the faction, nothing would ſatisfy them but ribaldry and blows, and the Ceſareans, on the other hand, were as ready for the encounter, the ſtory I told you of the ſacrifice being purpoſely deſigned to draw on a quarrel. And here began the action.

Jucundus, a captain of horſe, ordered the earthen veſſel above-mentioned to be taken away, and then applied himſelf toward the allaying of the tumult; but the Jews finding Jucundus over-born by the Ceſareans, preſently took up the books of their laws, and carried them off to Narbata, a province of that name, ſixty furlongs from Ceſarea. Twelve of their chief men went to Florus at Sebaſte, with a complaint of what had paſſed, and a petition for redreſs. Florus cauſed them immediately to be taken up and bound, for preſuming to remove their laws from Ceſarea.

This action of Florus's ſtruck the Jews of Jeruſalem with horror and deteſtation, but they found it convenient for the preſent to keep it to themſelves. Florus went on all this while blowing the coals: And for a further inflaming of the quarrel, he ſent in Ceſar's name for ſeventeen talents out of the treaſury, and for the emperor's ſervice. This put the Jews in ſuch a confuſion, that they ran up and down to the temple and about like mad men, crying out all the way upon Ceſar, as loud as they could roar, to be delivered from the inhuman barbarities of Florus, purſuing him with clamours, mockeries, and maledictions of all ſorts. One of the mutineeers got an alms-baſket at his back, and went about the ſtreets in deriſion, begging broken-meat for the miſerable Florus. But all theſe taunts and abuſes had no other effect upon him, than that they made his avarice ſtill more ſpiteful, as well as more inſatiable. And inſtead of putting a check to the firſt heat of the ſedition at Ceſarea, he took his march with an army of horſe and foot to Jeruſalem, and made the power of Rome only ſubſervient to his private paſſions and luſts, either of pride, profit, or revenge; filling the hearts of the people wherever he came with confuſion and terror.

The multitude however put on the countenance ſtill of an officious reſpect in going out to receive him upon the way, and preparing to entertain him with all ſemblances of honour and eſteem, uſual in ſuch caſes. While they were in this diſpoſition, to give him a ſeeming welcome into the city, Florus quite ſpoiled the compliment by ſending Capito a centurion to them with fifty horſe to put a ſtop to their journey, who delivered his meſſage to them in theſe terms: "I am to command you," ſays he, "in the name of Florus, to go your ways home again: And to let you underſtand that the man you have made ſo bold with, both in earneſt and in jeſt, is not to be cajoled into a better opinion of you by a parcel of fair and falſe words. If you are in truth as you would be thought to be, men of reſolution and courage, call that man all thoſe ſcandalous and reproachful names to his face, that you did behind his back: And aſſert that liberty by your arms, that you have made ſuch a noiſe with in your clamours." What with this rebuke, and the ſoldiers breaking in upon the multitude, the people ran ſeveral ways in a fright, without waiting for the ceremony of ſaluting Florus, or of paying thoſe offices to the ſoldiers that are cuſtomary in ſuch encounters.

Florus lodged at this time in the palace, and the next day he mounted the tribunal; the high-prieſt and the prime men of the city being there preſent. He paſſed bitter reflections upon ſome lewd and reviling ſpeeches that had been thrown out againſt him, demanding poſitively that the authors of them ſhould be found out and produced: Threatening withal, that he would take his revenge upon thoſe that were there upon the place, if they did not bring him the guilty. The Jews made anſwer, "that for "the body of the people they were for peace "and quiet: And for thoſe that laſhed out "with their tongues, they implored a par"don for them. For it could not be ima"gined," they ſaid, "in ſo vaſt a multi"tude of people, but there muſt needs be "ſome raſh and unexperienced men in the "mixture. Neither was it poſſible to diſtin"guiſh who were guilty, and who not: "For even thoſe that repented of what they "had done, would not yet own the doing "of it." And therefore they only offered it to Florus's conſideration, whether any thing could be more for the ſervice of the Roman empire, than to conſult the ſafety of the people and city, by preſerving them firm in their allegiance to Ceſar: And whether it might not be more adviſeable (in caſe of the worſt) to ſpare ſome few criminals for the ſake of a great many innocents, than to deſtroy ſo great a number of innocent men for here and there one that was guilty. This way of reaſoning blew up Florus into ſuch a rage, that he preſently ordered away the ſoldiers to the great market in the upper town, to rifle the place, and kill all they met. When the ſoldiers found themſelves ſupported in their claim to the pillage by their commander, they did not only execute their order upon the places and people they were ſent to, but all houſes were alike to them, and all the inhabitants put to death without diſtinction, as well thoſe they took upon their flight, in by-ways and ſecret paſſages, as thoſe they found in their houſes. Nothing, in ſhort, eſcaped them. Several of the nobility that they ſeized and brought to Florus, were by his order whipt and crucified. The whole number of the ſlain upon that day, reckoning women and children into the account, (as the very infants at the breaſt did not eſcape them) was ſix hundred and thirty. The calamity was grievous in itſelf, and yet worſe for the very novelty of it, for it was never heard of before Florus's time that ever any of the equeſtrian order were whipt like ſlaves and gibbetted: For though the perſons were by extraction Jews, the dignity was yet Roman.

CHAP. II.

Berenice *goes to* Jeruſalem *to pay a Vow. The manner of performing that Duty. She moves* Florus *in favour of the* Jews. *The People in a Rage againſt him. They come to themſelves again; and* Florus *is troubled at it. He projects a new broil. His project ſucceeds, in a terrible Deſtruction. He attempts the Caſtle, but is beaten off, and retires to the Palace. He gives over his Deſign, and returns to* Ceſarea.

AGRIPPA was at this time gone to Alexandria upon a viſit to Alexander, whom Nero had made governor of Egypt. His ſiſter Berenice was then at Jeruſalem, and in extreme affliction for the barbarous outrages that were practiſed there, inſomuch that ſhe ſent ſeveral meſſages to Florus by ſome of her horſe-officers and guards, beſeeching him to ſpill no more blood. But his heart was ſet upon lucre and pillage, and he looked upon all other things (Berenice herſelf not excepted) with contempt and neglect. So that the ſoldiers did not only go on maſſacring and cutting throats before Berenice's face, but had moſt certainly killed the queen herſelf, if ſhe had not made her eſcape into the palace, where ſhe lay waking all that night, with a guard to look to her, for fear of a ſurpriſe. The occaſion of her coming to Jeruſalem was to pay a vow to Almighty God, as is uſual in caſes of providential deliverances from ſickneſſes and other great dangers. It is cuſtomary for people under thoſe circumſtances to continue in prayer for thirty days, abſtaining from wine and ſhaving the hair. Berenice was now in her diurnal courſe of devotion; and ſtanding barefoot before the tribunal, there was ſhe interceding with Florus for the people, but without any ſucceſs or reſpect: Beſide that ſhe ran the riſk of her life for the piety of the office. This was the ſixteenth of the month of Artemiſius.

On the next day the people gathered together in the market-place (in the upper town) outrageouſly exclaiming againſt the murderers of their friends that were killed there the day before. The great men and the high-prieſts were ſo ſenſible of the danger of provoking him the ſame way over again, that they tore their garments, and went about begging from man to man not to talk at that rate; for the exaſperating of Florus was the way to ruin them all. Upon this application the multitude was a little more compoſed, partly out of reſpect to the interceſſors, and partly in hope that the governor's ſpite was over.

Florus was not at all pleaſed to ſee things ſo quiet again, and therefore he bethought himſelf of a contrivance how he might create a new broil. He ſent for the high-prieſt and ſome of the chief men of the Jews to come to him, and then told them that there were two companies coming from Ceſarea, and it would be a convincing evidence of the people's good affection to the government, if they would but go out and meet them upon the way. This being promiſed, Florus gave it in charge to the centurions, that in caſe the Jews greeted them with any ſhew of compliment or reſpect upon their meeting, they ſhould not pay them any manner of civility in return, and if but one croſs word or look ſhould follow upon it, they ſhould betake themſelves to their arms. The high-prieſts got the people together into the temple, and there adjured them by all means to go out and compliment the Romans upon the way, and to be ſure to give them a friendly ſalute, for fear any thing ſhould be ill taken. There were ſeverel raſh heads in the crowd againſt it, and the reſt of the multitude, while the ſlaughter of their friends was yet freſh in their memory, were forward enough to join in opinion with the incendiaries. While this was in agitation, in came all the prieſts and Levites, expoſing the holy veſſels and other precious ornaments of the temple: The ſinging men and organiſts with their muſical inſtruments; addreſſing themſelves to the people with earneſt intreaties to preſerve the honour of the temple ſacred, without provoking the Romans by contumelious affronts to the rifling of it. There were alſo divers of the high-prieſts, with aſhes upon their heads, their breaſts naked, and their garments torn, applying themſelves to all the men of dignity, one by one in particular, and to all together in general, with repeated importunities not to betray their country for ſo ſmall a matter, to thoſe very people that gaped after the ruin of it. This way of reaſoning had ſuch an effect upon the people, that betwixt authority and argument the fierceſt men of the faction were brought over to hear and to do reaſon. As ſoon as things were brought to this diſpoſition the prieſts and princes of the people marched out to meet the ſoldiers, and the multitude in very good order followed them. When the Jews were advanced within diſtance of exchanging a ceremony, the Jews ſaluted them with great humanity, but receiving no return, the angry part of them fell immediately to reviling Florus, as the author and contriver of all their miſeries. The ſoldiers took the hint, and in the ſame inſtant fell upon the Jews with clubs and cudgels, put them into confuſion, and upon the purſuit trampled great numbers of them under their horſes feet; ſo that upon the whole it was a miſerable deſtruction. In fine, the enemy killed all they could come at: And what they principally laboured for was to get between the Jews and the gate of Bezeth, being a paſs that led to the caſtle Antonia and the temple. Florus, at the ſame time, made a ſally out of the palace with what troops he had, upon the back of the Jews, in a proſpect of forcing the caſtle: But upon the people's rallying and making head againſt him, his deſign failed him. For having now got poſſeſſion of the houſes, they annoyed the Romans to ſuch a degree with ſtones and darts from the roofs, that the enemy finding no fence againſt that way of attack, nor any poſſibility of breaking through the multitudes of people that thronged up thoſe narrow ſtreets, Florus was forced to retire with the remainder of his army to the palace. The Jews being now in ſome apprehenſion of Florus's returning to the aſſault, and of his making an attempt upon the temple, by the way of the fort Antonia, they went directly and cut down a certain gallery of communication betwixt the fort and the temple, which was ſuch a mortification to Florus, that finding his project hopeleſs, and his avarice diſappointed, (for the holy treaſure was all he aimed at,) he gave over the enterpriſe. Upon this, he conferred with the high-prieſt and the ſenate, telling them that he was now leaving the city, and ready to aſſign them what garriſon they ſhould think fit. Their anſwer was, In regard that there were to be no innovations, one company would be ſufficient, provided it might not be that which the people had a quarrel with already. Florus changed the company, as they deſired, and went back with the reſt of his army to Ceſarea.

CHAP. III.

Florus *complains of the* Jews *to* Ceſtius, *as* Ceſar's *Enemies.* Ceſtius *is better informed, and adviſes upon it.* Politianus *pitched upon to manage the Enquiry. He Conſults* Agrippa; *and they are both received with great Reſpect. They ſhew* Politianus *what Havock* Florus *had made; and the Loyalty of the* Jews *to other Governors.* Politianus *goes back to* Ceſtius.

FLORUS was no ſooner come to Ceſarea, but he found out new matter for the inflaming of a war, and ſent it in a letter to Ceſtius, wherein he charged the Jews with a revolt, which was ſo impudent a falſhood, that the very crimes he imputed to the Jews, he was expreſſly guilty of himſelf. Now queen Berenice, and the principals of Jeruſalem, were ſo juſt as to give Ceſtius a punctual account of Florus's way of adminiſtration. Upon the receipt of this intimation, Ceſtius thought it proper to employ ſome perſon of honour and addreſs before-hand, to learn out the truth of things, and then for giving him a faithful information upon the whole affair. The man he pitched upon was Politianus, a tribune, who meeting with king Agrippa near Jamnia, in his return from Alexandria, told him whence he came, who ſent him, and what was his buſineſs. There were at that time there ſeveral high-prieſts of the Jews, ſenators, and others of the firſt quality, to pay their duty to the king: They had no ſooner paſſed the firſt compliment of reſpect in courſe, but they launched out into a lamentable remonſtrance of the miſerable ſtate they were reduced to by the inhumanities of Florus. Agrippa thought as they did, but it would not have ſtood with his dignity to blow the coal.

The people of Jeruſalem received Agrippa and Politianus upon the way, ſixty furlongs from the city, out of reſpect to attend them up to the town; the women all the while bitterly bewailing the loſs of their murdered huſbands; and the whole multitude burſting out into tears and lamentations as by conſent: Some of them imploring Agrippa in generoſity to take pity on the nation, and others begging of Politianus but to go into the city, and ſee what havock Florus had made there. Upon this they took him into the market-place, and ſhewed him how every thing was abandoned there and forlorn, and the houſes all in rubbiſh.

They prevailed with Politianus, after this, to take the tour of the city as far as the pool of Siloah, and only one ſervant along with him, where he ſhould ſee with his own eyes how obedient the Jews were to all other Romans in authority: But for the horrid cruelties of Florus they were utterly intolerable. When he had taken a view of the city, and informed himſelf ſufficiently in the loyal diſpoſitions of the Jews, he called the people together, and went up to the temple, where he entered into a declamatory commendation of their approved fidelity to the Romans; and then, after enlarging himſelf in exhortations and good counſels, upon the ſubject of the common peace, he gave God praiſes and thankſgivings, with all veneration for his holy religion, in place and manner according to the law; and ſo went back to Ceſtius.

CHAP. IV.

The People preſs for a Complaint to Nero *againſt* Florus. *A healing Speech of* Agrippa's *to the* Jews. *A Diſſuaſive from Sedition. The* Romans *are Lords of the* Univerſe; *as the* Athenians, *the* Lacedæmonians, *the* Macedonians, *&c.* Agrippa *touches upon the Conſcience and Religion of the War. The whole Body of the* Jews *is involved in one common Cauſe.* Agrippa *brings the People to ſome Degree of Moderation.*

POLITIANUS had no ſooner turned his back, but the multitude immediately addreſſed themſelves to the king and the high-prieſts, preſſing for leave to ſend ambaſſadors to Nero with a complaint againſt Florus. It was clear on the one hand, that it would be dangerous for Agrippa to refuſe them this liberty: and it had, at the ſame time, the face of an invidious proſecution on the other, to turn looſe the multitude againſt their governor by ſuch an invective, under the name of an embaſſy. So that Agrippa finding himſelf divided between the bold and martial humour of the Romans, and the hazard of tranſporting the Jews into a tumult, called an aſſembly to meet in a great gallery, and after the placing of his ſiſter Berenice upon a chair of ſtate, in the Aſmonæan palace, which overlooks that gallery from the upper part of the town (the temple and the gallery being joined by a bridge) he ſpoke to the people after this manner:

"If I ſaw that you were reſolved to make war againſt the Romans, and that the better part of the people were not inclined to peace, I would not have come unto you, nor have preſumed to have counſelled you in any thing; for it is in vain to give counſel of ſuch things as are expedient, where all the auditors are already determined to follow that which is contrary to the counſel given them. But for that ſome are ignorant what miſery war produces, becauſe by reaſon of their youth they have not known it, others are moved with a raſh and unadviſed deſire of liberty, and others are drawn by avarice and hope of gain in combuſtions, I thought good to aſſemble you all together, and declare unto you what means are to be uſed to reſtrain ſuch people, that the good may the better know how to reſiſt and overcome the practices of the wicked. All I deſire is only your patience and ſilence, and to be heard without murmuring and noiſe, whether you like what I ſay or not. As for thoſe that are abandoned to the ſpirit of diſorder and confuſion, and irrecoverably loſt, they are ſtill at liberty to go their own way, let my opinion be what it will. But it is to no purpoſe for me to ſpeak at all, unleſs I may be heard by thoſe that deſire to hear me.

“ I know very well that the faults of governors, and the bleſſings of liberty, are common topics for men of art and paſſion to work upon. Now, before I enter upon the diſquiſition of what you yourſelves are, and the force you are pretending to encounter, I muſt, in the firſt place, divide two points that you confound, by taking them into one. If revenge upon your oppreſſors, (or let it be juſtice if you pleaſe) be the thing that you contend for, what's the meaning of your crying up liberty at ſuch an extravagant rate? Or, if ſubjection be in itſelf ſo intolerable, what's the quarrel to your governors? For let them be the beſt natured people under the face of Heaven, ſubjection is but ſubjection ſtill; and ſo ſtill as ſcandalous as it was before.

“ Take things to pieces now, and conſider a little upon what ground it is that you pretend to calumniate and cavil, and in what manner you are to behave yourſelves, even if your governors ſhould be to blame. It is your intereſt, as well as your duty, to ſweeten things with offices of tenderneſs and reſpect, and not to treat your ſuperiors with brawls and coarſe language. When yon make things greater than they are, you provoke thoſe that are over you to make thing worſe than they would otherwiſe be, and to turn that male-adminiſtration that they were half aſhamed of before, into a bare-faced raging tyranny. There's nothing takes off the edge of oppreſſion like patience: Reſignation is enough to put perſecution out of countenance, even let it be never ſo violent and unjuſt.

“ Make it the caſe now, that you are in truth extremely abuſed by the Roman government: Will you have this to be the act preſently of all the Romans, nay and of Ceſar himſelf too? And there's your quarrel. You cannot imagine that thoſe governors have it in their commiſſion to oppreſs you, or that Ceſar himſelf can look eaſt and weſt, and ſo thorough the four quarters of the world, all at a time, when it is no eaſy matter for him to get a faithful account at Rome, even of what is done here. How great a madneſs is it then to run the riſque of ſo dangerous a war for trifles? and, in very deed, for we know not what! Beſide, that matters may mend in time, for governors are neither immortal nor perpetual; but they take their turns: And it is reaſonable enough to hope, and to promiſe ourſelves, that the next comer will be better. When a war is once commenced, 'tis neither to be let fall, nor to be continued without miſerable inconveniences. As for thoſe that ſet up for liberty, let them have a care, in the firſt place, not to run themſelves out of it, for the laſt ſlavery is always the uneaſieſt; and to avoid that yoke, muſt be acknowledged a juſt cauſe of war: For he that is once a ſubject, and then falls off, is rather a ſtubborn ſlave than a generous advocate of freedom.

“ If any thing could have been done againſt the might of the Romans, why was it not done when Pompey broke in upon us? But if your forefathers, and the princes of thoſe times, (though much ſuperior in men, money, and conduct,) were not able to ſtand before ſo inconſiderable a detachment of their power, with what face or ſenſe can you pretend now at this time of day to bid defiance to the whole body of the empire? To ſay nothing of the obligation of an hereditary allegiance of ſo long a continuance, that both deſcend from your predeceſſors to their poſterity.

“ What do you think of thoſe brave and generous Athenians, that conteſted for the liberty of Greece, to the very extremity of laying their country in aſhes? Thoſe people that brought down the proud heart of the vain and inſolent Xerxes, put him to flight at Salamis, and having broken the whole power of Aſia, forced him to ſhift for himſelf in a cock-boat: That haughty prince that turned the ſea into land, and the land into ſea, to make room for his fleets and armies, that looked as if they would have ſwallowed Europe: And yet the nation that did all this are now ſubjects to the Romans; and Greece receives laws from Italy.

“ The caſe is the ſame with the Lacedæmonians too, after all their famous exploits at Thermopylæ and Platea; and Ageſilaus's carrying their victorious arms into the very heart of Aſia. And yet at preſent theſe heroes own the ſame maſters.

“ To come now to the Macedonians, with their Philips and their Alexanders ſtill running in their heads: A people that to this very day propoſe little leſs to themſelves than the empire of the univerſe: Has not fortune reduced theſe people alſo to the ſame fate, and of conquerors made them ſubjects, and ſubjects alſo to the ſame governors? I might reckon up a great many other nations now, much more conſiderable than yourſelves, that in the vanity of an ambitious contention for liberty, have been forced to ſubmit and to obey: And are you the only men in the world, do you think, that are too good to ſerve the ſovereign lords of all other people? Where's your militia, or the arms that you depend on? Your fleets to ſcour the Roman ſeas? And where's your treaſure to anſwer the expence of this undertaking? You fancy an Egyptian or an Arabian war, perhaps: But you proceed altogether upon falſe meaſures, without comparing the diſproportion between your ability and your undertaking, and the inequality betwixt a weak and a diſorderly people, and the ſtability of a formidable empire. 'Tis a common thing for you to be over-run and ſurpriſed by your next neighbours; when at the ſame time the Romans carried the whole world before them. Nay, and the known world would not content them neither; for though they were poſſeſſed of the courſe of the Euphrates to the Eaſt, the Danube to the north, the Lybian deſart to the ſouth, and as far as Cadiz to the weſt, nothing would ſerve them but another world beyond the ocean, and the carrying their arms into Britanny, which at that time was looked upon as inacceſſible.

“ But what is it now that you pretend to all this while? Would you be thought richer than the Gauls, hardier than the Germans, or wiſer than the Greeks? Or do you take yourſelves to be hard enough for all mankind beſide? Upon what ground is it that you are thus bold and confident againſt the Romans? It will be ſaid, perhaps, that it is an uneaſy and an irkſome thing to ſerve: But if it be ſo to you, what muſt it be to the Greeks, who, over and above a large extent of territory, are looked upon as men of the nobleſt extraction of any people under the ſun? And yet theſe men, great and noble as they are, live in obedience to the Romans. And ſo do the Macedonians alſo, who have undoubtedly more right to a claim of liberty than you can pretend to. Or what do ye ſay to the five hundred cities of Aſia that peaceably ſubmit themſelves to a conſul, without any guard or garriſon to overawe them. To ſay nothing of the Heniochians, the Colchians, the nations about the Boſphorus, and the inhabitants of the coaſts of Pontus, and the lake of Mæotis: People ſo free in former times, that they never had ſo much as a maſter among themſelves; and yet three thouſand Romans were enough to keep them all in ſubjection: And forty gallies enough to preſerve all thoſe ſeas in peace and obedience, which no creature durſt venture upon before.

“ Had the Bithynians, Cappadocians,

Pamphylians, Lydians and Cilicians, nothing to ſay for themſeves upon the point of liberty? For they are at preſent all tributaries, and pay their duties, without ſoldiers to compel them. And how is it with the Thracians now, in a large country of ſeven days journey in length, and five over; and much more defenſible than yours, being almoſt impaſſable for the bitter froſts and deep ſnows there; and yet a guard of only two thouſand Romans keeps them all in order. And then for the Illyrians, from beyond the Danube, as far as Dalmatia, and ſo likewiſe the Dacians, they are all under the guard of only two legions. Nay, the Dalmatians themſelves, after ſo many conteſts for liberty, ſo many baffles in the attempt, and ſo many rallies and reinforcements afterwards, in proſecution of the ſame deſign, how quiet and eaſy are they under the command of one ſingle legion!

"But after all this; if any pretence whatſoever might juſtify a revolt, the Gauls of all men living have the greateſt encouragement and temptation to do it, in the very ſituation of their country; for they are naturally fortified, on the eaſt with the Alps, the Rhine on the north, the Pyrenæan mountains on the ſouth, and on the weſt with the Ocean. But all thoſe advantages notwithſtanding, three hundred and fifteen nations in the ſame intereſt, an inexhauſtible ſource of all good things within themſelves, both for uſe and commerce, not only for their own, but likewiſe for the common benefit of mankind; and yet we find theſe people under the Roman allegiance, and propounding no other happineſs to themſelves than in that of their maſters. And this reſignation does not ariſe from the want of courage, either natural or acquired, or from the want of brave examples in their anceſtors, who had ſtood a diſpute of eighty years for the maintenance of their liberty; but finding ſo admirable a concurrence of fortune and virtue in the actions of the Romans, the Gauls were ſo ſurpriſed between the veneration they had for the one, and their dread of the other, that the Romans gained as much upon them by their goodneſs as by their arms; inſomuch that at this day, with only twelve hundred men, they ſecure almoſt as many cities in their allegiance.

"What was Spain the better now for their golden mines, when they came to contend with the Romans for their freedom? Or I might inſtance in nations more remote from Rome, both by ſea and land; as the Luſitanians and Cantabrians; where neither valour, diſtance, nor poſition, could warrant them againſt the power of Rome; though bordering upon a ſea ſo impetuous, that it is not to be ſo much as named, or thought of, without dread and horror. And what ſignified Hercules's pillars, or the Pryenæan mountains; ſo many warlike nations in the way, diſtance or any other difficulty, to the obſtructing of the progreſs of their victorius arms? But they were reduced as well as the reſt, and one ſingle legion ſerved for a guard upon them all.

"Which of you have not heard of the multitude of the Germans? whoſe virtue and mighty bodies, I think you have often ſeen; for in every country the Romans have them for captives: Yet they, whoſe country is ſo large, having hearts far bigger than their bodies, and ſouls that contemn death, and are more cruel than brute beaſts; yet are they now limited by the river Rhine, and kept in ſubjection by eight legions of Romans; and thoſe that were taken were made ſlaves, and the reſt choſe rather to ſave themſelves by flight than fight.

"Moreover, you who have ſuch confidence in the walls of Jeruſalem, conſider the walls of Britain; which country, though compaſſed with the ocean, and almoſt as great as our whole world, the Romans ſailing to it, have conquered; and four legions keep that ſo populous an iſland. What ſhall I ſay more, when the Parthians, a moſt warlike people, who lately reigned over ſo many nations, and abound in ſo much wealth, are now compelled to ſend hoſtages to Rome? Nay, you may ſee all the nobility of the eaſt at Rome; where, with the pretext of peace, they ſhadow their captivity. Almoſt all the nations under the ſun tremble and dread the Roman puiſſance; and will you only war againſt them ?

" Do you not conſider what beſel the Carthaginians, who boaſted themſelves of that great Hannibal, and were ſprung from the noble race of the Phœnicians; yet, at laſt, were deſtroyed by Scipio ? Neither the Syrenæans, who deſcended from the Lacedæmonians, nor all the race of the Marmaridans, extending as far as the Deſerts, (which are very ſcare of waters) nor the Syrtes, nor the Nazomonians, nor the Moors, nor the innumerable multitude of the Numidians, have been able to reſiſt the power of the Romans ; who by force of arms, have conquered that third part of the world (the nations whereof can hardly be numbered) which from the Sea Atlantick, and Hercules's pillars, unto the Red Sea, containeth all Ethiopia, and innumerable cities: Who, beſides that they pay ſo much fruits and corn to the Romans, as for eight months in every year will keep and ſuſtain all the people of Rome, do alſo pay tribute; and moreover aſſiſt them any way they can, and never murmur at it, as you do: And there is only one Legion left to keep them in obedience.

" But what ſhould I need to tell you of foreign examples, to convince you of the power of the Romans, ſeeing you may well underſtand it by what they have done in Epypt, your neighbour country ; which reaching to Ethiopia and Arabia the happy, and bordering upon India, and having in it an infinite number of people, beſides the inhabitants of Alexandria, (which is eaſy to be counted, by the tribute paid of every perſon by the poll,) yet they diſdain not to live under the dominion of the Romans. Alexandria is both populous and very rich, in length thirty furlongs, in breadth ten, and pays more tribute in a month, than you do in a whole year, and, beſides their money, finds all Rome with corn four months in the year: And is on every ſide compaſſed about, either with a vaſt wilderneſs, by which none can paſs; or the fierce ſea, which is boundleſs; or with great and ſtrong rivers ; or muddy and dirty quagmires, and marſhy grounds : Yet all this little avails them to withſtand the force of the Romans. For two legions only placed in the city, keep all the great country of Egypt, and the nobility of Macedon in awe. Now ſince all the inhabited world is ſubject to the Romans, what aſſociates will you have from ſome country not inhabited, to aid you againſt the Romans? Except peradventure ſome of you hope for help from beyond Euphrates, and that your countrymen of Adiabena will help you: But they will not entangle themſelves in theſe dangerous wars, without reaſonable cauſe ; and if they would conſent to ſo bad counſel, the Parthians will not ſuffer them: For they are careful to maintain their league with the Romans; and would think it violated, if any under their dominions ſhould war againſt them. It remaineth then, that you muſt only truſt that God will help you ; but but you ſee God doth aſſiſt the Romans : For it is impoſſible that ſuch an empire ſhould have been without the help of God. Beſides, conſider that although you were to war againſt far weaker than yourſelves, yet you could not promiſe to yourſelves favourable ſucceſs ; and it may ſo come to paſs, that if you religiouſly obſerve the cuſtom of ſabbaths, and in them do nothing, it will not be hard to conquer you. For ſo your anceſtors found by experience with Pompey ; who deſigned all his enterprizes for that day wherein his enemies were idle, and made no reſiſtance.

" But if in war ye tranſgreſs your country's laws, I know not then for what you ſhould rebel. For truly all of you, at this time, are of that mind, that you take arms to maintain your country's laws. And I pray you, how will you requeſt help at God's hands, if wilfully you break his laws ? All that begin war, either truſt in human riches, or divine ſuccour : And they that war, having no probability to hope for any of thoſe, wilfully lead themſelves into open deſtruction. But if you cannot reſiſt the paſſion which tranſports you, let every man with his own hands butcher his wife and children, and conſume this goodly country with fire; for ſo you ſhall gain this, not to abide the ſhame of a conqueſt. It is good, O friends, it is good whilſt yet the ſhip is in the haven, to fore-ſee and provide for future tempeſts; and not then begin to fear, when you are amidſt the waves and ſurges of the ſea. They who fall into miſery not foreſeen, are worthy to receive compaſſion; but they that run into wilful calamity, deſerve no pity, but reproach. Unleſs perhaps ye think that the Romans will fight with you, on certain conditions; and that if they overcome you, they will not uſe you hardly, nor fire and deſtroy this ſacred city, and all the whole nation, as they have done others. If ye be overcome, whoſo eſcapeth unkilled, can have no place of refuge; for all nations either are already ſubject to the Romans, or fear that they ſhall be ſhortly. So that not only you ſhall be in danger, but alſo all cities wherein any Jews remain. For there is no nation nor people in the whole world, among whom ſome of your country-men are not, who all ſhall be moſt cruelly put to death, if you rebel: And for the wicked counſel of a few men all cities ſhall flow with the blood of the Jews; and no man ſhall be puniſhed for killing Jews, becauſe of your offence. But if you think the Romans will not execute all this outrage after your rebellion, then conſider how impious a thing it is, to rebel againſt ſo mild governors. Take compaſſion, if not of your children and wives, yet at the leaſt, of this city, which is the mother city of all your nation. Have ſome regard to theſe holy walls, and the ſanctuary, and your holy laws: Aſſure yourſelves, that if the Romans overcome you, they will not ſpare theſe things, ſeeing you were no more grateful unto them, for preſerving them before. I proteſt before God, your holy temple, and all the angels of Heaven, and our whole country, that I have kept back no counſel which I think profitable for you. Now if you conſider thoſe things which are profitable for you, ye ſhall live with me in peace: But if you follow your private paſſions, I will not be partaker of the miſeries and dangers you thruſt yourſelves into."

King Agrippa thus ended his diſcourſe, which his ſiſter Berenice, ſtanding by him, accompanied with her tears: And theſe reaſons and teſtimonies of affection touched the hearts of the people, ſo that their fury being ſomewhat allayed, they cried out, that they meant not take up arms againſt the Romans and Ceſar; but againſt Florus, for the injuries he had done them. "And yet," ſays Aggrippa, "you do the very ſame things that the profeſſed enemies of Rome would do. Have you not broken down the Antonian galleries? And do you not refuſe Ceſar his tribute? Now if you would remove all pretence of jealouſy, you have no more to do then without any further delay, but to pay the one, and to rebuild the other: For this is none either of Florus's fort or tribute."

The people were now coming to themſelves again, and very orderly waited upon the king and Berenice up to the temple; where they applied themſelves immediately to the re-edifying of the galleries; and at the ſame time ſent their agents and officers up and down the province, to gather up the duty that was behind: Which was forthwith collected, and paid in, being the juſt ſum of forty talents, which was the whole arrear.

The violent rage of the tumult being ſomewhat abated, Agrippa adviſed the multitude to ſubmit to Florus for the preſent, till Ceſar ſhould ſend them another governor. This put the people in ſuch a flame, that they did not only give inſolent reviling language, but pelted him with ſtones, and drove him out of the city. The king was ſenſible of the contempt to the higheſt degree, and finding the rabble ſo inſufferably bold and ungovernable, he ſent ſeveral men of quality to Florus at Ceſarea to make ſuch choice out of them as he thought fit, to ſerve as collectors for the whole province; and ſo Agrippa departed.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Maſſada *ſurpriſed, and the Garriſon put to the Sword.* *The* Jews *reject the* Romans *cuſtomary Sacrifices.* Eleazar *the Head of the Faction. And this Refuſal the Ground of the War. Men of the beſt Quality are for moderate Councils. They apply themſelves to* Florus *and* Agrippa *for Relief.* Agrippa *ſends Troops to* Jeruſalem. *A War begun in the City. The King's Troops Worſted. The Faction quits the upper Town, and lays all in Aſhes.* Antonia *taken by Aſſault.*

SOON after this, there was a ſtrong party of the faction gotten by ſtealth into Maſſada, a Roman garriſon, where they ſurpriſed the ſoldiers, put all the Romans to the ſword, and a guard of their own people into their places.

There happened at the ſame time another diſorder alſo in the temple at Jeruſalem. One Eleazar, the ſon of Ananias the high-prieſt, a deſperate, daring young man, and a military officer then in command, preſſed ſome of his friends among the prieſts not to receive any offering or ſacrifice but from the nation of the Jews. Now this was the very ground and foundation of a war with the Romans: For upon this inſtance of Eleazar's, Ceſar's ſacrifices came to be rejected that were offered up in courſe for the welfare of the people of Rome. The high-prieſts, and the men of the beſt quality, deſired the continuance of ſo pious a cuſtom as the offering up of prayers for princes and governors: But the mutineers were inexorable. This occaſion brought together the princes, the high-prieſts, and the Phariſees of the firſt quality, to adviſe what was beſt to be done upon the preſent juncture: For they ſaw manifeſtly the mortal conſequences that threatened the city by this tumult. They came to this reſolution; to try what they were able to do toward pacifying the minds of the people. In order to this, they called the people together in a body before the braſen gate, on the inſide of the temple to the eaſtward: And there they began their diſcourſe with reflections upon the raſhneſs of the enterpriſe, and of involving their country in ſo deſtructive a war. But the innovators, whoſe buſineſs was war not peace, gave no heed to what they ſaid: Neither did the Levites ſo much as ſhew themſelves at the altar, being wholly intent upon the war.

When the men of quality found the multitude too ſtrong for the government, and themſelves the likelieſt men to fall firſt under the laſh of the Romans, they agreed upon ſending deputies with inſtructions to make things eaſier to them: Some to Florus; and Simon, the ſon of Ananias, the chief of them: Others to Agrippa; the principals being Saul, Antipas, and Coſtobarus,

barus, which laſt was a kinſman of Agrippa's. Their buſineſs was to ſollicit them both to come with ſome troops to Jeruſalem to cruſh the rebellion in time.

This was the beſt news in the world to Florus, that had a mind to inflame the war, as appeared by the delay of his anſwer to the deputies, on purpoſe to give the rebels an opportunity to gather to a head. But Agrippa had a mind to ſave both parties the beſt he could. But yet however finding his own intereſt at ſtake too, he ſent two thouſand auxiliary horſe, from Auranitis, Batanæa and Trachonitis, with Darius at the head of them, and Philip the ſon of Joachim their general.

The princes of the people, with the high-prieſts, and all that were for peace, received theſe deputies into the upper town; the lower part and the temple being already in the hands of the faction. They began a ſkirmiſh with darts and ſtones, and ſo to bows and arrows on both ſides, without intermiſſion. The thing they principally preſſed was the forcing of the ſacrilegious faction out of the temple: While Eleazar and his accomplices laboured as hard on the other ſide to make themſelves maſters of the upper town. The diſpute laſted ſeven days, with great ſlaughter on both ſides.

The feſtival of Xylophoria now drawing on, which had the name from the cuſtom of carrying wood to the temple, to keep fire all the year long, they excluded the rebels from their worſhip. But while a party of the Jews were abroad upon this office, a band of cut-throats (known by the name of Sicarii, from the privy daggers they wore) fell in among theſe people, and ſo improved the advantage, that the king's troops being overborn, quitted the upper town, and the faction immediately took poſſeſſion of it. They broke after this into the houſe of Ananias the high-prieſt, and burned the palace of Agrippa and Berenice to aſhes: Propoſing in the next place, to ſet fire to the offices of record, and to deſtroy both together, that creditors might have nothing to ſhew for their money. The keepers, in fine, that had theſe papers and ſecurities in charge, abandoned their truſt, and ſhifted away for themſelves: And both records and offices were all burned.

In this deplorable confuſion, ſeveral of the nobility and high-prieſts were forced to fly for their ſafety into ſinks and vaults; others got into the upper palace among the king's troops, bolting the door after them, and making good the paſſage: Ananias the high-prieſt, Hezekias his brother, and Agrippa's deputies being of the number.

The day following being the fifteenth of the month Lous, they attacked the caſtle of Antonio: And after two days they carried it by aſſault, cut the whole garriſon to pieces, and burnt the place: Paſſing from thence to the palace, where Agrippa's troops had taken ſanctuary. They divided themſelves into four bodies, and attempted the undermining of the walls; but the defendents were obliged to keep cloſe, as not being ſtrong enough to venture a ſally.

There was among theſe people one Manahem, the ſon of Judas of Gallilee, a crafty man and an artificial orator. This Manahem had a deſign upon Herod's arſenal at Maſſada; ſo he inveigled ſeveral men of quality into his party, took them along with him, and forced the place; armed a company of vagabonds and beggarly fellows out of it, and with them for his guard, away he marched like a little king to Jeruſalem, ſet up for the head of the mutineers, and accordingly gave his orders in form for the carrying on the ſiege of the palace.

But they wanted machines; for there was no working at the foot of the wall within view of an enemy over their heads: So that they began to break ground at a diſtance, and carried on a covered way to the foot of one of the towers, which they undermined at the foundation, and then propt it up with timbers. When they had finiſhed the work, they ſet fire to thoſe timbers, which being conſumed, the turret fell to the ground. But the king's troops had ran up another wall behind the turret to make the place good. This diſcovery put the beſiegers into the greateſt aſtoniſhment and confuſion imaginable. But yet the beſieged in the palace ſent to Manahem for leave to depart, which was granted only to the king's people, and others of his religion.

This put the Romans quite out of heart that ſtaid behind, for they were neither able to deal with ſo vaſt a number, neither could they in honour deſcend to treat with rebels. In this extremity they quitted the camp as not defenſible, and betook themſelves to the king's forts of Hippon, Phaſael, and Mariamne. Manahem's people immediately broke in as faſt as the ſoldiers quitted; killed all they could lay their hands on, ſtripping the places of all the furniture; and in the concluſion burned the camp. This action bore date the ſixth day of the month Gorpiæus.

CHAP. VI.

The Death of Ananias *and* Hezekiah. Manahem, *a mean, ſcandalous Wretch, ſets up for a Prince. He is put to Death.* Metilius *a* Roman *General treats upon Terms with* Eleazar. *The Agreement ratified upon Oath.* Eleazar's *barbarous Perfidy. The Prologue to the Ruin of the* Jews.

ON the day following, Ananias the high-prieſt was taken up out of one of the ſinks about the court, where he had hid himſelf, and his brother Hezekiah with him, and both put to death by ſome of the Sicarii. The faction ſet ſtrict guards alſo about the forts, ſo that none of the ſoldiers could make their eſcape. Now what with the ravaging of ſo many fortified places, and the death of Ananias the high-prieſt, Manahem was puffed up into ſo vain and over-weening a conceit of himſelf, that he became the moſt inhuman and inſupportable tyrant upon the face of the earth. Theſe ſavage inſolencies gave occaſion to Eleazar, and ſome few of his confidents, to enter into a diſcourſe one with another upon this ſubject. "It cannot be for ſhame," ſays one of them, "that any man that has "lifted up his hand againſt the Romans in "vindication of his liberty, ſhould betray "that liberty again to a private man, and "truckle to ſuch a maſter too, as even, if "he were not unqualified for government "by his cruelty, he were yet a ſcandal to "the function, by the very meanneſs of his "extraction. If there be an abſolute ne"ceſſity of ſetting up one man above all "the reſt, Manahem certainly, of all mor"tals, is not to be the man." When they had talked themſelves into a reſolution, they went together in that heat up to the temple:

ple: And there was Manahem attending his devotions, in the pomp of a prince, both for his dreſs and train, in his royal robes, and with his armed guards about him. While he was priding himſelf there in the huff of his glory, ſome of Eleazar's people made a violent aſſault upon his perſon. His guards made a ſhew of reſiſtance, till they ſaw the whole multitude were againſt him; and then every man ſhifted away the beſt he could. They killed as many as they could take: As for Manahem, he was taken pitifully ſkulking in a place called Ophlas, dragged out of his hiding-hole and expoſed, miſerably tortured, and then put to death. His deputies and aſſiſtants were ſerved likewiſe after the ſame manner, and Abſalom for one, who was the chief promoter of the tyranny.

The multitude were at this time very earneſt with the commanding men of the faction not to bear ſo hard upon the Romans; but rather to raiſe the ſiege and let them go: But the more they preſſed it on the one ſide, the more they were againſt it on the other. When Metilius the Roman general, and his people were now brought to the laſt extremity, they offered to deliver it up, upon condition only of quarter for their lives. The terms were readily accepted, and Gorion the ſon of Nicodemus, Ananias the ſon of Saddaca, and Judas the ſon of Jonathas, were all three employed to ratify the treaty upon oath, and to ſign and ſeal the articles. As ſoon as the agreement was confirmed, Metilius drew off his ſoldiers without any manner of trouble or interruption ſo long as they were under their arms; but when, according to oath and compact, they delivered up their ſwords and ſhields, Eleazar's guards broke in upon them, ſeized them, and barbarouſly aſſaſſinated them, without either reſiſtance or ſupplication on the Romans part, or ſo much as any other reproach in their mouths than the bare ſyllables of oaths and articles. Metilius at laſt was the only man that eſcaped with his life, and the only man that begged it too; which was however granted him upon a promiſe of Judaiſing, and ſubmitting to be circumciſed.

CHAP. VII.

Twenty thouſand Jews *maſſacred at* Ceſarea *in one Day.* Florus *ſends others to the Galleys. Thirteen thouſand* Jews *put to Death at* Scythopolis. Simon's *Exploits. He puts his Father, Mother, Wife, and Children, to Death with his own Hands, and laſtly himſelf, rather than ſubmit to the enemy.*

UPON the very ſame day and hour, there was a maſſacre of the Jews at Ceſarea, to the number of above twenty thouſand in one day, and not a Jew left in the town, for Florus picked up thoſe few that fled, and ſent them in chains to the galleys. This butchery made the whole nation ſtark mad: So the Jews divided into ſeveral bodies, and diſperſed themſelves. They began with ſome villages of Syria, and then laid waſte ſeveral of the bordering cities, as Philadelphia, Gebonitis, Geraſſa, Pella, and Scythopolis. After this they broke in upon Gadara, Hippon, and Gaulonitis, laying ſome places in rubbiſh, and burning others: And ſo they advanced to the Tyrian Cedaſa, Ptolemais, Gaba, and Ceſarea. They over-ran Sebaſte alſo, and Aſkalon, without any oppoſition: And when they had reduced theſe places to aſhes, they deſtroyed Anthedon and Gaza; they rifled alſo and laid waſte ſeveral villages upon the frontiers, and put to death as many of the men as they could catch. The Syrians, on the other hand, made their repriſals upon the Jews, not only in the vaſt numbers of them that were put to the ſword, but the perſecution extended to the very inhabitants of their city.

The Jews had hitherto made war only upon ſtrangers; but drawing toward the borders of Scythopolis, they found the very Jews of that quarter their enemies: So much did they prefer their intereſt and convenience, before either king or country: For the Scythopolitan Jews joined with the inhabitants of Scythopolis againſt the other Jews. But this agreement was managed with ſo much heat, that the very eagerneſs created a Jealouſy of their good faith. For what, ſaid they, if theſe people ſhould join againſt them with the other Jews? The citizens, upon this occaſion, told the confederate Jews, that if they would prove themſelves to be men of integrity and juſtice towards ſtrangers, they ſhould withdraw for the preſent with their families into a certain grove there at hand. This they did accordingly, and for the two next days all was quiet at Scythopolis; but upon the third night, their ſcouts bringing them intelligence how looſe they lay, the men of Scythopolis fell upon them, cut them all off to the number of thirteen thouſand, ſeized the pillage of the camp, and ſo went their way.

I muſt not paſs over the death of one Simon that periſhed in this barbarous action, He was a man famous, as well for the ſtrength of his body, as for the greatneſs of his mind, both which faculties he had employed in the favour of the Scythopolitans, and to the wronging of his own country. He did daily executions upon ſeveral of the Jews living near that place, and would frequently put whole troops to the rout, inſomuch that his ſingle perſon was almoſt equivalent to an army. When he ſaw how the Jews were ſurrounded with the Scythoplitans, and ſtuck with arrows and darts all over the grove, Simon drew his ſword, and without ſtriking a blow he addreſſed himſelf with outcries to the men of Scythopolis. "How juſtly am I puniſhed here," ſays he, "for the ills I have done, and for purchaſing your truſt and good will with the "lives of ſo many of my fellow citizens? "But I am now to die, and it will not become a man of honour to fall by the hand of "an enemy, but rather to do juſtice upon "myſelf." Upon the ſpeaking of theſe words, he took a view of his wife, his children, his ancient parents, and his whole family that were then about him, with both tenderneſs and rage in his eyes. While he was thus gazing as in ſuſpence, he took his father by the hair and run him through. He next killed his mother, who ſeemed willing enough to receive the ſtroke: And after the father and mother, he did execution likewiſe upon his wife and ſons, who appeared rather to meet the weapon than to avoid it; and by that means they prevented the enemy. When he had put all his kindred to death, he piled them up, and then advancing himſelf upon their bodies, he ſtretched out his right hand for all people to take notice of it, and ſo plunged the ſword into his own bowels.

This young man, for the force of his body, and the firmneſs of his mind, deſerves to be remembered with compaſſion. But whoever conſiders his fidelity to ſtrangers, and his unnatural inhumanity to his own brethren, cannot but confeſs that he was rewarded in the end according to his works.

CHAP. VIII.

Several other Maſſacres of the Jews. *The Cruelty of* Varus. Agrippa *removes him from his Government. The Rebels make themſelves Maſters of* Cypros.

THIS maſſacre at Scythopolis was followed with ſeveral in other places: Two thouſand five hundred in Aſkalon; two thouſand in Ptolemais; a great number of the Jews put to death at Tyre, and more tied in chains: In Hippon and Gadara, they cut off all that were ſtirring and active, impriſoning the reſt: And at this rate they were dealt with elſewhere, in proportion as they were hated or feared. But in Antioch, Sidon, and Apamia, they were ſafe and quiet in the enjoyment of their lives and liberties. And ſo for the Geraſenes, the Jews that had a mind to ſtay with them might: And then for the reſt they gave them a ſafe conduct to the borders.

At the ſame time Agrippa having occaſion to give Ceſtius Gallus a viſit at Antioch, left one Varus to adminiſter in his abſence. At that time the province of Batanæa ſent ſeventy of the beſt men they had for wiſdom and quality, to deſire the favour of a garriſon, that in caſe of any commotion or tumult they might be in a condition to ſuppreſs it. Varus preſently ſends out a party of the king's troops to cut them all off upon the way. It was his extreme avarice that tranſported him to this impious outrage upon his countrymen: And after ſo flagitious a beginning he ſtopt at no manner of tyranny or iniquity, but went on debauching the whole kingdom. When Agrippa came to underſtand the havock Varus had made, he removed him immediately from his government.

The rebels, in the mean while, got poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Cypros, upon the frontier of Jericho, put the garriſon to the ſword, and demoliſhed the place. At the ſame time another great body of Jews treated with the Romans in Machærus to deliver up the garriſon, who chuſing rather to part with it by agreement, than to be beaten out of it, ſurrendered upon compoſition.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

A deſperate Tumult in Alexandria *between the* Jews *and the* Greeks.

THE natives of Alexandria could never endure the Jews there, from the days of Alexander the Great, who in acknowledgement of the ſervices our nation had done him againſt the Egyptians, made them free of the city, granting them all manner of privileges in common with the Greeks themſelves: And thoſe priviliges were continued to them by Alexander's ſucceſſors, a peculiar quarter aſſign'd them apart to themſelves, where they lived in a manner ſequeſtered from the converſation of other people, being likewiſe entitled to the honour of calling themſelves Macedonians. When Egypt came afterward to fall into the hands of the Romans, the Jews had their old privileges ſtill continued by Ceſar and his ſucceſſors; but the Jews and the Greeks were perpetually claſhing, and though they ſuffered juſtice on both ſides for their miſdemeanours, all this had no other effect yet than to inflame the ſedition.

The Greeks being met in an aſſembly, about an embaſſy to Nero, there came ruſhing into the amphitheatre a mixed crowd of Jews and Greeks. The Greeks ſet up an outcry that the Jews were enemies and ſpies; and in the ſame inſtant fell upon them. They took three of the company, and the reſt got away: But thoſe three they dragged along, with a deſign to burn them alive. This commotion brought in the whole body of the Jews to their reſcue, who began with caſting ſtones at them at firſt, and after that they ran with flambeaux in their hands up to the amphitheatre, threatening the whole multitude to burn them all to aſhes. This they had certainly done, if Tiberius Alexander, the governor of the city, had not a little pacified the the fury.

When Tiberius found that this uproar was not to be laid without miſchief, he preſently let looſe upon them two Roman legions that were then in the city, and five thouſand Libyan ſoldiers. The word was no ſooner given, but they marched away to a quarter of the town that is called Delta, (where the Jews were then gotten together in a body) and there put their orders in execution to the uttermoſt extremity. The Jews placed their beſt armed men in the front, who for a while made a ſtout reſiſtance: But upon the firſt diſorder they were ſcattered and cut to pieces; though at the ſame time it proved a bloody victory. Death and deſtruction, in fine, never appeared in ſo many ſhapes. There were fifty thouſand dead bodies piled up in a heap; and the reſt had gone the ſame way too, if their ſtomachs had not been brought down to beg their lives.

CHAP. X.

The vaſt Power of the Romans. Ceſtius *his Exploits againſt the* Jews.

CESTIUS finding the Jews every where ſo hateful, made his advantage of it in a vigorous proſecution of the war. He drew out his troops, and marched for Ptolemais.

Agrippa aſſiſted Ceſtius both with his troops and counſel, and ſo the general marched away with part of his army to Zabulon, the ſtrongeſt city of Galilee, (otherwiſe called Andron) which divides Judæa and Ptolemais. When he came up to the place, he found all ſorts of proviſions there in abundance, but not one man to be ſeen in the town, for the people were all fled to the mountains: Whereupon Ceſtius gave his ſoldiers the pillage of the city, and raſed it to the ground. From thence he over-ran the whole country, deſtroying whatever fell in his way. When he had laid waſte the territory, and ſet all the neighbouring villages in a flame, he left them in aſhes, and went back again to Ptolemais. The Syrians hearts were ſo ſet upon the booty, eſpecially thoſe of Berytus, that there was no getting them away; but a great many of their ſtragglers ſtaid behind. The Jews took courage upon the retreat of Ceſtius, and falling upon the plunderers by ſurpriſe, cut them off to the number of near two thouſand.

From Ptolemais Ceſtius removed to Ceſarea, and from thence ſent a detachment out of his army to Joppa, with orders to preſerve the peace, if they could quietly get poſſeſſion of it; but that in caſe the inhabitants ſhould put themſelves in poſture to defend it, they ſhould then wait for the bringing up the reſt of the army. The Romans, in fine, aſſaulted the place both by ſea and land, and maſtered it without much difficulty. For the people were ſo far from attempting to diſpute it by force, that they had not room left ſo much as for an eſcape: But they were all put to the ſword, men, women and children. The city plundered and burnt, and the number of the ſlain computed to be eight thouſand four hundred perſons. They made the like havock with a body of horſe in the neighbouring toparchy of Narbatane, near Ceſarea, where they laid the country waſte, put great numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, ſeized their goods and eſtates, and buried their cities in aſhes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Cæſennius Gallus *commands in* Gallilee *under* Ceſtius. Lydda *burnt and deſtroyed.* Ceſtius *encamps within fifty Furlongs of* Jeruſalem. *The aſſault and victory of the* Jews *againſt the* Romans.

CESTIUS ſent the twelfth legion alſo into Galilee under the command of Cæſennius Gallus, with a conjunction of as many other troops as he judged ſufficient for the ſubduing of that province. Sepphoris, which is the ſtrongeſt city they had, opened their gates to him, and the reſt of the towns had the wit to follow their example: But for the mutineers and free-booters, they withdrew themſelves to the mountain of Aſamon that croſſes Galilee, and lies juſt oppſite to Sepphoris. Gallus advanced upon them in their own poſt; but ſo long as the vagabond party kept the upper ground, they were too hard for the Romans, and killed a matter of two hundred of them upon the encounter. But when the Romans came to gain the top of the mountain, the fugitives were preſently routed.

Gallus, finding by this time that there was no more occaſion for him in Galilee, drew off his troops to Ceſarea; and Ceſtius with the whole army went to Antipatris. He was there given to underſtand, that a body of the Jews was gotten into the tower of Aphec, and ſent a party thither to diſlodge them. But the Jews not being in a condition to ſtand the attack, left it to the Romans, who rifled it, and then ſetting fire to all the adjoining villages, broke up and went their way.

Ceſtius removed from Antipatris to Lydda, where he found only fifty men in the city, the reſt being gone up to Jeruſalem to the feaſt of tabernacles. He put that fifty to the ſword, burned the town, and ſo advanced by the way of Bethoron to a certain place called Gabaoh, fifty furlongs from Jeruſalem, and there he pitched his camp.

The Jews finding now that the war was brought home to their own door, ſtood to their arms, and ſallied out upon the Romans, with hideous clamours, without any regard to the ſabbath, which formerly they held in ſo much eſtimation. They ſtaggered they Romans upon the firſt charge, diſordered their front, and made ſo furious an impreſſion into their main body, that if they had not been ſupported by a ſtand of foot that was yet entire, and a party of horſe that came in to their ſuccour in the very critical minute, Ceſtius and his whole army had been in danger to be loſt. There fell five hundred and fifteen of the Roman ſoldiers in this ſkirmiſh, four hundred of them horſe, the reſt foot. There were killed upon the place two and twenty of the Jews. The moſt valiant in this combat were Monobaſus and Cenelæus, kinſmen to Monobaſus, king of Adiabena; and next to them Paraides Niger, and Silas a Babylonian, who had fled to the Jews from king Agrippa, whom he had lately ſerved.

The Jews being now forced to a retreat, made their way back again into the city, while the Romans, drawing off alſo to Bethoron,

thoron, were preſſed upon the rear by Gioras, the ſon of Simon, who cut off ſeveral of them, ſeized their carriages and baggage that they ſound upon the way, and went off with it to Jeruſalem. Ceſtius continued three days after this in the field; for the Jews lay watching for his remove, upon the hills that overlooked him: And if the Romans had but ſtirred, the enemy in all probability would have fallen upon them.

CHAP. XII.

Agrippa *propounds an Alliance with the* Romans. *The People kill and wound the Officers ſent to manage the Treaty.* Ceſtius *falls upon them, and purſues them to the Walls of* Jeruſalem, *bringing the whole Army up to the City. He encamps near the Palace, and the Gates are offered him; but he ſlips the Opportunity. The* Jews *defend their Walls, and repulſe the* Romans. Ceſtius *quits the Siege. The Rebels fall upon his Rear. A dreadful Blow to the* Romans. Ceſtius *in a miſerable Diſtreſs.*

WHEN Agrippa ſaw how the Jews ſwarmed upon the hills, he could not think the Romans themſelves altogether ſafe within reach of ſo formidable an enemy. He therefore reſolved to try if there were any good to be done upon them by fair words. Agrippa in purſuance of this reſolution, ſent two of his friends, Borcæus and Phœbus, to offer them a league of alliance with the people of Rome, with an aſſurance of pardon and indemnity for all that was paſt, upon condition only of taking up other thoughts, and laying down their arms. The faction were ſo afraid of the people's going over to Agrippa, in hope of this amneſty, that they reſolved to take off the heads of the ambaſſadors. They killed Phœbus before he could ſo much as open his mouth. Borcæus was wounded and got off: But the multitude were ſo enraged at the baſeneſs of ſo wicked an action, that they forced the mutineers with ſtones and cudgels into the town.

This inteſtine diviſion gave Ceſtius the faireſt opportunity in the world to break in upon the faction: So that he marched up to them with his whole army, charged and routed them, following the purſuit up to the very walls of Jeruſalem: And then march'd off again to a place called Scopus, ſeven furlongs from the city, and there he pitched his camp, where he lay three whole days ſtill and quiet.

On the fourth day, being the thirtieth of the month Hyperberetæus, he advanced with his whole army in very good order up to the city; where the multitude durſt not ſo much as wag for fear of the faction: Nay, the very heads of the ſedition quitted the out-works of the city, and withdrew into the temple. Ceſtius took his way by Bezetha: And in his paſſage burnt Cænopolis, and the wood-market: Whence, advancing to the upper town, he pitched his camp near the place. Now if he had but puſhed it to an aſſault upon that nick of time, how eaſily might he have carried the place! But Tyrannus and Priſcus, two of their generals, with the help of Florus's money, diverted him from his purpoſe.

Under theſe circumſtances, Ananus the ſon of Jonathas, and divers of the Principal Jews, called out to Ceſtius, and offered to open him the gates; but he delayed his reſolution ſo long, that the plot was diſcovered, and Ananus with his companions forced to fly to their own houſes.

The Jews diſperſed themſelves, upon this, into the turrets to the defence of the walls, which for five days they made good againſt the utmoſt efforts of the Romans. On the ſixth day, Ceſtius, with the choiceſt of his troops and bow-men, gave an aſſault to the north-ſide of the temple; but was ſo bloodily galled with ſhot and ſtones from the porch and galleries, that the Romans were in the end directly beaten off. After theſe repulſes, the Romans at laſt bethought themſelves of this invention. The front clapped their bucklers cloſe to the wall; and ſo covering their heads and ſhoulders with them, one after another, they joined them in order, buckler to buckler, till altogether they made up a cover like the figure of a tortoiſe; which being proof againſt all the enemy's darts and arrows, the Romans were now at liberty to ſap, and work upon the walls without any further danger: And the next thing they did was to attempt the firing of the temple gates.

This put the faction into ſuch an aſtoniſhment, that they gave all for loſt. The honeſt party were as much elevated ont he one hand, as the rebels were caſt down on the other; inſomuch that they called out to open the gates to Ceſtius; whom they looked upon as their friend and preſerver. Thus far it went; and if the general had but kept up the ſiege never ſo little longer, the town had certainly been their own; but God, in his juſt diſpleaſure, would not ſuffer this wicked and dreadful war to go off ſo. For Ceſtius, without ever heeding either the good diſpoſition of the people in general, or the deſperation of the rebels in the town, by a kind of judicial infatuation, drew off his men all on a ſudden, even when their hopes were at the faireſt; and ſo, againſt all juſtice and reaſon, quitted the ſiege. This unexpected departure of Ceſtius put the revolters in ſuch heart again, that they fell upon his rear, and cut off ſeveral of his people both horſe and foot. He lodged that night in a camp that he had fortified, at a place called Scopus. The next day he continued his march, with the enemy ſtill at the back of him, as upon a purſuit, and killing him a great many men. The Romans had thrown up a trench with paliſadoes on both ſides of the way; where the Jews with their darts and arrows annoyed the Romans extremely in their march acroſs the paſſage, without any revenge, or ſo much as turning their heads to look the enemy in the face: This they did, as not being in a condition to ſecure their flanks, partly out of an apprehenſion of their mighty numbers, and partly for fear of breaking the order of their march, being heavy armed themſelves, and the Jews on the other hand light, and at liberty for excurſions and ſurpriſes upon any occaſion. Upon the whole matter it was a terrible blow to the Romans, and coſt the Jews nothing. The ways, in fine, were covered with dead and wounded bodies upon this retreat. Among the ſlain was Priſcus that commanded the ſixth legion; Longinus the tribune, and Æmilius Jucundus, a great horſe-officer; beſide common ſoldiers in abundance; but they got at laſt, with the loſs of their baggage, to Gabaoh; where they had encamped before.

Ceſtius was now at his wits end, and took two days time to conſider what to do next. Upon the third day, he found the Jews to be mightily encreaſed, and that the longer he ſtaid, the worſe.

The General, upon this, ordered the army to be forthwith diſcharged of all incumbrances, for the eaſe and expedition of the march. The mules, aſſes, and other beaſts of burden, he cauſed to be all killed, ſaving only enough to carry weapons and machines, which he thought he might have further occaſion for; beſide the miſchief of their being employed againſt him, if they ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy. This was the ſtate and poſture of the army in their advance to Bethoron, and himſelf at the head of them. The Jews gave them no manner of interruption, ſo long as they continued in an open country; but when they came into hollow ways and defilees, they charged them front and rear, to divide them from the army, and to force them further into the valley; the Jews in the mean time, from the rocks and the craggs, pouring down their ſhot upon the heads of the Romans. While the foot was in this miſerable diſtreſs, and conſidering which way to turn themſelves, the condition of the horſe was much more deſperate; for they could neither advance up to the Jews to attack them upon the mountains, nor ſecure themſelves againſt them in the vallies; neither could they keep their troops in order againſt that ſhower of arrows that was poured down among them. To ſay nothing of thoſe that periſhed by precipices and other miſadventures. They were in ſuch a ſtreight, in ſhort, that they could neither fight nor fly; and in this deſponding extremity the Romans had recourſe to all the paſſionate extravagances of tears, groans, and outcries, that are uſual in ſuch caſes; while the rocks and the vallies rung on the other ſide with tranſports of encouragement, joy, inſolence, and triumph. So it was, in fine, that if the Jews had had daylight, the whole army of Ceſtius had been totally deſtroyed; but night coming on, the Romans made a ſhift to ſteal away to Bethoron; where the Jews immediately ſecured all paſſes thereabouts, to cut off Ceſtius's retreat.

When Ceſtius found how he was beſet, and the impoſſibility of his getting off in the face of the enemy, he bethought himſelf of a ſtratagem to aſſiſt him in in his eſcape; that is to ſay, he poſted betwixt three and four hundred of his braveſt men upon the tops of the houſes, with orders to call out as loud as they could bawl, to the watches and the guards, like ſo many centinels, as if the army were not as yet decamped. While this was doing, Ceſtius ſhrunk away ſilently with the reſt of his people, and marched a matter of thirty furlongs that night. But when the Jews came the next morning to find the place quitted, and the groſs of the army withdrawn, they fell immediately upon the four hundred Romans that had betrayed them into that miſtake, killed every man of them, and then put themſelves upon the purſuit of Ceſtius: But having gotten a long night's march before them, and loſing no time the next day neither to get off, there was no overtaking them. The ſoldiers however fled in ſuch haſte and confuſion, that they dropt all their machines, their ſlings, and other inſtruments for battery and attack, by the way; which the Jews took up and made uſe of afterwards againſt the Romans. They followed the chace as far as Antipatris: But finding they were got out of their reach, they took care of their engines, ſtripped the dead, gathered their booty together, and ſo returned to Jeruſalem, with ſongs of triumph in their mouths for ſo great a victory with ſo very little loſs. There were killed of the Romans, betwixt their own troops and the auxiliaries, four thouſand foot, and three hundred and eighty horſe. This happened on the eighth day of the month Dius, and in the twelfth year of Nero.

CHAP. XIII.

A Conſpiracy at Damaſcus *againſt the* Jews. Joſeph *the Hiſtorian Governor of both* Galilees.

UPON this diſaſter of Ceſtius's, the moſt conſiderable of the Jews in Jeruſalem quitted the city as a ſinking ſhip in a ſtorm. Coſtobarus and Saul, (two brothers) and Philip the ſon of Jacimus, formerly Agrippa's general, withdrew to Ceſtius, but Antipas, their fellow priſoner in the palace, ſcorning to ſave himſelf by flight, was put to death by the faction. Ceſtius ſent Saul and his companions to Nero in Achaia, with an account of his misfortunes, but caſting the blame of the whole miſcarriage upon Florus.

As ſoon as the news of this defeat came to Damaſcus, the inhabitants entered into a confederacy to deſtroy all the Jews of that place; and taking their opportunity, cut the throats of ten thouſand of them in one hour, without any difficulty.

The Jews that gave Ceſtius that terrible overthrow, being come back to Jeruſalem, made it their buſineſs to draw over as many of the Romans as they could engage into their party. Upon this they had a meeting in the temple about the election of officers for the government of the war. So they declared Joſeph the ſon of Gorion, and Ananus the high-prieſt, their governors in civil matters and the affairs of the city, recommending to their care the rebuilding of their walls. As for Eleazar the ſon of Simon, though he had in his poſſeſſion a mighty booty that was taken from the Romans, a conſiderable ſum of money from Ceſtius, and a maſs of public treaſure to a great value over and above, they did not think fit yet to confer upon him any commiſſion at all: But Eleazar, by little and little, ſo far wrought upon the people by popular arts, money and addreſs, that they thought no man ſo well qualified for a governor as he was.

The commanders that they ſent into Idumæa, were Jeſus the ſon of Sapphas, one of the high-prieſts, and Eleazar the ſon of the new high-prieſt, commanding Niger, the preſent governor of that province, to obey their orders.

They took the ſame care likewiſe elſewhere. They ſent Joſeph the ſon of Simon to Jericho; Manaſſes beyond the river; and John the Eſſene to Thamna. And to theſe were added Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus, to be adminiſtered in the form of toparchies. John the ſon of Ananias was made governor of Gophnitis and Acrabatane: And Joſeph the ſon of Matthias, (the writer of this hiſtory) governor of both the Galilees, caſting Gamala alſo into his command, the ſtrongeſt place in the whole country.

Theſe governors diſcharged their parts with chearfulneſs and prudence, every man according to his commiſſion. Joſeph upon his coming into Galilee, choſe a council of ſeventy, out of the elders and the ableſt men of the nation. To this council of ſeventy he committed the whole government of Gilike, lilee, under ſome few reſtrictions. He diſpoſed of thoſe ſeventy judges, ſeven into every city, with a commiſſion to hear and determine all common cauſes, reſerving to himſelf the judgment of matters of greater importance.

The ſeventy being thus diſtributed, and affairs regulated at home, Joſeph took alſo into conſideration what was to be done to ſecure them from abroad. He gave for granted that the Romans would certainly break into Galilee, and therefore took care, in the firſt place, to wall in all the defenſible cities, as Jotapata, Berſabee, Selamis, Pereccho, Japha and Sigoh ; Tarichee and Tiberias, with the mountain Itabyr. He fortified alſo the caves about the lake of Genezareth, in the lower Galilee. And in the upper Galilee, Petra of the Achabrians ; Seph, Jamnith and Mero: Seleucia, Soganes and Gamala, in Gaulanitis. Only the Sepphorites, being a wealthy and martial people, had liberty to build their own walls. John the ſon of Levi, by Joſeph's order, walled in Giſchala too. As to the reſt of the caſtles, they were fortified by the direction and aſſiſtance of Joſeph himſelf.

He got upward of a hundred thouſand men out of Galilee, and furniſhed them all with old arms that he had picked up here and there. He ſell to bethink himſelf in the next place of the mighty power of Rome, and what it might be that made the Romans ſo invincible : Aſcribing it in the concluſion to their obedience and diſcipline. But in regard that he had no time at preſent to train his people up to the latter, he would at leaſt endeavour to inure them to the other. And no better method could he think of than the Roman way of multiplying officers: Dividing and ſubdividing officers of command into ſeveral ſubordinations, one under another. He taught them the myſtery and diſcipline of all ſignals ; the points of war in the voice of the trumpet ; to diſtinguiſh an alarum, a charge, a retreat, and one ſounding from another ; the manner of fighting, and the forms of battles ; the order of bringing off or on ; or ſeconding the weak, or relieving the wearied. He read lectures to them upon the virtues of fortitude, both of body and mind, arming and fortifying them at the ſame time, againſt both dangers and fatigue. In all his leſſons of war, he ſtill made uſe of the Roman diſcipline, as an inſtance of authority and example.

As to the manner of Joſeph's conduct during his adminiſttation of affairs in Galilee, and of John of Giſchala's treacherous practices towards him, they are ſet down at large in the life of Joſephus.

THE

WARS of the *JEWS.*

BOOK II.

From the Year of the World 4031, to 4032.

CHAP. I.

Nero *gives* Veſpaſian *the Government of* Syria. *The Defeat of* Ceſtius *makes the* Jews *raſh and bold. They advance towards* Aſcalon.

THE news of Ceſtius's diſaſter in Judæa ſtruck Nero into a quaking fit of fear and confuſion: But he looked big upon it however, and covered the faintneſs of his heart with an affectation of dignity. "This," ſays he, "was the "fault of my own officer, not the bravery "of the enemy." But after all this oſtentation of an invincible courage, he was very uneaſy for want of a general equal to the mighty neceſſities of the empire. For the eaſt was at this time wavering and falling off, the Jews deep in a rebellion already, other nations ſtaggering, and the empire all over ſick of the ſame diſeaſe. Now how to keep the one quiet, reduce the other, and to prevent the ill humour of the third from tainting the whole body, was the queſtion. Veſpaſian was the inſtrument pitched upon, as the only perſon that Nero could think competent for the diſcharge of ſuch a truſt. He was now in years, and had ſpent the whole courſe of his life in arms, from firſt to laſt. Veſpaſian had no ſooner received his commiſſion from Nero, in Achaia, but he preſently diſpatched away his ſon Titus for Alexandria, to draw off the fifth and the tenth legions there, while he himſelf croſſed the Helleſpont, and ſo took his way by land into Syria, where he came to a rendezvous with all the Roman troops, and the auxiliaries that were ſent in by the princes bordering upon that province.

The Jews, in the mean time, were ſo tranſported with the unexpected advantage they had got over the Romans under Ceſtius, that they behaved themſelves like ſo many madmen, puſhing on the war beyond all bounds of moderation and prudence. They drew up what ſtrength they were able to make out of the beſt troops they had, and with that body marched towards Aſcalon, an ancient city, five hundred and twenty furlongs from Jeruſalem. They had for their leaders three famous captains, Niger of Peræa, Silas a Babylonian, and John an Eſſene; men eminent for ſtrength of body, reſolution, and good government.

Aſcalon had a wall of a prodigions ſtrength, but few men to defend it, the whole garriſon conſiſting only of one company of foot and a troop of horſe, under the command of Anthony, who had drawn his horſe out of the town to be in readineſs for the encounter. Upon their advance, he received their charge, and put a ſtop to their progreſs towards the walls of the town. Now the Romans by the advantage of veterans againſt raw ſoldiers, horſe to foot, order to confuſion, made no difficulty of putting the Jews to the rout; for their firſt ranks were no ſooner broken by the Roman horſe, but they fled ſeveral ways, and ten thouſand of them were killed upon the ſpot, two of their generals, John and Silas, being of the number; the reſt were moſt of them hurt, and made their eſcape with Niger to Salis, a town in Idumæa: And all this while there were only ſome few wounded on the Roman ſide.

The Jews, inſtead of a diſcouragement drawn from the laſt defeat, gathered matter of hope and comfort from the remembrance of former ſucceſſes. When they had pauſed a little, they got together all the power they were able to make, and in a much greater body attempted Aſcalon once again, under the ſame diſadvantages, and with the ſame fortune as before; for they fell at unawares into an ambuſh of Anthony's by the way they were to paſs; where they were beſet, charged, and routed by Anthony's troops, before they could put themſelves in order of battle, and eight thouſand ſlain upon the place; the reſt got all off, with their general Niger, into a ſtrong caſtle belonging to a village called Bezedel. Anthony, to make ſhort work of it, ſet fire to the fort, as the only way to deſtroy the caſtle and the general both at once. But he, to avoid the fire, leaped down from the top of the caſtle into a deep vault; and as ſome friends were ſearching for his body three days after, to give it funeral rites, he preſented himſelf before them yet living, which tranſported the Jews, out of an affliction almoſt inconſolable, into the moſt ſurpriſing exceſs of joy that can be imagined.

Veſpaſian being now come with his army to Antioch, he found king Agrippa, with all his own troops, expecting him. He paſſed from thence to Ptolemaïs, and there were the inhabitants of Sepphoris, a town of Galilee, waiting to receive him.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The two Galilees, *with a Deſcription of them. A Deſcription of* Samaria.

THERE are two Galilees, known by the names of the upper and the lower Galilee, which are encompaſſed by Phœnicia and Syria. They are bounded on the weſt by the city and territory of Ptolemais, and by mount Carmel; formerly belonging to the Galileans, at preſent to the Tyrians: And next adjoining to Gaba, or the city of the horſemen, ſo called, from the plantation of Herod's horſemen that were there ſettled, upon their diſmiſſion. On the ſouth, with Samaria, and Scythopolis, as far as the river Jordan. On the eaſt with Hippene, Gadaris, and Gaulanitis, together with the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; and on the north with Tyre, and the frontiers of the Tyrians.

The lower-Galilee ſtretcheth length ways from Tiberias to Zabulon, near Ptolemais on the ſea-coaſt. It reaches in breadth from Xaloth on the great plain as far Berſabe; and there begins the breadth of the upper-Galilee, and ſo goes up to the village of Baca, which divides it from the territory of the Syrians. And as to the length of it, they reckon it from Thella, a village near Jordan, to Meroth.

Theſe two provinces are of a large extent, and ſurrounded with neighbouring princes of ſeveral diſtinct nations; and yet upon all occaſions of controverſy, they have conſtantly made head againſt them: For, over and above that they are mightily peopled, their inhabitants bold and warlike, and trained up from children to exerciſes of arms, the men neither wanted courage, nor the country proviſions. So that though Galilee falls ſhort of the country beyond Jordan, in the compaſs of ground, it is yet much ſuperior to it in ſtrength and value: For over and above the fertility of the ſoil, every ſpot of it is ſo improved that there's no ground loſt, whereas in that vaſt tract of land beyond Jordan, the greater part of it is dry and barren. Not but that in ſome particular places, as Peræa for one, the ſoil is better conditioned, and as well ſtored with excellent fruits as any other place. The length of this country lies from Machærus to Pella; the breadth from Philadelphia to Jordan; with Pella on the north, the river Jordan on the weſt, the land of the Moabites on the ſouth, and Arabia Silbonitis, Philadelphene, and Geraſa on the eaſt. Samaria is ſituate between Judæa and Galilee, beginning at a village called Ginæa, upon the plain, and extending to the toparchy of Acrabatane. The country is much of the nature with that of Judæa, mountainous and rich, excellent land, and eaſily tilled or managed. But the ſuperlative excellency of theſe two provinces is the incredible number of inhabitants. And to conclude, the boundary to them both is Annath, otherwiſe called the village of Borcæus.

The ſame village bounds Judæa likewiſe on the north, and the length of it runs from the ſouth ſide to a village upon the borders of Arabia, called Jardan; the breadth from the river Jordan to Joppa. In the middle of it ſtands Jeruſalem, which has been called the navel, or centre of the province. Judæa, in fine, wants nothing to make it as delicious as it is fruitful, and that by ſea too, (all the way to Ptolemais) as well as land. It is divided into eleven parts; Jeruſalem the firſt, as being the ſovereign head of all the reſt: The other ten are diſtributed into as many toparchies, Gophna, the ſecond, and ſo Acrabatane, Tamna, Lydda, Ammaus, Pella, Idumæa, Engadi, Herodion, and Jericho. The neighbouring countries are under the juriſdiction of Jamnia and Joppe; as Gamalitis, Gaulanitis, Batanæa, and Trachonitis, are compriſed in the kingdom of Agrippa, but excepted out of the parts firſt before ſpoken of. This country that is inhabited by the Syrians and the Jews promiſcuouſly, extends itſelf in breadth from Mount Libanus and the ſources of Jordan to the lake of Tiberias, and in length from the village of Arphas to Julias.

CHAP. III.

Veſpaſian *ſends* Placidus *with Relief to the* Sepphorites. Galilee *at the Mercy of Fire and Sword.* Titus *comes up to* Veſpaſian *at* Ptolemais *with a vaſt Army. The Order and Policy of the* Roman *Diſcipline. The* Roman *Way of Encamping. The Trumpet gives every Man his Orders. The* Roman *Way of Decamping. The Manner of giving the Word for a Battle. The* Roman *Way of Marching. The Extent of the* Roman *Empire.*

THE ſupplies that Veſpaſian ſent to the Sepphorites, being a thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, under the command of Placidus the tribune, were diſtributed after the drawing of them up in the great plain, into two diviſions. The horſe continued in the camp, and the foot were quartered within the walls for the ſecurity of the city, but not without daily excurſions up and down into the neighbourhood, which made Joſeph and his companions uneaſy enough, though without any act of hoſtility, either by aſſault or ſurpriſe.

Joſeph, for all this, put it to the puſh, and made a bold attempt upon the city, but finding that he himſelf, before his going off from the Galileans, had made the place as good as impregnable, he let fall his enterpriſe.

terpriſe. This practice however (out of a natural averſion the Romans have to treachery) made the war ten times fiercer, and the enemy much more outrageous than before. Galilee, in fine, was all covered with fire and blood, and not a creature but had their part in this calamity, and nothing left them to truſt to, but the towns that Joſeph himſelf had fortified.

Titus was by this time come up to Veſpaſian at Ptolemais with the troops he brought from Alexandria. And there he joined the fifteenth, the fifth, and the tenth legions, which were reputed the braveſt troops of the Empire. They were followed alſo with eighteen companies, and five more to them out of Ceſarea, with one troop of horſe; and five troops of Syrian horſe. Ten of theſe cohorts had a thouſand men each, and the reſt ſix hundred and thirteen foot, and ſix ſcore horſe, beſide a very conſiderable reinforcement of auxiliaries from the neighbour princes, as Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus, who ſent each two thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe: Malichus, the king of Arabia, five thouſand foot, moſt of them armed with bows and arrows, and a thouſand horſe. Theſe troops all together made up a body of ſixty thouſand horſe and foot, beſide the train of baggage and ſervants that followed the camp, who for experience, courage, military ſkill and application, (for the moſt part) fell not much ſhort of their maſters themſelves.

The policy and wiſdom of the Romans in this way of ordering their ſervants, can never be ſufficiently admired, for it makes them, at the ſame time, not only ſerviceable to private families, but to the commonwealth alſo in offices of war and government. And then, whoever conſiders the excellency of the Roman diſcipline and conduct in the matter of military order and execution, will find that fortune had the leaſt ſhare in the ſucceſs of their arms; and that they advanced themſelves to the command of the world, upon the foundations of their own honour and virtue. They were not then to learn the art of war, when they came to fall under the neceſſity of uſing it: But they made it their exerciſe and practice in times of peace, and handled their arms as naturally as if they had been born with them: So that peace or war was, in that reſpect, all alike to them, and they were ever in readineſs, without troubling their heads about times or ſeaſons. Their very trials of ſkill looked like real combats, and not a day paſſed but every man went thro' his exerciſes, which kept them both in diſpoſition and breath. By this means they were always in order, without feeling the inconveniencies either of fear or fatigue. Men that keep themſelves upon the guard of this habit and diſcipline, a looſe enemy is not able to deal with. But, as I was ſaying, as their exerciſes are effectually but combats, without drawing blood, ſo their fierceſt encounters are but bloody exerciſes. To ſecure themſelves from ſurpriſe, upon entering into an enemy's country, the firſt thing they do is to pitch and fortify their camp, not ſlightly or diſorderly, but with a regard to the condition of the place, levelling the ground where it was uneven, and the figure of it in the form of a quadrangle. In order to the diſpatch and execution of all this, they have their ſmiths, carpenters, pioneers, and other workmen for fortifications, to attend the army. The inner part of the camp is diſtributed into quarters or lodgments for the officers and ſoldiers: The outſide carries the reſemblance of a wall, where they raiſe turrets at an equal diſtance one from another, and in the intervals they have all ſorts of weapons to be uſed at a diſtance, as darts, arrows, ſtones, &c. and inſtruments or machines alſo for the caſting of them. This camp hath four large gates for horſe and man to paſs and repaſs at pleaſure, as there ſhall be occaſion. On the inſide of it are ſeveral ſtreets orderly diſpoſed, with lodgments in the middle for the head officers, and within them again a tent erected for the general, after the form of a little temple; a market-place, with ſhops and ſtandings for artificers and tradeſmen; courts of juſtice and tribunals, for the hearing of cauſes, as well military as civil: And taking it all together, it looks like a city of one night's growth, ſo wonderful is the diſpatch, where there are great maſters to direct, and many hands to execute. The ſoldiers have their arms always about them, and live in a military kind of brotherhood, orderly and peaceably one with another. As for their times of repaſt, they do not eat now and then by ſnaps, as every man pleaſes, but all together; and the trumpet directs them when to ſleep, when to riſe, when to ſet the watch, &c. So it is, in fine, that they do nothing but by rule and command. In the morning the ſoldiers wait upon their captains, the captains upon the tribunes, and then both captains and tribunes upon the general, from whom they receive the word or ſignal, and ſuch other orders to be communicated to their ſubordinates, as the occaſion requires, to the end that every man may be inſtructed in his duty, and how to behave himſelf upon action; how and when to ſally out, or to retreat, and to do all things in order. The trumpet tells them when they are to decamp, and then they take up their tents, pack up their baggage, and prepare to be gone. Upon the ſecond ſounding they load their carriages and their ſumpters, and ſtand ready to move, watching for the word of command, as people do for the ſignal at a horſe race when to ſtart; and at the ſame time ſetting fire to the camp, which may be eaſily repaired by throwing up another, beſide that the enemy ſhall make no benefit of it. Upon the third ſounding the army marches, and all poſſible care is taken to prevent ſtraggling, and to move every man in his rank.

On the right hand of the general ſtands the herald, who with a loud voice puts this queſtion twice over to the army; "Are "you ready for a battle?" The ſoldiers in a martial tone and action return him this anſwer as often over; "We are ready for "a battle." Nay, many times they prevent the very demand, by ſtretching forth their right hands, and other ſigns of joy and ſatisfaction, in hope of coming to that iſſue. After this, the army advances with as much manly gravity and compoſure as if it were in the face of an enemy.

The Footmen are armed with a headpiece, a breaſt-plate, and two ſwords, one on each ſide, the left much longer than the other, which is about the ſize of a dagger. The general's guards carry javelins and targets; and all the reſt pikes and long bucklers, a ſaw, a baſket, a pick-ax, a hatchet, a rein, a ſcythe, a chain, and bread for three days; ſo that the men carried little leſs burden than the beaſts. The horſemen wear long ſwords girt to their right ſides; they carry a lance in their hand, a buckler in a ſcarf hanging acroſs the horſe-ſide, a quiver with three darts or more in it, broad pointed, and about the length of a ſhort javelin; their helmets and breaſt-plates like thoſe of the foot. And for the cavaliers that attend the general, their arms are the very ſame with the reſt, only being choſen by lot, the troop that has the luck to be ſo pitched upon has a right of precedence.

It is death by the martial law for a ſoldier not only to deſert his ſtation, or betray his truſt, but for the very leaſt neglect of his duty. This is a terrible rigour, and yet the officers are ſtill more inexorable than the laws themſelves; for they make amends they think in the honours and rewards they confer upon men of merit for the cruelty of puniſhing criminals. And ſuch is the reverence they have for the authority of military order and diſcipline, that a Roman army is certainly the moſt glorious ſpectacle under the ſun, in a time of peace, and in a ſtate of war the moſt dreadful; for every individual of the whole army moves but as a member of the ſame body, and at the ſame time in ſuch a harmony of motion as if they were all governed by the ſame mind. When they come to an encounter, and that the battle is once reſolved upon, they never trouble their heads with the enemies numbers or conduct, the difficulties or danger of paſſes, nay, or with the malice of fortune itſelf, but break through all obſtacles,

cles, and make themſelves as good as ſure of the victory before they ſtrike a ſtroke. Now if their counſels and deliberations be governed altogether by political prudence and ſound advice, and followed with an anſwerable vigour of execution; what wonder is it to ſee the Roman empire miſtreſs of the univerſe, and ſtretching itſelf as far as the Euphrates on the eaſt, the Ocean on the weſt, the fruitful country of Africa on the ſouth, and the Rhine and Danube on the north! And yet, when all is ſaid, the dominion is ſtill too narrow for the great ſouls of the poſſeſſors of it.

CHAP. IV.

Placidus *breaks into* Galilee. *He aſſaults* Jotopata, *and is beaten off.*

WHILE Veſpaſian was with his ſon Titus at Ptolemais, he gave all neceſſary orders for the ſupply and government of the army; and in this interim Placidus made an inroad into Galilee, over-ran the whole country, took a world of priſoners, and put the greater part of them to the ſword. Now theſe were only a timorous, faint-hearted ſort of people; but the more daring part of the Galileans were obſerved to take ſanctuary ſtill in cities and other ſtrong holds that Joſeph had fortified, which when Placidus took notice of, he reſolved to ſet upon them by aſſault, and to begin with Jotapata, which was the moſt defenſible place they had, making no doubt at all of carrying it by ſurpriſe upon the firſt attack, beſide the reputation it would give him amongſt the reſt of the generals, and open the way to the taking of other places. For the very example of Jotapata, being the tougheſt piece in all Galilee, would probably draw the remainder after it. But Placidus was much miſtaken in his conjecture, for the inhabitants, being precautioned of his deſign, went out of the city to encounter him, and falling upon the Romans at unawares, they put them to the rout, but killed only ſeven of them, being well armed, and making an orderly retreat. Of the Jews there were only three ſlain, and ſome few wounded. Upon this repulſe, Placidus left the place.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Veſpaſian marches from Ptolemais into Galilee. The Order of his March. Joſeph's People deſert, upon Veſpaſian's Advance. Joſeph gives over the War, and withdraws to Tiberias.

VESPASIAN, being now reſolved upon an incurſion into Galilee, leaves Ptolemais, and gives the army their marching orders, according to the inſtitution of the Roman diſcipline; the auxiliaries being light-armed, and the bow-men advancing before the reſt to keep the enemy at a diſtance, and by ſcouting out into the woods, and other ſuſpected paſſages, for diſcovery of their ambuſhes, to prevent ſurpriſes. Theſe were followed with a party of Roman horſe and foot, and after them a detachment of ten men out of every company, with their arms and neceſſary proviſions for the forming of a camp. The next in courſe were the pioneers, to level and mend the ways, and cut down the trees and buſhes that incommoded them in their march. After theſe came the general's baggage, with that of his great officers, and a ſtrong party of horſe for their convoy. Veſpaſian himſelf marched next, with a ſelect body of horſe and foot, ſome troops of lances, and ſix ſcore of his own men, drawn out of ſo many ſquadrons. The engineers with their machines and inſtruments for battery and aſſault took their place next, and then followed the tribunes and other officers, with a choice body of troops about them. Next came the imperial eagle, at the head of all the reſt of the Roman enſigns, as the prince of the birds for authority and power, an emblem of government, and a good omen of ſucceſs in arms. After the ſacred enſigns followed the trumpets, and after the trumpets the body of the army, ſix in front, with the proper officers to keep them in rank and file, according to order and good diſcipline. The ſervants of every legion marched along with the infantry, and took care of the carriages and baggage. In the laſt place were the purveyors, and other mercenaries, for the ſervice of the army, under a convoy of horſe and foot.

In this order Veſpaſian advanced to the frontiers of Galilee, and there encamped with his ſoldiers about him, earneſtly preſſing for action.

The Jews fell into ſuch a conſternation with the very report of his coming, that Joſeph's people, who were then encamped near Sepphoris, abandoned their captain, without ſo much as a ſight of the enemy. Joſeph finding himſelf thus deſerted, gave over any farther thought of the war, and ſo withdrew to Tiberias.

CHAP. VI.

Veſpaſian *takes* Gadara *by Aſſault.* The Romans *put all to the Sword* Joſeph *puts it to the Council of* Jeruſalem, *whether to fight or treat.*

THE firſt place that Veſpaſian attacked was Gadara, and he carried it without any difficulty, for want of men in it to make a conſiderable defence. The Romans upon forcing the town put all to death without diſtinction, between hatred to the Jews, and revenge for the overthrow of Ceſtius. They ſet fire not only to the city itſelf, but to the little towns and villages about it, laying them utterly waſte, and making the inhabitants ſlaves.

Joſeph's retiring for ſanctuary put the Tiberians all to their wits end, to conſider, that if the caſe had not been deſperate, he would never have fled for it. And they were not miſtaken neither in their opinion; for Joſeph was by this time ſenſible that the Jews had no way to come off but by ſubmiſſion and repentance. As for his own part, he made no doubt of obtaining fair quarter from the Romans if he ſhould deſire it: But rather than betray his country and his truſt, he would ſuffer a thouſand deaths, without endeavouring to make a particular friend of a public enemy. He wrote, upon this, to the principal and leading men of Jeruſalem a naked ſtate of the caſe, without making the Romans either greater or leſs than in truth they were, for fear of puffing them up into inſolence upon the Jews for cowardice, one way; or provoking the Jews to be raſh and inconſiderate in the oſtentation of their power, another. Joſeph, in fine, remitted the matter to the council to conſider of, deſiring them either to ſend him word immediately if they had a mind to treat: Or, if they were reſolved to proſecute the war, they had no more to do, than to ſend him an army without delay to give battle to the Romans.

This was Joſeph's letter, which he ſent forthwith by an expreſs to Jeruſalem.

Jotapata was generally looked upon as the ſtrongeſt place in all Galilee, and Veſpaſian taking notice of it, and finding how the Jews in all their difficulties fled thither for ſanctuary, he reſolved the next thing he did to attempt the place, and ſo ſent horſe, foot, and pioneers acroſs the mountains to clear the ways, which were at that time craggy, and extreme difficult even for foot, but for horſe utterly impaſſable. Theſe pioneers, in four days, cut out a paſſage for the whole army to march without any trouble.

CHAP. VII.

The Siege of Jotapata. Veſpaſian *plies the Siege with all poſſible Vigour. The Manner of the Attack and Defence.* Joſeph's *Invention to keep off Stones and Fire. The* Romans *under a great Diſappointment.*

ON the fifth day, being the twenty firſt of the month Artemiſius, Joſeph ſlipt out of Tiberias, and conveyed himſelf into Jotapata: A deſerter preſently carried the news to Veſpaſian of Joſeph's being come into the town; adviſing him to make haſte and fall on; for Joſeph was now in a trap, and if he were but ſure once, the war with the Jews would quickly be at an end. Veſpaſian, upon this, commanded Placidus away with a thouſand horſe, and Æbutius along with him; giving them orders, without delay, to inveſt the city, and to look to Joſeph that he ſhould not make his eſcape.

Veſpaſian followed the next morning with the whole army, and got up to Jotapata in the afternoon: Where he drew up his army on the north-ſide of the city, about ſeven furlongs from the town; encamping upon a hill within view of the enemy, on purpoſe to ſtartle them with ſo dreadful a ſight. Veſpaſian ordered the begirting of the town with two great bodies, and a third troop of horſe to be poſted at a diſtance to cut off all communication with the place. When the Jews ſaw how they were cooped up, their very deſpair enflamed their courage.

The next morning the Romans began to batter the walls, and the Jews at firſt made a generous reſiſtance: But when Veſpaſian let looſe his bow-men and ſlingers upon them, and all other weapons of the ſame kind, to force them from the walls; and when he himſelf at the ſame time with a body of foot aſſaulted the wall upon a hill over againſt the other, which lay more expoſed to the danger of a battery; this put Joſeph into ſuch a fright for fear of the town, that he himſelf, at the head of the whole body of the Jews, fell outrageouſly upon the Romans; beat them from the walls, and followed the advantage with a deſperate reſolution. The fight was maintained all the day till night parted them. Of the Romans there were ſeveral wounded and thirteen ſlain: And a matter of ſix hundred of the Jews wounded, and ſeventeen killed upon the place.

The beſiegers fell on next day again; and in this encounter, they did both ſides out-do themſelves. They fought it out five days at this rate.

Jotapata ſtands upon a rock utterly inacceſſible; ſaving only upon one quarter: And it is encompaſſed on three ſides of it with ſuch precipices of ſteep and profound valleys, that it is enough to turn a man's brain to look down from top to bottom. There is no coming at it but upon the north, where part of the city is built upon the brow of the mountain: And that way it might be approached. But then Joſeph had cauſed this place to be fortified and taken into the town, to ſecure a mountain that overlooks and commands it: Which, with other mountains thereabout, kept the place ſo cloſe that there was no ſeeing of it till a body was juſt upon it.

Veſpaſian finding that he had the natural difficulties of the place, and the rugged ſurlineſs of the people to contend withal, reſolved to erect a huge terraſs on the weakeſt part of the town, and ſet his whole army at work to provide neceſſaries and materials for the raiſing of ſuch a mount: As vaſt quantities of ſtone and timber from the neighbouring mountains, with proviſions for hurdles to ſhelter the beſiegers againſt darts and ſhot from the town. Under the cover of thoſe defences, they advanced their deſign, though the weapons from above fell down as thick as hail upon them. As for the earth they made uſe of, they had it out of the neighbourhood; and ſo handed it from one to another: Inſomuch that, what with the vaſt number of hands to aſſiſt them, (for the whole army was engaged) and the attempt going on ſtill without intermiſſion, the work could not but advance exceedingly. The Jews in the mean while did all that was poſſible by darts and arrows from the walls, and by heavy ſtones upon their wattles, to divert them from their buſineſs: But all they were able to do, was only to make a noiſe and interrupt the proceeding, but no way to defeat or diſappoint it.

Veſpaſian had by this time ſixty engines, at work, caſting lances at the defendants, beſide larger machines to throw ſtones and javelins, artificial fires, arrows, &c. which were all managed by Arabians, and other maſters of that lanching faculty; and made not only the wall itſelf, but the whole ſpace alſo betwixt that and the terraſs, too hot for the defendants. This did not hinder the Jews yet from ſallying out upon the Romans, ſtripping them of all their defences, and ſetting fire to every thing about them that was combuſtible, and by this means undoing all they had done. Veſpaſian finding that there was no way to prevent it, but by filling up the intervals, that there might be no room for them paſs, he went that way to work; and joining his troops in a cloſe body, put a final end to their excurſions.

The mount being now brought up almoſt to height of the town-wall, Joſeph did not think it honourable to have more done, on the one ſide, to deſtroy the town, than on the other to defend it. So that he called the workmen together, and gave order for raiſing of the wall, and keeping it up ſtill above the height of the terraſs. But they excuſing themſelves upon the impoſſibility of advancing any work under all that ſhot; Joſeph bethought of a contrivance to fence both againſt ſtones and fire: Which was by driving ſeveral great ſtakes faſt into the ground; and ſtretching up ſo many raw hides againſt them: And theſe to be interpoſed betwixt the enemy and the bodies of the beſieged, the moiſture of the ſkins would reſiſt and damp the flame, and the yielding diſpoſition of them would ſhoot off the ſtones or lances with little or no impreſſion. Under the protection of this cover, the work-men followed it ſo hard day and night, without either fear or danger, that in a ſhort time they raiſed a wall of twenty cubits, and fortified it with turrets and ſtrong embattlements. The Romans looked upon themſelves by this time to be as good as maſters of the town; and it was therefore the greater ſurpriſe to meet with ſo confounding a policy, and ſo invincible an obſtinacy at the ſame time.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Veſpaſian *attempts by Starving, what he could not get by Force. He is diſappointed, and betakes himſelf to his Arms again.* Joſeph *propounds an Eſcape: The* Jews *beg of him to ſtand by them.* Joſeph *deliberates and enters into Action.* Veſpaſian *bids his Men give over the Aſſault. The invincible Courage and Reſolutiom of the* Jews.

THE Jews took ſuch heart upon this ſtratagem and the ſucceſs of it, that they paſſed not a day without incurſions, ſkirmiſhes, and all ſorts of violences, by fire, ſword and pillage. Veſpaſian was equally troubled at the diſgrace, and at the diſappointment, and thereſore gave over the aſſault, and contented himſelf to endeavour the ſtarving of the place inſtead of ſtorming it.

They had in this town corn, and all manner of neceſſaries in abundance, except ſalt and water. They had not ſo much as one fountain about the city, and only rain water for their common uſe, which, in that hot and dry country, was very ſcarce, eſpecially in ſummer; and this was their preſent caſe. Joſeph put the garriſon to allowance, to huſband the little water they had. This order for ſtinting their drink put the people out of all patience, and they began to be froward upon it, and would work no longer. This peeviſh humour of the Jews could not be well kept from the knowledge of the Romans, who were within diſtance of obſerving from another hill near hand there what paſſed among the Jews. The pit water being by this time well nigh ſpent, and Veſpaſian in an hourly expectancy of the town falling into his hands, Joſeph put this amuſement upon him: He cauſed a great many parcels of cloaths to be hung up dropping wet upon the battlements of the walls, within view of the Romans, wherein he gained his end of inducing them to believe that there could not be ſuch a ſcarcity of water in a place where they were ſo laviſh of it: Upon which Veſpaſian gave over all hope of carrying it by a ſiege, and ſo had recourſe once again to arms. The Jews, on the other ſide, were heartily glad of it, for they deſired nothing more than to exchange a ſtarving calamity, for an honourable death in the field. While Joſeph was beating his brains about ſome expedient, it came into his head, that on the weſt ſide of the town, there was a hollow gutter that lay quite out of the way. Joſeph propounded by this paſſage to get relief into the town, as water, &c. And to that end he wrote to ſome of the out lying Jews that lived toward that quarter, to ſend him from time to time what ſupplies he had occaſion for, together with expreſs inſtructions to cover the meſſengers with hair-ſkins, and then to have them creep upon all four; ſo that if the watch ſhould get any glimpſe of them, they might paſs for dogs, or ſome other four-footed animals. This way of intelligence went on for a while, but being diſcovered, the communication was cut off.

Joſeph ſaw by this time that it was a thing utterly impoſſible to defend the city, and that it would be certain death to him if he ſtaid, ſo that he himſelf and ſeveral great men met preſently in council upon it, and laid their heads together how to make an eſcape. The people had already a jealouſy of what they were about, and ſo came trooping to Joſeph in throngs, and begging him above all things in this world to take care of them, for they had no other friend to truſt to.

Joſeph gave them to underſtand, that it was more for their ſakes than his own that he had any thought of withdrawing; "for either you will be made priſoners," ſays he, "or you will not: And now take it which way you will. If the latter, what will you be the better for my ſtaying with you? If the other, what will you be the better for my dying with you? Whereas, if I were then at liberty, I might bring an army into the field out of Galilee time enough to raiſe the ſiege."

The people were ſo far from coming over to him upon this diſcourſe, that they came ſtill preſſing upon him with more and more importunity, begging of him not to forſake them in their diſtreſs.

Joſeph's heart was ſo far ſoftened toward theſe people, that he reſolved to ſtand it out with them, and bear his part in the common deſperation of the city, and at the ſame time putting himſelf at the head of the braveſt men he had, he charged the enemy's guards, beat them from their trenches, and puſhed them up to the very camp, one while tearing their ſkins to pieces that covered them in their works, another while ſetting fire to the works themſelves; and this they did time after time, for three or four days and nights together, with an inſuperable boldneſs, and an indefatigable labour.

When Veſpaſian found upon what terms they were, he commanded his troops to give over the attack, and not caſt away their lives againſt men that did but deſire to die, under the provocation of an incurable deſpair. Their rage, he ſaid, was but like a blaze that would go out of itſelf, if it wanted but matter to entertain it: Beſide, that the caſe of the Romans was quite a different thing from that of the Jews; the former fought only for dominion, the other for life and liberty; and the one had a great deal more need of victory than the other. But in the mean time the Arabian and the Syrian ſlingers, archers, engineers, &c. were all at work with their ſtones, arrows and lances: (And nothing, in fine, of that kind was idle, as the Jews found to their coſt.) But all this was ſo far from ſtaggering the Jews, that, on the clear contrary, they preſſed through all difficulties to ſingle out the Romans, body to body, and there fought it out, without quarter on either hand; and the living, on both ſides, ſtepping up to ſupply the place of them that were ſlain.

CHAP. IX.

A Deſcription of the battering Engine the Ram. The Manner of ordering it. A Contrivance to defeat the Force of it. The Jews *have Recourſe to Fire. A brave Action of one* Samæas. *Two glorious Heroes.* Veſpaſian *recieves a ſlight Wound on the Ancle. The ſtrange Force of Battery. A bloody Night, for the Loſs of brave Men. The* Jews *ſtand firm to the laſt.*

BETWIXT the length of the ſiege, and the perpetual excurſions of the beſieged, Veſpaſian was as good as beſieged himſelf: But having now carried up his works near the height of the walls, he ordered a battering ram to be brought up to the place of action. This ram is a machine of a prodigious bulk and ſize, like the maſt of a ſhip, fortified with a ſtrong piece of iron at the top of it, like the head of a ram, from whence, and from the manner of puſhing in the uſe of it, like the butting of that creature, it took the name. This engine is hung up by the middle, with great cables or ropes, well cramped together and ſtrongly ſupported. There it lies upon a poiſe, like the beam of a pair of ſcales: And as it hangs balancing thus in the air, it is moved back and forward by the force of many hands, and falls with ſuch a violence upon the place where it is to batter, that no wall is able to ſtand the continued repetitions of that attack.

The very firſt ſtroke of it put the people into an uproar, as if the town had been taken; and Joſeph finding that their battering ſtill in the ſame place would bring down the wall over their heads in a very ſhort time, ordered ſeveral ſacks of chaff to be provided, and let down by ropes from the battlements againſt the place where the engine played, and ſtill as the Romans chang'd their battery, the Jews encountered them with their ſacks, by which means they did generally either miſs their mark, or fail of the effect, till the Romans found out another way to defeat the contrivance. They got a proviſion of long poles, with ſharp iron hooks faſtened to the ends of them, like paring knives; and with theſe they immediately cut the ſtrings of the bags; and upon this diſappointment, the machine did its office again; and the wall being but newly repaired and not yet ſettled, could not poſſibly hold out any longer.

Joſeph and his companions had now nothing left them to truſt to but fire; ſo that getting together all the combuſtible matter that they could lay hands on, beſide pitch, ſulphur, and the like, they divided it ſeverally into three parcels, and ſet fire to the Roman machines, huts, and all materials that would take it, in three ſeveral places at the ſame time. The conflagration was ſo dreadful that it deſtroyed all in a moment that the Romans had been ſo long doing, and with ſo much labour and hazard.

There was one Samæas of Paab in Galilee, who took up a mighty ſtone, and caſt it down from the wall with ſo prodigious a force upon the machine, that he broke off the iron head of it: And then leaping down into the middle of his enemies, carried it off, without any apprehenſion of danger, to the foot of the wall, where he ſtood a while, unarmed as he was, a common mark for the enemy, till he had five arrows ſtuck in his body. In this condition he remounted the wall, where he ſtood for a ſhort time without any change either of countenance or behaviour, till at laſt he dropped down dead with the anguiſh of his wounds, and the head of the machine in his arms, which he would never quit to the laſt.

There were alſo two brothers, of Ruma in Galilee, Netiras and Philip, that were as brave as it was poſſible for men to be. They fell once upon the ſoldiers of the tenth legion, with ſuch an impetuous fury, that they broke into the Roman army, and drove all before them that made head againſt them: While Joſeph at the head of a troop of men, with firebrands, burned the machines, huts, and works of the fifth, and likewiſe of the tenth legion; and thoſe that followed made the ſame havock with what was left.

By the evening of the ſame day the Romans were at work with the ſame engine again, upon the ſame part of the wall that had been ſhattered before. Veſpaſian at the ſame time received a ſhot upon the ancle by an arrow out of the town, but it proved a ſlight wound however, for the arrow was ſpent. They that were within diſtance of ſeeing their general's blood, put the whole army into a fright. Veſpaſian however put them all quickly out of their pain, by ſhewing himſelf frankly, and making little or nothing of the diſaſter. So that the anxiety they laboured under before, for fear of a mortal calamity, was now turned only into the tranſport of an honourable revenge: Veſpaſian encouraging the ſoldiers, and they one another, to fall on and renew the aſſault, in defiance of all oppoſition. The enemies ſtones and arrows deſtroyed great numbers of the Jews; but Joſeph and his people made good the wall ſtill, and with fire, ſword, and other inſtruments of miſchief, galled the people that had the government of the battering engine.

The Jews, with all their bravery, advanced little yet, in regard that they were forced to fight in ſight of the enemy, and the fire they made uſe of againſt the Romans, gave the enemy light againſt themſelves. By the force of ſtones from the engines, the very battlements and the corners of the towers were broken down, and where they fell into a body they carried away whole files before them.

There was a friend of Joſeph that, as he was upon the walls of Jotapata with him, had his head ſtruck off with a ſtone from one of theſe engines, which was carried three furlongs from the place, as if it had been thrown out of a ſling. And another, coming acroſs a big-belly'd woman, carried the child within her half a furlong from the body. There was nothing wanting that ſorrowful night, in fine, that might ſtrike the eye or the ear with an inexpreſſible horror. There was a huge ſlaughter of brave men in that night's action, in a moſt heroical defence of the liberty of their country, which they maintained all night againſt the uttermoſt efforts of the enemy's machines, till break of day, and then the wall fell to pieces. But the Jews even in this diſmal extremity made the breach good yet, with their bodies and their arms, before the Romans could paſs their men over the ditch to the attack.

CHAP. X.

A bloody Conflict. The Romans *advance up to the Wall of* Jotapata *under Cover of their Bucklers. The* Jews *pour ſcalding Oil among them. The ſtrange Courage and Conſtancy of the* Romans. Veſpaſian *orders the Raiſing of his Platforms. The* Jews *are forced to quit the Breach.*

WHEN the Roman army had a little refreſhed themſelves next morning, after the fatigue of ſo ſevere a night, Veſpaſian put every thing in readineſs for an aſſault; taking care in the firſt place to keep the Jews from daring to ſhew themſelves in the breach. To this end, he diſmounted a party of the beſt horſe he had, armed them at all points, and ſo ranged them in three diviſions, with pikes in their hands, to make good the breach; and they themſelves, upon the advance of the bridges, to be the firſt to enter the town. Theſe horſe were to be ſeconded by a body of choice foot; and the remainder of the horſe to be diſtributed quite round the mountainous parts of the city, to make ſure that, upon the taking of it, no creature ſhould eſcape. The next in order, were the archers, with their bows and arrows, fixed and at hand; and ſo for the ſlingers and engineers. Others were employed with ladders to attempt the ſcaling of ſome parts of the wall that were entire, which was intended only for an amuſement, and to draw off aſſiſtance from other places that more needed it, and to force them by this diverſion to abandon the attack.

Joſeph was ſo well informed of the Romans purpoſe and deſigns, that he employed only men that were either over-wrought or ſuperannuated for the guard of thoſe parts of the wall that were ſound. But wherever there was the leaſt crack or flaw, not a man was made uſe of for that duty but of a tried integrity and courage: And he himſelf, with five more, at the head of them to receive the firſt ſhock of the enemy. As for their archers, the ſhields over their head were the beſt defence againſt their arrows: Or they might withdraw a little till they had emptied their quivers. But, ſays Joſeph, if they come once to lay over their bridges, there's nothing then to be thought of but fighting.

Upon the ſounding of their trumpets, the giving of the ſignal, and the military ſhout of the army, the very ſky was darkened with a cloud of arrows. Joſeph's companions ſtopt their ears againſt the clamours, and covered themſelves with their ſhields againſt their ſhot. But upon the leaſt advance of the bridges, they flew upon the Romans like lightning, to put a ſtop to the deſign; and as faſt as the Romans endeavoured to mount the bridge, the Jews violently puſhed them down again, with ſignal inſtances of both their ſkill and courage. The Romans preſſing as cloſe together as one could ſtand to another, threw their long bucklers over their

their backs; and making an impenetrable figure, they drove the Jews before them; as if the ſtrength of the whole army had been united into one entire body: And ſo advanced up to the very wall.

In this diſtreſs, Joſeph reſolved upon a trial of this experiment. The Jews having a great deal of oil, Joſeph ordered the boiling a conſiderable quantity of it, and ſo to caſt it down ſcalding hot upon the ſoldiers under the wall, together with the very pots and veſſels it was boiled in. This was done accordingly, and paſſing between the bucklers, and over the bodies of the Romans, it utterly broke their order, and deſtroyed the men, by forcing them down from the wall in their extreme miſery: For the oil flowing under their arms from head to foot, and ſo all over the body, conſumed the fleſh like fire itſelf; being naturally apt to take heat, and long cooling. And then their armour being braced and buckled to their bodies, there was no getting clear of the torment: Some of them leaping and ſpringing in their pains, others drawn double, and all falling from the bridge down to the ground. And for thoſe that attempted to get off to their own people, they were eaſily maſtered by the Jews at their backs. In the whole courſe of theſe calamitous circumſtances, there was no failing either of courage in the Romans, or of prudence in the Jews. For the Romans, notwithſtanding the miſery they endured by the ſcalding oil, had the heart yet to preſs upon thoſe that poured it among them, and not without a competition who ſhould be foremoſt. The Jews after this put another check to the progreſs of the Romans, by caſting boiled fenugreek upon the boards of the bridge, which made them ſo ſlippery that the Romans could not keep their feet upon them: ſo that they could neither fight nor fly. Some fell at their length upon the floor of the bridge, where they were trampled upon by their own people: Others fell lower, where they lay at the mercy of the Jews ſhot. Veſpaſian found his people ſo harraſſed out by this way of fighting, that toward evening he called them off, having loſt ſeveral men, and more wounded. Of Jotopata there were only ſix men ſlain, and upwards of three hundred hurt. This action paſſed the twentieth of the month Deſius.

Veſpaſian was ſo ſenſible of the miſcarriage of this aſſault, that he ordered the raiſing of his platforms, and the erecting of three wooden towers upon them, each fifty feet high, covered all over with iron to keep them ſteady with the weight, and make them proof againſt fire. In theſe turrets were the choiceſt of his markſmen and engineers, with their machines, inſtruments, and arms. The people in them had this this advantage of the beſieged, that they were out of ſight and reach of the others: Whereas thoſe upon the wall were eaſily ſeen and wounded from the turrets. So that the Jews being neither able to avoid the arrows from above, nor ſo much as to ſee who hurt them, quitted the breach; but ſtill they always made a vigorous and brave reſiſtance againſt thoſe that ſought to enter.

CHAP. XI.

Trajan *ſent to reduce* Japha. *The People meet him on the Way to give him Battle. The* Jews *put to Flight, and driven into the firſt Encloſure. The Miſery of thoſe that were coopt up there. A prodigious Slaughter.* Trajan *deſires* Veſpaſian *to ſend* Titus *to the Finiſhing of the Work.* Titus *brings his Troops to* Japha. *The* Romans *mount the Walls, and enter the Town. A bloody Street-fight of ſix Hours. Not a Creature ſpared but Women and Children.*

VESPASIAN being given to underſtand that Japha, a neighbouring city to Jotapata, was grumbling toward a revolt, he ſent Trajan the commander of the tenth legion, with two thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe to reduce them. But he was encountered upon the way, by the inhabitants of the place, in a poſture to give him battle. The bodies joined; and after a ſlight reſiſtance Trajan put them to flight, and purſued them ſo cloſe upon the heel to the firſt wall, that they entered the firſt gate with them; but upon preſſing up to the ſecond wall, the townſmen ſhut the gate there, not ſuffering their friends to enter in, leſt the enemies alſo ſhould ruſh in with them, as they had done at the other. Truly God gave this victory unto the Romans, and his will it was that moſt of the valiant men of the city ſhould have their own gates ſhut upon them, and ſo fall into their enemies hands, who were moſt greedy to deſtroy them. Many of them came to the gates, and called thoſe that kept them by their names, pitifully intreating that they might come in: Who while they were kept out, were butchered like ſheep, being incloſed between two walls; their own citizens having ſhut one gate upon them, and the Romans the other; and of thoſe that were cooped up in this manner, ſome laid violent hands upon themſelves, others fell by the ſwords of their companions, and an infinite number by the hands of the Romans, having no courage to reſiſt and revenge themſelves: For the inhumanity of their own citizens, and terror of their enemies together, utterly diſcouraged them; and ſo they died all, in number twelve thouſand, curſing not the Romans, but the Jews their own countrymen. Trajan gave it now for granted that their martial men were in a manner all cut off; and ſo ſent away preſently to deſire Veſpaſian that his ſon Titus might have the honour of finiſhing the work. Titus was diſpatched away accordingly, with an enforcement of five hundred horſe and a thouſand foot, which he divided immediately upon his arrival, into two attacks: That on the left hand he gave Trajan, and the right hand diviſion he commanded himſelf.

The firſt thing that the Romans did, after this, was to plant ſcaling ladders, and then to mount the wall upon all quarters at the ſame time. The Galileans made ſome faint reſiſtance for a while, but ſoon quitting the wall, Titus and his followers preſently leaped down after them, got into the city, and began a vehement fight with them that were aſſembled therein, ſome valiantly iſſuing out of the narrow ſtreets, and aſſaulting them, and the women caſting ſuch things as they could get upon the Romans from the tops of the houſes. Thus they held battle for ſix hours; and in the end not a male was left alive but infants, who were carried away captives with the women. The number of the ſlain in the city and in the firſt encounter, was fifteen thouſand, and the number of thoſe that were led away into captivity two thouſand one hundred and thirty. This maſſacre happened on the twentieth of the month Deſius.

CHAP. XII.

The Samaritans *upon Mount* Garizim *meditating a Revolt.* Veſpaſian *ſends* Cerealis *to take Care of it. An Indemnity offered by* Cerealis, *and rejected. The People put to Death every Man of them.*

THE Samaritans had their meeting upon Mount Garizim, (the holy mountain, as they counted it,) and there they waited in their places for the event of things: But in the mean time the very air of the aſſembly, and the manner of their behaviour was menacing and unquiet, and gave to underſtand what they would be at. For they were never the wiſer for example and experience; but without conſidering either their own weakneſs, or the mighty power of the Romans, they were at that time running headlong into a rebellion; but Veſpaſian took an early care to prevent the miſchief, for though the whole province of Samaria was in a manner beſet with garriſons, he was not yet without ſome apprehenſion of what ſuch a multitude of people, and ſuch a conſpiracy of ill affections might produce; ſo that for fear of the worſt he ſent away Cerealis, a tribune of the fifth legion, with ſix hundred horſe and three thouſand foot, to take care of the public.

When Cerealis found the Samaritans gathered together there in ſo vaſt a body, he did not think fit to attack them upon that poſt, but rather entrench himſelf round about them at the foot of the mountain, where for that day they were as good as beſieged. It being now in the height of ſummer, the Samaritans were in great want of water, inſomuch that there died ſome of them daily of a parching drought; others went over to the Romans. Cerealis being informed that they that ſtaid behind were as much out of heart as their fellows, he advanced up to the mountain; and drawing out round the enemy, did not only offer them life and liberty, upon condition of laying down their arms, but beſought them with all the courteſy imaginable to accept of the indemnity that was offered, upon an aſſurance that it ſhould be made good. But they were not to be prevailed upon, and ſo they were all put to the ſword, to the number of eleven thouſand ſix hundred perſons. There eſcaped not ſo much as one man of them: And this happened the twenty ſeventh of the month Deſius.

CHAP. XIII.

The Romans *Works are now finiſh'd. A Deſerter gives* Veſpaſian *Intelligence of the State of the Town: With Advice to fall on about Break of Day.* Veſpaſian *conſiders of it, takes his Time, and carries it. The Particulars of the Action. A baſe and treacherous Murder. Forty thouſand Men killed in the Siege; the City ras'd, and the Caſtles burnt.*

THE people of Jotapata held out a long time, and ſtood firm againſt all extremities. But upon the forty ſeventh day, when the Romans had carried up their works to over-top the walls, Veſpaſian had an account brought him by a deſerter, that what with the loſs of men, watching, and hard duty, the garriſon was ſo weakened, that with one ſharp aſſault more, the Romans might certainly carry the place, or, which would be the eaſier way, it was but taking the right opportunity to ſurpriſe them about break of day, when he might be ſure to find the guard ſo drowſy and tired, that he could hardly fail of carrying his point.

Veſpaſian was ſo well acquainted with the obſtinate fidelity of the Jews, that he gave little or no credit to this fugitive. But the thing not being very unlikely, Veſpaſian thought with himſelf that it might yet poſſibly be true: Or, at the worſt, that he ſhould run no riſque at all in ſeeming to believe it. Upon this conſideration, he ordered the informer to be taken into cuſtody, and every thing to be made ready for the aſſault.

At the hour aſſigned the army made a ſilent march up to the walls: Titus at the head of it, with Domitius Sabinas, and ſome picked men out of the fifteenth legion. They killed the centinels, cut the throats of the guards, entered the city, and after them followed Sextus Cerealis the tribune, and Placidus, with the troops under their command. The Romans were now in poſſeſſion of the fort, maſters of the town, broad day-light, and yet the garriſon ſo ſpent and mop'd with labour and over-watching, that to this inſtant they did not ſo much as know the town was taken. Nay, thoſe that were awake were almoſt as much to ſeek too as the reſt: For there fell ſuch a miſt in that very inſtant, that either they ſaw nothing at all, or they did not know what they ſaw. This fog continued till the whole army were entered the place: The people never waking till death was at their door, and that they perceived their calamity and deſtruction.

Thoſe of the guard that took the firſt notice of the town's being loſt, got into a certain turret toward the north, where they were aſſaulted, and for a while made it good; but being overborn with numbers, they offered to treat, and finding no terms would be allowed them, they were cut to pieces upon the place, and fell like men of honour. This action cloſed the ſiege; and the day had paſſed without one drop of Roman blood ſpilt, if it had not been for the death of Anthony a centurion, who was baſely and treacherouſly killed. There were ſeveral of the Jews that fled into caves, and one of them called out to Anthony for quarter, and his right hand upon it, as an obligation of honour for the performance of the condition. Anthony unwarily ſtretching forth his right hand for the Jew's ſatisfaction, he ſtabbed him into the groin with a dagger, and ſo deſtroyed him.

The Romans killed all they met that day, without ſparing ſo much as one man: And for ſome days following they ſearched all the hiding places, vaults and cellars they could hear of, for fugitives, putting all to death they could lay hands on, ſaving only women and children. There were twelve hundred priſoners taken, and forty thouſand men ſlain, from the beginning to the end of the ſiege. Veſpaſian ordered the city to be raſed, and the caſtles to be burned. Jotapata was taken the firſt of the month Panemus, in the thirteenth year of Nero.

CHAP. XIV.

Joſeph *hides himſelf in a Cave. He is betrayed by a Woman.* Joſeph's *Dreams of the ſlaughter of the* Jews. *He delivers himſelf to the* Romans. Joſeph *foretels the Succeſſion of* Veſpaſian *and* Titus. Veſpaſian *goes to* Ceſarea.

THE Romans were every where hunting up and down for Joſeph; but it was his good hap, upon the taking of the town, to make his eſcape through the middle of his enemies, and to get at laſt into an old deep pit, with a paſſage that led out of it into a large cavern, which was not to be diſcerned from above. In this cave, Joſeph found forty eminent perſons under his own circumſtances, with proviſions about them for ſeveral days. Now the enemy being maſter of the whole country thereabouts, Joſeph was forced to keep cloſe in the day time, but went abroad ſtill in the night to obſerve the enemy's guards, and ſee what poſſibility of making an eſcape.

The watches were ſo ſtrict and vigilent, that there was no getting away. Upon this he went back again to his retreat, and there lay ſtill a while. On the third day after this, he was betrayed by a woman that was taken up; and Veſpaſian immediately upon this diſcovery ſent two tribunes to him, Paulinus and Gallicanus, to invite him out of his hole, with an aſſurance, upon the general's word and honour, that he ſhould be fairly treated. Joſeph being conſcious to himſelf of the miſchief he had done them, had more reaſon he thought to expect a revenge than a favour, and ſo excuſed himſelf from complying with the propoſal. Veſpaſian, after this, ſent him a third tribune, one Nicanor, Joſeph's old friend and acquaintance. This Nicanor treated Joſeph at large upon the generous humanity of the victorious Romans towards thoſe they have ſubdued: Aſſuring him moreover that they were ſo far from bearing him any ill-will for the hurt he had done them, by the bravery and conduct of a gallant man, that, on the contrary, they had a high eſteem of him for his virtues. Nicanor preſſed Joſeph to a compliance, with inſtances more and more: The rage and menaces of the ſoldiers ſtill encreaſing with the number. This brought to Joſeph's mind certain dreams he had, wherein God had revealed to him the miſerable calamities that were to betide the Jews, and the proſperity and greatneſs of the Romans. And as he ſeriouſly reflected on theſe viſions, he at length ſubmitted to accept of life by ſurrendering himſelf up to the Romans.

Joſeph had no ſooner given himſelf up to Nicanor, but all his companions in the cave came ruffling up to him with clamorous invectives and exclamations. "Can "Joſeph," ſaid they, "be ſo fond of life, "as ever to think of looking the ſun in the "face, and ſee himſelf a ſlave. You were "certainly very much miſtaken," they cried, "in the meaſures you took of true "wiſdom and courage, either if you could "hope for quarter where you have ſo little "deſerved it, or if you can accept of life "upon diſhonourable terms. But however "the fortune of Rome may fright you in"to a forgetfulneſs of yourſelf, it ſhall ne"ver make us depart from the duty we owe "to the good of our nation: And we have "yet hearts and ſwords ready to ſtand by "you in that quarrel. Or if you are other"wiſe reſolved, you have it now at your "choice, whether you will die a general of "the Jews, or the death of a coward and a "traitor. Fall upon your own ſword, and "you do the former; or leave it to us, and "it will be the latter: For the work is to "be done however."

The words were no ſooner out, but they all drew upon him, and threatened to kill him that inſtant, if he ſubmitted to the Romans. Joſeph had ſo ſcrupulous a fear upon him leſt he ſhould be taken off before he could acquit himſelf of what he had in charge from Almighty God to communicate to the nation of the Jews, that he entered into a reaſoning of the caſe with them, and the purport of his ſpeech was to diſſuade them, by all the arguments he could think of, from laying violent hands upon themſelves.

But he found them deaf to all ſober counſels, as men abſolutely devoted to deſtruction, and in ſuch a tranſport of rage, that they preſſed upon him with their ſwords drawn one after another, and with menacing words and actions, accompanied with the vileſt reproaches in nature. In this extremity, Joſeph managed with all the ſkill imaginable, treating them one while in the ſtile and character of his commiſſion, (as authority carries a kind of reverence with it:) Diſcourſing one man by his name, taking another by the hand, ſoliciting a third, reaſoning with another: So that in the concluſion, by a prudent application to the variety of humours, he diverted the blow.

But Joſeph caſting himſelf upon the providence of the Almighty, determined at laſt to put his life to the hazard. "Well," ſays he, "ſince death is the thing you are " reſolved upon, what have we more to do " now, than to caſt lots one after another " for our lives, and he ſtill upon whom the " lot falls, to be killed by the next man, " and ſo every man to take his fortune round " after this method. This will prevent " the ſelf-murder; for it would be unreaſonable, when part of us are dead, that " any of the reſt ſhould repent and eſcape." They were all pleaſed with the equity of the expedient: And ſo according to the propoſal they caſt lots, and the perſons upon whom they fell were ſucceſſively put to death by the next men: Not doubting but it would come to the general's turn at laſt.

It came to this at laſt, (whether by fortune or by providence) that there was only Joſeph and one more remaining of the whole number. Hereupon Joſeph entered into this deliberation. "If we caſt lots once again," ſays he, "either my friend muſt " kill me, or I muſt kill him, and dip my " hands in the blood of my countryman." So that Joſeph, in this difficulty, prevailed with his companion to ſubmit to live, upon his engagement for his ſecurity.

When Joſeph was now delivered out of all his troubles, as well from the Romans as from his own people, he gave himſelf up to Nicanor, who conducted him to Veſpaſian. There was a prodigious preſs of people gotten together to ſee him, and a ſtrange confuſion of humours. Some were overjoyed that he was taken; others threatening him: Some crowding to get nearer him; and others, at a diſtance, crying out for juſtice upon him as a public enemy.

Veſpaſian, as if he intended to ſend him to Nero, ordered Joſeph to be kept in cloſe cuſtody, who thereupon deſired a word in private with him. Veſpaſian, upon this intimation, cleared the Room of all but himſelf, Titus, and two friends, and then gave him his audience. Joſeph delivered himſelf in terms to this effect. "Sir," ſays he, " you have now in your hands, Joſeph, a " priſoner, and your preſent thought perhaps looks no farther: But I am here a " meſſenger ſent by God himſelf, about a " matter that much more concerns you. " And if it had not been for this commiſſion, I could not have been here at preſent, " contrary to the duty of a Jewiſh general, " alive, in the hands of an enemy. But " what am I to be ſent to Nero for, when " Veſpaſian himſelf is ſo near the empire that I can hardly diſtinguiſh between " Veſpaſian and the emperor, or Ceſar? " Beſide that his ſon Titus is to come after " him. Keep me as cloſe as you pleaſe, " provided I may be Veſpaſian's priſoner; " who is not only my maſter, but in effect " the lord of the univerſe. This is the " truth of what I have in charge to deliver: " And whenever I ſhall be found ſo ſacrilegious an impoſtor as to make uſe of " God's name to a cheat, make an example of me."

This diſcourſe of Joſeph's looked ſo like an invention to ſave himſelf, that Veſpaſian did not ſeem to give much heed to it at firſt; till upon laying together certain impulſes that he had himſelf, with other tokens and predictions looking the ſame way: And then comparing this ſtory with Joſeph's exactneſs in other caſes, he came by Degrees to give entire credit to the preſage. A friend and confident of Veſpaſian's (one of the two above-mentioned) expoſtulated with Joſeph about the credibility of what he had declared. "If you are ſo good at divining," ſays he, "how came you to know nothing " of the deſtruction of Jotapata, and of " your own impriſonment, which would " have ſaved you a great deal of trouble." " Well!" ſays Joſeph, "I foretold the inhabitants very particularly what was to " befal the town and myſelf; that the former was to be deſtroyed upon the forty " ſeventh day, and that I myſelf was to be " taken priſoner by the Romans." Veſpaſian cauſed a ſtrict enquiry to be made, in private, of the truth of this relation, which he found verified by the priſoners.

On the fourth of the month Panemus, Veſpaſian returned to Ptolemais, and thence went to Ceſarea on the ſea coaſt, which is the faireſt city of Judæa. The greater part of the inhabitants were Greeks; ſo that Veſpaſian and his army were welcome upon a double account, partly out of the love they had for the Romans, and partly out of the averſion they had for the Jews. He looked upon it as a commodious winter quarter, and ſo lodged two legions in it, ſending the tenth and the fifth legions to Scythopolis, out of a tenderneſs not to overcharge Ceſarea. This town is ſituate upon a plain near the ſea, extremely hot in ſummer, and temperate in the winter.

CHAP. XV.

Joppe a Den of Thieves and Mutineers. Veſpaſian takes the Town by Surpriſe. The Inhabitants put themſelves aboard their Shipping. The Deſcription of Joppe. A furious Storm.

THERE was now a huge multitude of people got together, partly revolters from the Romans, and partly fugitives out of ſome conquered cities of the Jews. This rabble was at work upon the rebuilding of Joppe, which Ceſtius had demoliſhed; and for want of ſubſiſtence in the country, which he had laid waſte, they reſolved to try their fortunes at ſea, and put out with a fleet of privateers, ſcouring Syria, Phœnicia, and the coaſts of Egypt, pillaging all traders in thoſe ſeas, and wholly obſtructing the commerce. Veſpaſian ſent a body of horſe and foot to Joppe, which being looſely guarded, they entered the town in the night with much eaſe. The inhabitants were ſo diſordered upon this ſurpriſe, that, without daring to attempt any thing upon the Romans, they went all aboard their ſhips in a hurry, and lay that night off at ſea, ſomewhat more than a flight-ſhot from the town.

As to the deſcription of the place, it is a ſea-town without any manner of port, the ſhore ſteep and craggy, with two pointed rocks, one on each ſide, ſtretching out a good way into the ſea, and a little bending, in the form of a half-moon, which makes a very tempeſtuous ſea there in foul weather. Here are the marks ſtill to be ſeen of Andromeda's chains, for the credit of the old fable. A croſs wind upon that quarter daſhes the waves againſt the rocks in ſo violent a manner, that nothing can be more hideous or dangerous.

While the men of Joppe were riding in this ſtation, there aroſe by break of day a furious ſtorm, which is known to the people of the place by the name of the Black-North. This wind battered their veſſels to pieces, ſome againſt one another, others againſt the rocks; and there were great numbers of them, that labouring againſt the tide to put out to ſea, were overturned and ſwallowed up. So that their choice was certain death, either to fly or ſtay: The one for the rocks, the other for the enemy. This was their condition, betwixt the winds at ſea, and the Romans aſhore. They reckoned, in fine, upon four thouſand two hundred bodies caſt up with the tide.

The Romans being now maſters of Joppe without a ſtroke, ras'd it to the ground: And this was the ſecond taking of it by them in a very ſhort time. But Veſpaſian, for fear it might come to be a neſt of pirates yet once again, fortified the caſtle, and put into it a foot garriſon ſufficient to maintain it; leaving there alſo a conſiderable body of horſe, to ſcour, burn, and lay waſte all the towns, villages, and country thereabouts; which orders day after day were executed accordingly.

CHAP. XVI.

Agrippa *treats* Veſpaſian *and his Army twenty Days at* Ceſarea Philippi. *News of* Tiberias *and* Tarichee, *that the one is wavering, and the other revolted.* Veſpaſian *makes ſeveral motions with his Army.*

KING Agrippa having invited Veſpaſian to paſs away a little time with him in his country, and to bring his army along with him, the general embraced the motion, and marched from Ceſarea upon the ſea-coaſt to Ceſarea Philippi, where he ſtaid twenty days refreſhing himſelf and his troops. Veſpaſian was there given to underſtand that Tiberias was at that time wavering, and Tarichee already revolted. Both theſe places were dependencies upon the kingdom of Agrippa, and Veſpaſian thought he could not have a fairer opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Agrippa, than by reducing thoſe people to their allegiance; ſo he ſent away his ſon Titus for the troops that were quartered at Ceſarea to bring them to Scythopolis. Veſpaſian got thither firſt, and there ſtaid for his ſon: Advancing afterwards with three legions within thirty furlongs of Tiberias, and there encamped at a place called Ennabris, within ſight of the rebels. From thence he ordered out Valerian, a captain, with fifty horſe, to try what might be done with fair words toward the bringing of them to their duty. When Valerian was come up almoſt to the town, he alighted from his horſe, and commanded his companions to do the like, that there might be no colour of any jealouſy ſy of an ill intention. The faction, under the command of Jeſus the ſon of Tobias, a captain of a band of rovers, fell furiouſly upon Valerian and his people, without giving them time for ſo much as one word. Valerian was not a little ſtartled, but durſt not ſtrike a ſtroke contrary to his general's order. Valerian, in fine, and five of his men, made their eſcape on foot, being forced to leave their horſes behind them, which Jeſus and his crew carried off in triumph into the town, as the trophies of a victory rather than a ſcandalous booty.

The baſeneſs of this action put the ſenſible men of the town into ſuch an apprehenſion for fear of a revenge, that they went preſently out to the Roman camp, and caſt themſelves at Veſpaſian's feet for mercy and pardon; and Veſpaſian, for Agrippa's ſake, and upon his mediation, granted their requeſt. As ſoon as this act of grace was paſſed, Jeſus and that faction found that Tiberias would be quickly too hot for them, and ſo they ſlipt away to Tarichee.

Veſpaſian ſent Trajan the day following with a party of horſe to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and to ſound the common people, and upon finding that they were well diſpoſed, Veſpaſian marched up to the city with his whole army, the citizens opening their gates to bid him welcome: But the gates being too narrow for the troops to march at liberty, Veſpaſian cauſed a part of the ſouth wall to be beaten down to widen the paſſage; but with a command, upon the uttermoſt penalty, not to offer any ſort of violence whatſoever to the people.

CHAP. XVII.

Veſpaſian *encamps betwixt* Tiberias *and* Tarichee. Tarichee *a Nurſery of ſeditious People. The Strength and Situation of the Place. The Faction breaks in upon the* Roman *Pioneers. The* Romans *purſue the* Jews *up to their Shipping. A vaſt Number of* Jews *in a Body; and* Titus *ſent out for Diſcovery. The Defeat of the* Jews.

FROM Tiberias, Veſpaſian went and encamped between that and Tarichee, where he fortified his camp with a wall, upon an opinion that the taking of that place would be a work of time; for it was wonderfully ſtrong both by art and nature, and beſide that it was fortified by the lake of Genezareth, it was looked upon as the receptacle of all the deſperate turbulent people of the faction.

While the Romans were fortifyiug and intrenching, Jeſus and his fellows made a furious attack upon them, ſcattered the pioneers, and overthrew a good part of their works, without any dread either of the Roman diſcipline, or of their numbers. But upon the Romans advancing toward them in a groſs body, they got off to their party without any damage. The Romans purſued them to the lake, where they caſt themſelves a-board their veſſels, of which they had great ſtore provided there, to the end that if they were overcome by land they might fly by water; and when they were gotten out of the reach of the Romans darts and arrows, they came to an anchor: And there they lay ranged in as good order of battle againſt their enemies aſhore, as if they had been drawn up in form for a combat.

While this was doing Veſpaſian had an account brought him of a great body of Jews gathered together on the next plain: And thereupon ſent out his ſon with a detachment of ſix hundred choice horſe for diſcovery. Titus marched, and finding himſelf mightily over-numbered, he gave his father notice of it. This vaſt multitude ſtagger'd ſeveral of the party; but Titus finding the greater part of his people chearful and hearty, encouraged them to the combat, by putting them in mind, that though the Jews were bold and furious, yet that they obſerved no order, whereas the Romans were inured to the ſtricteſt diſcipline; that the Jews fought for liberty, but the Romans for glory; and that the character of his father, himſelf, and his fellow ſoldiers, was now brought in queſtion, and therefore he did not doubt but they would exert themſelves with their uſual vigour and reſolution.

The ſoldiers were ſo elevated upon this diſcourſe, that it looked as if they had been inſpired with quite another ſoul. Only Trajan's coming up with four hundred horſe before the battle, put them a little out of humour, to think of having partners in the glory of the day. Veſpaſian at the ſame time ſent Antonius Silo, with two thouſand archers, to take poſſeſſion of a mountain over-againſt the town, and to beat the defendants from the wall, which was performed accordingly. Titus that had a mind to be thought ſtronger than he was, drew up his army in a line to anſwer the front of the enemy; and was the firſt man himſelf that charged in upon their body, his men following him with exultations and outcries. The Jews at firſt made ſome faint reſiſtance, till they were beaten down, and trampled upon by the horſe, and ſo diſperſed, ſhifting away into the city the beſt they could; and a great many killed upon the place.

There happened at this time a terrible faction in the city, between the natives and the ſtrangers: The former were troubled both for their own ſakes and for the city's. They were againſt the war, they ſaid, but yet their greateſt quarrel was to the ſucceſs. But the ſtrangers that were very violent and numerous, broke out into clamours and outrages, as if they were already at daggers-drawing. They were ſo loud in the city, and Titus ſo near the wall, that he was within hearing of them.

Upon this he mounted his horſe, and rode into the lake, and ſo paſſed into the city, and all the ſoldiers followed him. They that defended the walls were ſtruck with ſuch an aſtoniſhment at the hardineſs of the enterpriſe that not a man had the heart either to oppoſe his perſon, or to obſtruct his paſſage. Jeſus and his companions made off ſeveral ways: The ſtrangers that could not get off with Jeſus made ſome reſiſtance; but the natives none at all, in hope that the Romans would conſider them as forced into the war, contrary to their judgment and inclination.

As ſoon as Titus had deſtroyed the faction, he gave quarters to the natives. The town being now taken, thoſe upon the lake withdrew as faſt as they could. The next thing Titus did was the clapping of a ſtrict guard round about the city, and ſetting a watch upon all the avenues to prevent eſcapes. The day following he went to the lake, and ordered veſſels to be built, and ſent out in purſuit of thoſe who had got off that way. Theſe boats were quickly put together, for they had workmen and materials in abundance at hand.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Quality and Deſcription of the Lake of Genezareth. *The River* Jordan; *with the Head and Courſe of it.* Genezareth *famous for Fruits and Plants. The Fountain of* Capernaum.

THE lake of Genezareth is ſo called from the country about it. The breadth of it is forty furlongs, a hundred in length, and the water ſweet and potable, without any thing of mooriſhneſs, either in taſte or colour. It lies upon a gravel, and ſo more conveniently to be drawn, and gentler than either a river or a fountain water. And with all this, it is ſo cold that the people of the place cannot warm it by ſetting it in the ſun in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year. It hath in it great variety of fiſh, which for taſte and ſhape, are not to be found any where elſe. The River Jordan runs through the middle of it: The * head of this river has been thought to be Panion; but, in truth, it paſſes hither under ground, and the ſource of it is Phiala, a hundred and twenty furlongs from Ceſarea, a little on the right hand, and not much out of the way to Trachonis. It is called Phiala, from the round figure of it, and the water in it ſtands always at a ſtay; the baſon brim-full, without either ſhrinking or overflowing. The firſt diſcovery of this ſecret was from Philip the tetrarch of Trachonis, by caſting ſtraws in Phiala, that came out again at Panion, which till that time was taken for the head of the Jordan. This Panion is naturally lovely by ſituation, but moſt magnificently beautified and enriched by the royal bounty of Agrippa. This river, in fine, that ſeems to take its original from this receſs, croſſes the bogs and fens of the lake Semechonitis, and after a courſe of a hundred and twenty furlongs further, paſſes under the city of Julias, and ſo over the lake of Genezareth a great way into the deſert, till it empties itſelf into the lake of Aſphaltitis.

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* Others make this River to have two Heads, the one called *Jor*, and the other *Dan*.

This lake takes the name of Genezareth from the country that ſurrounds it, which is fruitful and agreeable to admiration. As to the fertility of the ſoil, no plant comes amiſs to it; beſide that it is improved by the ſkill and induſtry of the inhabitants to the higheſt degree, and by a ſtrange felicity of the climate, every thing proſpers there; as nuts, palms, figs and olive trees, that flouriſh here in perfection, though they require a quite different temperature of air in the nature of them. Figs and Grapes hold in ſeaſon there ten months in the year, and other fruits the whole year about. And the place is not more famous for a delicious air, than it is for a cryſtalline flowing fountain, called by the natives Capernaum. Some take it for a little gut of the Nile, becauſe of a certain fiſh in it that is no where elſe to be found but in Alexandria. The length of the country along the lake is thirty ſtadia, and the breadth twenty.

CHAP. XIX.

Veſpaſian *encounters the Enemy upon the Lake. The miſerable State of the* Jews. Veſpaſian *calls a great Council, where Sentence is paſs'd upon the Priſoners.*

WHEN Veſpaſian's boats were all ready, he went aboard himſelf, and took as many men along with him as he thought ſufficient to deal with the fugitives that had ſhifted away to the lake: So that there was now no poſſibility of their coming off, for the whole country aſhore was their enemy: And, in fine, they were all deſtroyed, not a man eſcaping. This was the iſſue of the naval battle: And the whole number of the ſlain in both actions was ſix thouſand five hundred perſons.

When the fight was over, Veſpaſian took his place upon the tribunal, and ſeparating the ſtrangers that were the cauſe of the war, from the natives who were only paſſive in it, he called a great council of his officers about him to conſider whether or no they were to be treated all alike. The council was againſt the ſaving of the ſtrangers; for they would never be quiet, they ſaid; they had no home to truſt to, and would be dangerous and troubleſome to what prince ſoever ſhould receive them. Veſpaſian was thoroughly ſatisfied that they deſerved to die, and that they would rebel againſt their preſervers; but the difficulty was, in what manner to get rid of them, for the inhabitants would lay it to heart to ſee ſo many people put to death after a promiſe of quarter upon their mediation: Beſide Veſpaſian's ſcruple upon a point of honour and juſtice of breaking faith with his priſoners. But his council inſiſted upon it that he was not tied up to thoſe punctilios with the Jews, and that where ſtrict honeſty and policy are inconſiſtent, the common good ought to have the preference. Veſpaſian was over-ruled by his friends, and gave the ſtrangers leave to depart, upon condition they kept the way that led to Tiberias. People are apt to believe what they wiſh; and in this confidence, they marched for Tiberias, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any violence in their paſſage, either upon their perſons or goods. Now the Romans had ſo beſet the way that it was impoſſible for any creature to eſcape. When they had them in the town, they made them all priſoners; Veſpaſian cauſing them afterward to be ſhut up in the amphitheatre, where he ordered both old and young, to the number of twelve hundred, that were not able to bear arms, to be put to death; ſix thouſand of the ſtrongeſt bodied men among them to be ſent away to the Iſthmus to Nero; and thirty thouſand were ſold for ſlaves, beſide what Veſpaſian gave to Agrippa, whom he left at liberty to do what he pleaſed with his own ſubjects; but the king ſold them too. The reſt were Trachonites, Gaulanites, Hippenians, and a great many Gadarites, moſt of them incendiaries and fugitives, and promoters of war, becauſe they could not live in peace. They were taken upon the eighth of the month Gorpiæus.

THE

THE
WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK III.

The Year of the World 4032.

CHAP. I.

The Siege of Gamala, *and the Manner of it; with the Situation and Strength of the City.* Veſpaſian *advances up to the Place. The* Romans *take* Gamala *by Aſſault and are beaten out of it again with a prodigious Loſs. A ſecond Attempt upon* Gamala.

THE towns and places in Galilee that went off from the Romans upon the taking of Jotapata, came back again to their duty, upon the loſs of Tarichee: So that the Romans were now maſters of all the cities and ſtrong holds, but Giſchala, and the mountain of Itabyr. And there joined in the rebellion with theſe alſo, the city of Gamala, which ſtands upon the lake over-againſt Tarichee, and belongs to the government of Agrippa. Sogane revolted likewiſe, and ſo did Seleucia, after their example, which were both of the province of Gaulanitis, Sogane in the upper part of it, which is called Gaulana, and Gamala in the lower. Seleucia ſtands upon the lake Semechonitis, which is ſixty furlongs in length, and thirty over, and the mooriſh borders of it reach as far as Daphne. This is a delicious country in many reſpects, but more eſpecially for the curious ſprings in it that feed the leſſer Jordan, as they call it, and then take their courſe to the great Jordan, at the foot of Jupiter's golden temple.

King Agrippa, at the beginning of this defection, entered into an alliance with the people of Sogane and Seleucia; but Gamala, depending upon its own ſtrength, as being much a tougher piece than Jotapata, refuſed to be of the party. This Gamala is erected upon the cliff of a rock that riſes out of the middle of a high mountain, and in that poſture of elevation, with crags before and behind it, has ſome reſemblance of a figure of a camel, from whence originally it took its name. Upon the front and the two ſides of it are deep inacceſſible vallies. The part that joins the mountains is not of itſelf ſo hard of acceſs, but as the inhabitants have fortified it with trenches and defences, it is next to impregnable.

Veſpaſian at this time decamped from Ammaus near Tiberias, (ſo called from a hot fountainn there, of a ſovereign virtue againſt ſeveral diſeaſes,) and ſo came to Gamala, where he found it impoſſible to draw a regular line of circumvallation about it: But he ſet guards however upon all the paſſes he could come at, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the mountain above. The fifteenth legion was poſted againſt a tower eaſtward, upon the higheſt part of the town, the fifth toward the middle of the town, and the tenth was appointed to level the ditches and other hollow places.

While things were in this poſture, king Agrippa drew cloſe up to the wall, to try if he could bring the people to ſurrender up the place, and reaſon them into a ſenſe of their duty. But in this inſtant he received a terrible blow with a ſtone from a ſling, upon his right elbow.

By many hands and diligent applications the works were ſoon raiſed, and the next thing to be done was the mounting of their machines. Chares and Joſeph had the ordering of the defence, and ſo led up the ſoldiers to the wall, with exhortations and encouragements to behave themſelves like men of honour. But wanting water and other neceſſaries, they had no great ſtomach to the action; for they found they could not hold it out long. Upon the advance of the Roman machines, they made ſome ſort of reſiſtance at firſt; but as ſoon as ever they came to throw their ſtones and their arrows among them, they ran away preſently into the town. They battered the wall with rams upon three attacks: The defendants ſtood the firſt ſhock with great bravery, and put the Romans to a ſtand, but being overborn in the end by force of numbers, they all fled and betook themſelves to the higheſt parts of the city, with the Romans all this while at their backs. But the Jews finding themſelves preſſed, turned ſhort upon their purſuers, drove them down precipices before them, and through difficult paſſages, where they did execution upon them at pleaſure. The Romans finding the diſadvantage of contending with enemies over their heads, and that there was no avoiding them as they lay puſhing at them from an upper ground: they caſt themſelves for ſanctuary into ſome of the enemy's houſes below: But they were ſo crowding full that they ſunk under the weight; ſo that the fall of one brought down another, and that a third. There were a great many Romans that periſhed under the ruins, and yet in this extremity they choſe rather to commit themſelves to the hazard of thoſe tottering houſes, than to lie open and expoſed for a public mark.

It went to the heart of Veſpaſian to ſee his army thus broken by the ruins of a city that they had taken; ſo that without any regard to the ſafety of his own perſon, he ſlipt himſelf privately into a poſt on the upper part of the town, where he was left with ſome few reſolute men about him, in the greateſt diſtreſs imaginable: His ſon Titus being abroad at this time in Syria, upon a commiſſion to Mutianus. So that calling to mind the glorious hiſtory of his paſt actions, and reſolving to make his life all of a piece, he planted himſelf with the few people he had, as cloſe to one another as they could crowd together, and covering themſelves with their arms, ſtood firm againſt all attempts of violence from above. The Jews were ſo ſtartled at this prodigious obſtinacy, that they abated ſomewhat of the vigour of the action. Veſpaſian taking notice that the fury of the enemy ſlackened, drew off by little and little, and never turned his back till he was got out of the walls. There fell a great many Romans, both officers and common ſoldiers in this combat.

There was one Gallus, a centurion, that with ten Syrian ſoldiers lay cloſe together in a houſe: As the people of the family were talking together at ſupper what courſe they intended to take with the Romans, Gallus and his company being all Syrians, overhearing and underſtanding them, fell upon them in the night, killed every man of them, and got off ſafe with his company to the Romans.

This was the ſevereſt blow that ever the Romans had as yet received: And Veſpaſian finding the ſoldiers caſt down upon it; and their confuſion was the greater too for leaving their general in the lurch; he bethought himſelf how he might give them ſome ſort of comfort, without either telling his own ſtory, or intermixing any thing of reproach; which he did by reaſoning with them upon the variable fortune of war, that their preſent misfortune was chiefly owing to their own raſhneſs, which they might retrieve by conforming themſelves to the Roman diſcipline, and acting with ſobriety and reſolution. This diſcourſe of Veſpaſian's put a new life into the army.

The Romans having repaired their platforms, and made ready for another attack, divers of the citizens ſtole away by paſſages ſo intricate and uncouth, that they thought it ſuperfluous to ſet any guard upon them. Others conveyed themſelves into ſinks and vaults, where they lay ſtarving for fear of being taken; the proviſions being wholly reſerved for thoſe that bore arms. But theſe miſerable people ſtood firm yet in all their diſtreſſes.

The men of Gamala could not but take heart at firſt upon the fluſh of ſo unexpected a ſucceſs: But when they came afterward, upon advice with ſecond thoughts, to find that they were now paſt all hopes of agreeing upon terms, and no poſſibility of eſcaping, for their proviſions failed them; their ſpirits ſunk again, and their deſpairs put them to their wits end: But they went on nevertheleſs, doing all that was poſſible to be done for the defence of the place, by ſetting their beſt men to look to the breaches, and others in general to take care of the reſt,

CHAP. II.

A Faction in a Body upon Mount Itabyr. Veſpaſian *ſends* Placidus *to reduce them, and they are all deſtroyed.*

VESPASIAN had work enough upon his hands in this vexatious ſiege: But he found time yet to ſend out Placidus with a party of ſix hundred horſe to mount Tabor, to diſperſe a multitude of people that were gotten together there. This mountain lies between the great plain and Scythopolis: The aſcent of it is reckoned to be thirty ſtadia; no coming at it on the north ſide, and on the top of it an open plain of twenty furlongs over, the whole encompaſſed with a wall. He brought water and other neceſſaries up to it from below, for the people had none but rain water for their uſe.

When Placidus was come to the place, and found that there was no getting up the mountain to them, he held them in hand with hopes of peace and pardon, and brought ſeveral of them down to him, upon a pretence that they were wrought upon by the reaſon of his addreſs; but in truth they had a deſign to draw him into a ſnare and to ſurpriſe him: As Placidus had the ſame plot upon them too, if he could but get them off into the plain field and ſeize them at unawares. They made a countenance of complying with the fairneſs of what he ſaid: But Placidus, for all this, was too cunning for them in the concluſion. The Jews began the fray, and Placidus and his men, as in a fright, betook themſelves preſently to their heels; and the Jews after them, continuing the chace till the purſuers were diſperſed all over the field. Placidus took his time, and turning quick upon them killed ſeveral, put the reſt to flight: And not one man of them could get back to the mountain.

CHAP. III.

The Deſtruction of Gamala. Titus *enters the Town without any Oppoſition. The* Romans *Victory obtained by Providence. Nine thouſand* Jews *ſlain in* Gamala.

THE boldeſt of the Gamalites were now glad to hide their heads, the middling ſort ready to ſtarve, but the men of action ſtill perſiſting in the defence of the place, till the two and twentieth of the month Hyperberetæus, when three ſoldiers of the fifteenth legion ſtole out in the night to the foot of the higheſt tower that was upon their quarter, and undermined it ſo privately that the guards took no notice of them. They made no noiſe; but only tumbling down five great ſtones that they had looſened in the foundation, they leaped away in that inſtant and retired. The turret immediately fell to the ground with a moſt dreadful clatter, daſhing the guards and all that were in it under the ruins.

This was a tempting occaſion to invite the Romans into the town; but they paid ſo dear for their late temerity, that they ſtood ſtill till the three and twentieth of the ſame month, without any further attempt upon the city. Titus, it ſeems, was now come up, who found himſelf ſo galled at the thought of the diſaſter the Romans had received in his abſence, that he drew out a body of foot, and two hundred choice horſe, and in a grave ſober march entered the city without any oppoſition. The watch were the firſt that took and gave the alarm, and the news was all over the town in a moment. No ſooner was it certainly known, but the citizens fled up for the caſtle. Some were cut off by Titus's ſoldiers; others that could not get into the caſtle, and went they knew not whither, fell into the hands of the Roman guards. There was nothing, in fine, but death to be ſeen or heard of in all forms, wounds and groans, and the very ſtreets flowing with blood.

The next thing Veſpaſian had now to do was to attack the caſtle, to which end he drew up his whole army thither. It ſtood upon the point of a rock prodigious high and ſteep, and well nigh inacceſſible, with a multitude of crags and precipices round about it. Upon this diſadvantage it was impoſſible for the Romans either to avoid the ſtones and ſhot of the Jews that were caſt down upon them from above, or to reach the Jews from below. But by a wonderful providence, there blew a violent guſt of wind that drove the Romans arrows directly in the defendants faces, and kept off theirs from the Romans, or drove them beſide the mark. So that the Romans made themſelves maſters of the mountain, which they ſurrounded immediately, and in a rage of revenge for their former miſcarriage upon that attack, they put all they met with to the ſword, indifferently, whether they reſiſted or not: Beſide there were abundance who caſt themſelves with their wives and children down the precipice from the caſtle, to the number of five thouſand perſons; that of the ſlain being only four thouſand. The Romans, in this heat of fury, threw the very infants down the rocks, without ſparing ſo much as one ſingle creature, two women only excepted, the daughters of Philip, who was the friend of one Joakim, a man of eminent quality, and formerly a general under Agrippa; theſe two ſiſters lay undiſcovered till the rage and fury was over. The rebellion of Gamala broke out the four and twentieth day of the month Gorpiæus: And the place was deſtroyed the three and twentieth of the month Hyperberetæus.

CHAP. IV.

Giſchala *taken by* Titus. *The People well diſpos'd but ſeduced.* Veſpaſian *provides againſt all Hazards. The generous Tenderneſs of* Titus. Titus *offers a Peace and an Amneſty.* John *of* Giſchala *ſeemingly accepts of the Conditions.* John *makes his Eſcape.* Titus *receiv'd into* Giſchala*: Which puts an End to the Conqueſt of* Galilee.

THE province of Gamala was now wholly reduced, ſave only Giſchala, where the people of themſelves were peaceably inclined: Not but that they were tainted alſo with a mixture of libertines that lived upon robbery; and there were ſome citizens alſo of the firſt quality that were corrupted with that leaven. The chief leader of this faction was one John, a wicked and deceitful man.

Veſpaſian, upon this juncture, ſent away Titus to Giſchala with a thouſand horſe, and the tenth legion to Scythopolis, returning himſelf with the other two legions to Ceſarea for refreſhment, preparing both their bodies and their minds for difficulties that were yet to come. For Veſpaſian foreſaw that Jeruſalem would find him work enough.

Titus went up to Giſchala on horſeback, and finding upon the view that it was not a place to ſtand an aſſault, he reflected upon it at the ſame time that the ſoldiers would undoubtedly treat Giſchala as they had done Gamala, confounding the innocent with the guilty, if ever they ſhould come to take the town by ſtorm: So that out of a generous compaſſion for the people, and the horror he had for thoſe inhuman cruelties, he rather bethought himſelf how he might gain the place by treaty. The wall being now covered with ſoldiers, and the majority within the town being of the faction, Titus, raiſing his voice, perſuaded them to return to their duty, which if they did, all their inſolencies ſhould be pardoned.

This paſſed without one word from the town in anſwer, or any one creature of the inhabitants ſuffered to come up to the wall: But John at laſt cried out to Titus, in the name of the people, that he accepted the conditions, and that the town ſhould agree to them likewiſe. Only he made him this requeſt, in regard of the inviolable ſtrictneſs of the Jewiſh law for the obſervance of their ſabbath, which would no more ſuffer them to treat of peace, than to fight a battle; that he would indulge them that day.

Now it was not ſo much a ſcruple for the ſabbath, as an apprehenſion for his own particular ſafety that put John upon this management with Titus; for he was in a manner certain to be abandoned and given up, if the town ſhould be taken: And nothing left him to truſt to but the night, and his heels, for the ſaving of his life.

The night being now come, and the town without any guards upon it, John laid hold of the opportunity, and made his eſcape to Jeruſalem, taking not only his military people, but ſeveral ſubſtantial men of the town, together with their families, along with him. The old men, the women and the children, that were frighted into this reſolution, made a ſhift to keep up with their leader for the firſt twenty furlongs, but finding themſelves ſpent, and not able to continue the march, they had no more to do but to betake themſelves to lamentations.

It was now day-light, and Titus was by this time come to the walls of the town, to execute the treaty; where he found the gates open, and the inhabitants and their wives ready with acclamations to receive and acknowledge Titus for their benefactor and preſerver. They gave him alſo to underſtand that John was run away, begging his pardon for the innocent, and imploring his juſtice upon thoſe left in the town that ſhould be found to have been the authors of the revolt. Titus, upon their requeſt, ſent out a party of horſe after John, but he was already gotten into Jeruſalem before they could get up to him. They killed a matter of two thouſand of his party, and brought back near three thouſand women and children that they ſound wandering up and down.

Titus was not a little troubled at the eſcape of this impoſtor, and that they had not made him ſuch an example as he deſerved to be, when they had him in their hands: But then ſetting the advantage of the priſoners, the ſlain, and the taking of the town, againſt the diſappointment of miſſing the ſingle perſon of ſuch a wretch, Titus balanced the one with the other, and entered the place in a friendly diſpoſition toward the people, taking poſſeſſion of it in form by the ceremony of his ſoldiers breaking off a piece of the wall, and reducing the authors of the ſedition rather by menaces than by actual puniſhments.

But Titus however in the concluſion put a garriſon into the town, partly to keep turbulent ſpirits in order, and partly to ſecure thoſe that had a mind to be quiet. This action finiſhed the conqueſt of Galilee, after the expence of ſo much labour and blood.

CHAP. V.

John *of* Giſchala *gets ſafe to* Jeruſalem, *with a falſe Story. The* Jews *divided; and a miſerable Nation. The outrage of the Robbers and others that are yet the worſe of the two. The Faction draws into the Temple. The* Zelotes, *ſo called. An encounter in the Temple. The Character of* John *of* Giſchala.

UPON John's coming up to Jeruſalem with a train of the faction at his heels, the people in vaſt throngs gathered about them to know how matters went abroad: John pretended that they were not run away from the Romans, but came of their own accord, to find out ſome place for the encounter, where they might engage upon equal terms, for none but fools and madmen would caſt themſelves away, they ſaid, for the defence of Giſchala, when the metropolis itſelf was at ſtake. John and his crew coloured the diſgrace the beſt they could; but the people ſaw that John's honourable retreat was no other than a downright running away. This diſcovery, and the ſtory of the priſoners the Romans had taken, put the people into ſuch a terror as if the ruin of Giſchala had but been the prologue to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem itſelf. But John went officiouſly from one to another, animating the multitude to a proſecution of the war, derogating from the Romans on the one hand, and arrogating to themſelves on the other, by which arts of quirks and impoſture they gained mightily upon the ſilly people.

This was the confuſed face and ſtate of things in Jeruſalem at that time; but the country led the way to the ſedition that followed afterward in the city. For Titus being gone from Giſchala to Ceſarea, Veſpaſian went alſo from Ceſarea to Jamnia and Azotus, and ſubdued them both, ſettled garriſons in them, and ſo returned, bringing a vaſt multitude of people along with him that were now entered into a league with the Romans. The cities were all peſtered with tumults and inteſtine broils, and no ſooner at peace with the Romans, but immediately together by the ears among themſelves.

This confuſiun began with an univerſal licence that every man took to himſelf of robbing his neighbour, without any regard to law or conſcience. They proceeded afterwards to the ſame thing in bands and parties, and to do it barefaced too up and down the country, in which practice the Jews themſelves did one another as much miſchief, upon the matter of cruelty and injuſtice, as the Romans.

The garriſons, that conſulted their own eaſe, and mortally hated the people, never troubled their heads for what they ſuffered: Till in the concluſion ſome of the principals of the faction entered Jeruſalem with a great body of their party, that they had picked up here and there. Now the city being under no rule of government, theſe ruffians met with no oppoſition: Beſides that according to ancient cuſtom, the gates were open to all Jews without exception; and at this time more eſpecially, when they took all people that came in to them for friends and aſſiſtants. This was the caſe, and this liberty in the concluſion proved the ruin of the city; when the infinite number of idle and unprofitable mouths devoured the neceſſary proviſions that were laid up for the ſoldiers that had the guard of the town: By which means the miſeries of ſedition and famine were added to the calamities of the war.

There came at the ſame time another party of thieves out of the country, that joining with thoſe they found in the town (who were yet worſe than themſelves) ſtuck at no manner of inſolence, though never ſo flagitious and cruel. Robbery and pillage was nothing with them, unleſs it was ſeaſoned with downright murder. They began with the impriſoning of Antipas, a perſon of the blood royal, and of ſuch credit and authority that he was entruſted with the charge of the treaſury. They treated Levias afterwards, and Sophas the ſon of Raguel, with divers others of the moſt conſiderable perſons they could lay their hands on, after the ſame manner.

Nay, theſe profligate wretches did not ſtop here neither, but finding their priſoners to be men of power, intereſt, credit, and a vaſt acquaintance, they did not know but it might be dangerous to keep them longer in cuſtody, for fear of either a reſcue or a revenge from their friends, or of a popular tumult, upon ſo deſperate a provocation. Wherefore they proceeded to a formal ſentence of death upon them, and ſent a bloodthirſty hireling of their own crew, (one John the ſon of Dorcas) with a train of ten other bravoes at his heels to do the execution, and it was done accordingly. Now for a colour to this execrable villany, they gave it out that theſe people were in a conſpiracy to deliver up the city to the Romans.

The faction was now ſo daring, and the people's hearts ſo low, that they aſſumed to themſelves the diſpoſing of the pontificate; took the high-prieſthood out of the right line, abrogated the ſucceſſion, and promoted creatures of their own, without either blood or virtue, to the office.

The faction took ſanctuary in the temple, and made uſe of it both for a place of defence againſt the multitude, and for the ſeat of their tyranny. But the moſt ſenſible part of the calamity was the mockery and contempt that attended it, in the wanton experiment of their own ſtrength, and the heartleſs deſpondency of the people. As for example, they took upon them to elect a high-prieſt by lot: Now this practice of theirs was only a ſelf-ended invention of their own, to get the power into their hands. But they were taken in their own ſnare, for upon ſummoning one of the holy tribes (called Eniacim) in order to a choice, the lot fell upon Phanes, his father's name Samuel, born in a village called Aphthas, a man brutiſhly ignorant, and ſo far from having any relation to a ſacerdotal family, that he did not ſo much as know what belonged to the office. They forced him away however from his country affairs in ſpite of his heart, and, dreſſing him up in his prieſtly robes, gave him his leſſon how he was to behave himſelf. This could not but go to the hearts of the prieſts, to ſee their holy laws trampled upon. But the people were ſo tranſported with the ſenſe of this oppreſſion, that they had no longer any patience for ſo ſcandalous a ſlavery; but joined as one man in a reſolution to depoſe the tyrants, and caſt off the yoke.

The two forwardeſt in this commotion were Gorion the ſon of Joſeph, and Simeon the ſon of Gamaliel, who made it their buſineſs to go up and down provoking the people to ſtand up for the vindication of their religion, laws and freedoms, againſt their prophane and ſacrilegious enemies.

There was alſo Jeſus the ſon of Gamala, and Ananus the ſon of Ananus, two prieſts of ſingular piety and virtue: Theſe two holy men laboured their diſciples as heartily too, in frequent diſcourſes upon the ſame ſubject, upbraiding them with their ſloth and cowardice, and inflaming them by all manner of reproaches againſt the Zelotes. I call them Zelotes, as the name that they aſſumed to themſelves, out of an hypocritical oſtentation of holineſs, though at the ſame time, in their lives and practice, the lewdeſt of men. The people being now gathered together, were all raging mad to ſee the havock theſe miſcreants made in the holy places, and how they went on pillaging and murdering without control.

But yet in the height of an outrageous horror and indignation, there was not one blow ſtruck all this while, for the people were not as yet in a condition to encounter theſe Zelotes by downright force. Ananus the high-prieſt was at this time in the middle of the crowd, and caſting many a ſorrowful look toward the temple, with tears in his eyes, made a very affecting diſcourſe upon the miſerable ſtate of the houſe of God, which was polluted and prophaned by wicked men, telling the people the only way now left was to aſſociate themſelves as one man, and to fall upon thoſe abandoned wretches without more ado.

This diſcourſe of Ananus's irritated the people ſufficiently againſt the Zelotes; but yet Ananus was ſo well informed of their number, their choice of men, and their courage, that he could not promiſe himſelf any preſent advantage from the effect of this management: But he was nevertheleſs reſolved to run all hazards, rather than abandon his country in this diſtreſs; the people in the mean time deſiring nothing more than ſomebody to lead them on.

Ananus finding the multitude in ſo good a diſpoſition, took the beſt men he could pick out, and ranged them preſently in ſuch order as the time would bear. The Zelotes had their ſpies about Ananus, and upon intelligence of his deſigns and motions, they marched immediately toward him, without giving quarter to any one creature that fell into their hands. Ananus had his men quickly together, and out-numbered the others; but the Zelotes however had the advantage of being better armed. Both parties engaged; and a ſkirmiſh began not far from the temple, by pelting one another with ſtones: But the thieves came off ſtill in all their ſallies and excurſions with advantage.

The people were now grown ſtrong and numerous. and out of all patience with the fugitives for not ſtanding their ground: Inſomuch, that cloſing up the way behind in their flight, they turned them back again upon the enemy, ſo that they were forced to cut out their way forward in their own defence. The faction not being able to ſtand the ſhock of the whole body, gave way gradually toward the temple; and Ananus with his troops preſſing on along with them. When he had driven the Zelotes out of the firſt court, they got into the ſecond incloſure. Ananus had too great a reverence for the holy place, to make uſe of any ſort of violence for the forcing of his paſſage. So that all he did at preſent was to order a ſtanding guard of ſix thouſand choice men uppon the porches of the temple, and ſo ſucceſſively ſix thouſand more after them to do duty, and to be relieved by turns, not exempting the beſt men of the town from their part in this ſervice: Only when it came to their lot, they were allowed to hire men of an inferior quality to watch in their ſtead.

The popular party at this time carried all before them; but John of Giſchala ſpoiled all again. He was a falſe, crafty wretch, ambitious beyond meaſure, an enemy and a traitor to the public of a long ſtanding. In order to his ends, he began with making himſelf popular, by ſetting up for a patriot. No man ſo aſſiduous at council with Ananus in the day time as himſelf, nor any man ſo careful of the guards and watches by night. And he was at the ſame time ſo neceſſary a ſpy for the Zelotes, that what he knew they knew, ſo ſoon as he could tell it to them. And he was moſt officiouſly nice and forward in all his reſpects to the high-prieſt, and the great men he had to do with. But ſo it fell out, that the very over-doing of his part laid him under a jealouſy. Ananus found that his ſecrets were betrayed, and none ſo likely as John to do it. But this wretch had played his game ſo artificially, and was ſo rooted in the good opinion of ſeveral great men, that there was no thought or poſſibility of removing him from his poſt: So that they could think of no better expedient for the putting of him to the teſt, than to give him an oath of faith and ſecreſy, to keep all the people's counſels, and to ſerve them againſt all rebels to the utmoſt of his power. John made no difficulty of ſwallowing this oath; and Ananus and his people as little of believing him without any further ſcruple: And thereupon ſent him ſoon after upon a commiſſion to the Zelotes, with propoſals of peace. The thing they feared was, leſt the temple ſhould come to be defiled with the blood of the Jews, and the blame laid at their door. This perfidious impoſtor went his way to the Zelotes with quite another ſtory: "Ananus," ſays he, "hath prevailed with the people to ſend deputies to Veſpaſian, to deſire him to come and take poſſeſſion of the city; having ordered the people to purify themſelves the next day, to the end, that under a pretext of religion they might, either by fair means or foul, get into the town. I am at preſent deputed to bring you a project of peace, which in truth is no other than a trick of Ananus's to hold you in hand with the amuſement of a treaty, and then to fall upon you by ſurpriſe, when you think yourſelves moſt ſecure. But as to what you are to do now, you have no other choice before you, that I can ſee, than either to caſt yourſelves at the beſiegers feet, or to call in a foreign force to your reſcue. For," ſays he, "if you are taken, the very memory and conſcience of what you have done, (appear as penitent as you pleaſe) puts you out of all hope of mercy; beſide, that criminals prove the worſe many times for repentance: Over and above that the thirſt for revenge increaſes with the power of taking it with ſecurity. Conſider again, what you are to expect from the friends and relations of thoſe you have ſlain, and from a furious multitude in the height of their rage for the diſſolution of their laws and cuſtoms. Not but that here and there a ſingle man perhaps may have ſome ſenſe of humanity and tenderneſs, but what will that avail againſt the impetuous violence of a brutal multitude?" This diſcourſe of John's ſtartled the people, which was the thing he aimed at. The foreign force he hinted at was that of the Idumæans, tho' he durſt not venture to ſpeak it out in plain terms. After this he took ſome of the heads apart, and gave them ſome ſhort touches of Ananus's cruelty, and of the implacable malice of his heart toward them in particular.

CHAP. VI.

The Zelotes *write to the* Idumæans *for Aſſiſtance, which is granted them in a Supply of near twenty thouſand Men.* Jeſus *diſcourſes the Matter with them. The* Idumæans *reſolve to make good the Siege.*

ELEAZAR the ſon of Simon, and Zachary the ſon of Amphicalus, were looked upon as two of the ableſt men the Zelotes had in their council, and both of the ſacerdotal race. Theſe men, taking for granted that Ananus and his party had called in the Romans to their aſſiſtance, as John had ordered the ſtory, they found themſelves ſo hampered under ſeveral difficulties that they could not reſolve which way to turn themſelves. But in the concluſion they determined to apply themſelves to the Idumæans, and wrote them a letter upon that occaſion to this effect: "Finding that "Ananas, having firſt ſeduced the people, "hath deſigned the betraying of Jeruſalem "to the Romans, we have retired into the "temple in defence of the common liberty: Where we are now beſieged, and upon the very point of falling into the hands "of Ananus and the reſt of our enemies; "and the city itſelf into the hands of the "Romans, without immediate relief."

The bearers of this letter, as ſoon as they came to the governors of Idumæa read it and their inſtructions, upon hearing which the people went raving up and down like ſo many mad-men, provoking and encouraging one another to take up arms: Inſomuch that they had gotten together a party of near twenty thouſand men, that were all raiſed for the relief of the mother-city. This army was raiſed in a trice, and diſpatched away to Jeruſalem, under the command of John and James, the ſons of Soſas; Simon, the ſon of Cathlas; and Phineas, the ſon of Cluſoth.

Ananus and his people knew nothing of the forementioned deputation of the two meſſengers to the Zelotes; but he was better informed however of the Idumæan expedition, and ſo ordered the gates to be ſhut up, and the walls well guarded, but no act of hoſtility to be committed, till he had firſt tried what might be done by reaſon and fair words toward the compoſing of the broil: So that Jeſus (the firſt prieſt next Ananus) mounted a tower over againſt the Idumæans, and within hearing of them, and ſpoke to the purpoſe following; he expreſſed his ſurpriſe to ſee them joining with a band of miſcreants againſt their mother-city. As to the pretence of a deſign to call in the Romans, there was no ground for it; and therefore adviſed them to join with them in the relief of the city, and in the rooting out of thoſe tyrannical monſters, who had trod all their laws under foot to make way for tumult and violence; or, if they pleaſed, to leave their arms at the gates, and come in and be themſelves the judges of the controverſy between them.

The Idumæans were ſo incenſed at their being ſhut out of the town, that they gave little or no heed to what Jeſus ſaid; and then for laying down their arms, it looked ſo like a conqueſt, that the commanders would not ſo much as endure the thought of it. The multitude, upon this, fell into a kind of uproar; but Simon the ſon of Cathlas, one of the officers, with much ado appeaſing it, took a ſtanding upon an advanced ground within hearing of the high-prieſt, and delivered himſelf to them after this manner:

“I do not wonder,” ſays he, “to ſee the defenders of our country's liberties ſhut up here in the temple, when the very beſiegers of thoſe patriots have likewiſe ſhut up the city itſelf, which ought to be free and open to the whole nation; but at the ſame time ready enough perhaps to entertain the Romans with garlands and acclamations. 'Tis enough for us you think, to talk to us from your towers, adviſe us to lay down our arms, (though taken up in the common cauſe) and not to truſt our neareſt friends with the guard of the city. But inſtead of defending our capital, we are held in hand with propoſals of being made judges of the matter in queſtion; and in the ſame inſtant, while you are laying load upon others for deſtroying your fellow citizens without any colour of law, you yourſelves pronounce judgment at will and pleaſure upon the whole nation, and violently keep your own brethren out of a city that gives admittance, upon the account of piety and devotion, to all mankind beſide. But it will concern us to act with more vigour, for the maintenance of the houſe of God, and of the rites of our country, as well within the city as without, and againſt all oppoſers. So that this ſiege we are reſolved to make good, till either the Romans deliver you, or the conſcience of what you have done amiſs, bring you back again to your duty.”

CHAP. VII.

The Idumæans *encamp under the City Walls. A furious Tempeſt. The* Idumæans *enter the City by Night, and join the* Zelotes. *A bloody and inhuman Maſſacre.* Ananus *and* Jeſus *are put to Death.*

THE multitude gave to underſtand by ſhouts and clamours how much they were pleaſed with what was ſaid. But Jeſus, on the other hand, went away penſive and ſorrowful. And the Idumæans were not much eaſier neither, partly out of an indignation at the affront of ſuch a repulſe, and partly to find themſelves ſo much miſtaken in the ſtrength of the Zelotes. But the ſhame of returning without making any attempt carried it againſt all other ſcruples: So that they reſolved to take up their ſtation where they were, and to encamp under the very walls of the city.

On the night following, there blew a dreadful tempeſt of wind and rain, accompanied with ſuch terrible flaſhes of lightning, tearing claps of thunder, and ſuch bellowing of earthquakes, as put all people to their wits end, to think what theſe prodigies might portend.

The inhabitants and the Idumæans were both under the ſame apprehenſion: That is to ſay, that God was incenſed againſt them for the war, and that ſome vindictive judgment threatened them if they went on with it againſt their mother-city.

It came now into the Zelotes heads, that if they could but deſtroy the bolts and bars of the gates, the work were done: Whereupon they took down certain ſaws and other inſtruments, dedicated to the ſervice of the holy temple, with which they filed and cut them to pieces; and it fell out ſo, that between the raging of the wind and the roaring of the thunder, the beſiegers heard nothing of the noiſe. Upon this they ſlipped away privately toward the city gates, which they opened as they had done the former. The Idumæans took it at firſt for Ananus, upon ſome motion toward a ſally, and every man with his ſword in his hand made toward the paſſage; but upon finding their miſtake, the Idumæans entered and paſſed directly through the city to the relief of their friends that were priſoners in the temple, where the Zelotes waited their coming with great impatience. The Idumæans were no ſooner entered, but the Zelotes advanced out of the inner temple, and joined with them in a ſally upon the guards. Some they killed in their ſleep, while others took the alarm at the outcries of the people, and the multitude ſtood to their arms, though with all the confuſion in the world. But taking it at firſt to be only a party of the Zelotes, they made little doubt of running them down with numbers, and took heart upon it; but when they ſaw how others came pouring in upon them from abroad, and that the Idumæans had joined the Zelotes, the greater part of them betook themſelves to cries and lamentations, dropping their courage and their arms both at once. Some few brave young fellows there were however, that had the hearts yet to encounter the Idumæans, and to cover the timorous common people, while others went raving up and down from place to place, making proclamation as it were of the ruin of the city. But ſuch was the natural barbarity and fierceneſs of the Idumæans, together with the vexatious thought of being ſhut out of the city, and expoſed to the ſtreſs of weather, that they ſpared not a creature, and whether they were in arms or upon their knees it was the ſame Caſe. There was, in fine, a flood of blood quite round the temple, and by the time it was fair daylight they computed eight thouſand five hundred dead bodies upon the place.

And this was not enough yet to quench the drought of the inſatiable, blood-thirſty Idumæans, without turning their rage againſt the city, where they pillaged all houſes indifferently, and killed all the people they found in their way. As for the rabble they looked upon them as below their anger; but their main buſineſs was to wreak their malice upon the high-prieſts; which they did by cutting off their heads ſo ſoon as they found them, and then trampling upon their bodies, making ſport with Ananus for his popularity, and with Jeſus for his harangue upon the wall, in a way of mockery and deriſion. Nay, they were come to that pitch of impiety, as to forbid them the rites of burial, though the Jewiſh laws, out of a reverence to the dead, have provided for the taking down even of executed criminals from the very croſs, and burying them before ſunſet.

If I ſhould now date the deſtruction of this city from the death of Ananus, and reckon that Ananus and Jeruſalem fell both on the ſame day, I believe I ſhould not be much out in my account. For in the loſs of this man they loſt the ſupport of their government and all hope of ſafety; and Jeruſalem was effectually as much put to death as Ananus.

THE

WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK IV.

The Years of the World 4032, and 4033.

CHAP. I.

The Cruelty of the Idumæans *and the* Zelotes. *Twelve thouſand eminent Men put to Death.* Zachariah *charged with Treaſon before a Mock Court of Juſtice. The Court acquits him; and the People murder him in the Temple. The Practice is diſcovered; and the* Idumæans *diſcharge their Priſoners, and leave the City.* Gorion *and* Niger *of* Peræa *put to Death. Divine Juſtice overtakes the Tyrants.*

AFTER the horrid butchery of Ananus and Jeſus, the common people were treated at the rate even of the worſt of beaſts, both by the Zelotes and Idumæans, who cut them to pieces as faſt as they found them: But for men of quality and thoſe that were in the vigour of their youth, they kept them only in cuſtody, in hope that for the ſaving of their lives they might be brought over to their party:

But they choſe rather to die every man of them than to join in a conſpiracy with traitors againſt their native country. And death was the leaſt part of their miſery too; for it was brought on with the moſt exquiſite of torments. This perſecution coſt the lives of twelve thouſand men of the firſt quality.

Theſe blood-thirſty monſters began now to be almoſt ſurfeited with this barefaced way of murder, and had the confidence to ſet up a mock court of juſtice, and to do the ſame thing over again under a form of law and equity. There was one Zachariah, the ſon of Baruch, a man of the firſt rank, a friend to all good men, and an enemy to the wicked. This Zachariah was looked upon by the Zelotes as a man ſo dangerouſly popular, that they themſelves could not be ſafe they thought, without removing him. So they reſolved to take away his life, or, which was all one, to put him upon his trial for it. To this purpoſe they called together ſeventy of the better ſort of the people, under the name of judges, but without any ſemblance of a commiſſion to authorize them. This pretended court being met, the Zelotes exhibited a formal charge againſt Zachary, for being in a conſpiracy to betray Jeruſalem to the Romans, and treating about it with Veſpaſian. There was not the leaſt colour either of a proof, or ſo much as any inducement to the believing of it; but the Zelotes ſaid it was ſo, and therefore it muſt be ſo.

Zachary perceiving manifeſtly that his life was at ſtake, and that the whole was a cheat, gave himſelf for loſt, but governed himſelf in his defence with a ſerenity of mind and a freedom of ſpirit, well becoming the character of a man of honour and virtue. When it came to the iſſue, the whole court pronounced the priſoner innocent, without ſo much as one man of the ſeventy that did not chuſe rather to run the hazard of his own life, than to deſtroy ſo good a man by a ſentence againſt all conſcience and equity. This judgment of acquittal put the Zelotes into ſuch an uproar, that they were all raging mad at the judges for being ſuch blockheads as not to underſtand to what end they were ſet there. Upon this, two of the vileſt ruffians of the crew fell outrageouſly upon Zachary, and murdered him in the middle of the temple, with this inſolent raillery in their mouths: "Now," ſays one of them, "we have given you our diſcharge too, and you are much ſurer of this than you were of the other:" Caſting the body at the ſame time down the precipice under the temple. As to the judges, their lives were ſpared, and their puniſhment only a judgment of infamy, to be beaten out of the temple with the flats of the ſwords that were to execute the ſentence.

The Idumæans themſelves were ſo diſguſted at this way of proceeding, that they curſed the hour of their coming, and ſo conferring about it, they had ſecret intelligence given them by one of the Zelotes, of the whole hiſtory of the people that invited them in; which had ſuch an effect upon the Idumæans that they forthwith ſet all their priſoners at liberty, (which were near two thouſand,) left the city, and ſo went to Simon, (of whom hereafter) and then home.

This unexpected departure of the Idumæans was equally a ſurpriſe both to the inhabitants and to the Zelotes, though upon ſeveral accounts. For the people, who knew nothing of the others repentance, took heart upon it, and comforted themſelves in the thought of ſuch a deliverance. The Zelotes, on the other hand, grew as inſolent upon it, in the confidence of their own ſtrength, and to conſider that the check being now taken off that kept them in ſome ſort of awe of the Idumæans, they were now at liberty to go their own way to work without any reſtraint or ſcruple; they ſtuck at nothing, though never ſo wicked, and whatever came in their heads was no ſooner thought than executed.

But their deadly ſpite was againſt men of bravery and honour; they could never think themſelves ſafe ſo long as any man of that character was alive. This was it that made them put Gorion to death, (with ſeveral others) a man well principled and well born, of courage, and a lover of the people and of liberty. Niger of Peræa fell alſo under the ſame diſaſtrous fate: A man of tried valour and conduct againſt the Romans; ſhewing and glorying in the wounds and ſcars he had received in the ſervice of his country, as they dragged him along the ſtreets. When they had him out of the gates, and that he gave himſelf for dead, he made them this one requeſt, that his body might be buried: But it was denied him, and ſo they put him to death, with this prophetical imprecation in his laſt breath, that the Romans might come to avenge his blood, and divine juſtice overtake them with famine, ſword, peſtilence and mortal diviſions among themſelves, anſwerable to the enormity of their crimes. And it was not long before God in his righteous providence poured down all theſe plagues upon them, as foretold.

CHAP. II.

The Jews *miſerably confounded. The Officers preſs* Veſpaſian *to Rigour, but* Veſpaſian *is for Moderation. The* Zelotes *go over daily to the* Romans. *Horrid Perſecution and Oppreſſion. The Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *foretold by an ancient Prediction.*

THE Roman officers, having their hearts upon Jeruſalem, could not wiſh a fairer opportunity for the advancing of their deſign, than by laying hold of the diſtractions in the city: To which end they applied themſelves to the general, Veſpaſian, by all means to improve the preſent occaſion, without allowing the Jews one moment of time to bethink themſelves: The general gave them this anſwer, "That "their bravery was more than their policy; "for to attack the city, hand over head, "would be the ready way to make them all "friends again, and to draw their forces upon us, which are very conſiderable, into "a conjunction as againſt a common enemy; whereas if we do but wait a while "with a little patience, they'll do our buſineſs to our hands, in ſpending their numbers and their ſpirits one upon another."

This was Veſpaſian's ſenſe of things, and the officers were of the ſame opinion with their general, as it appeared they had reaſon to be by that which followed ſoon after. For there came over deſerters to him from the Zelotes in great numbers day after day, though the ways and paſſes were ſo beſet that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to eſcape.

They put every man to the ſword that they took, upon a pretence that he was running away to the Romans: That is to ſay, unleſs he redeemed himſelf for a ſum of money, and that brought him off. The maſſacre was ſo outrageous, that the dead bodies lay piled up in heaps upon the high ways; and many that were thinking to get off changed their minds, and choſe rather to periſh in the city, only in hope of a little earth to cover them. Nay, ſuch was the extravagant barbarity of theſe monſters that they would not allow burial to any creature either within the city or without: And they did not only trample upon all that was ſacred among men, but trifled with divinity itſelf, and made no more account of the oracles of the prophets, than of ſo many dreams or fables. But yet after the contempt of all the laws and precepts of their foreſathers, concerning the meaſures of good and evil, they found the denouncing predictions to be yet made good in the concluſion againſt themſelves and their country. For there was a traditional prophecy handed down to them from antiquity, that in time to come there ſhould break out a violent ſedition in Jeruſalem; and that the Jews themſelves with their own hands ſhould prophane the holy temple: The city to be afterwards taken, and all that was ſacred belonging to it laid in aſhes. The Zelotes made no doubt of the authority of this prophecy, and put their own helping hands to the execution of it.

CHAP. III.

John *ſets up for ſovereign Power. Three heavy Judgments upon the* Jews, *and a worſe yet behind.* Engaddi *taken by Storm; and* Judæa *made the Scence of the War. A good underſtanding betwixt the* Jews *and* Veſpaſian. Gadara *invites and receives him. The Factions betake themſelves to Flight.* Placidus *puts them all to the Rout. The Fugitives make their Way to* Bethennabris. Placidus *rifles the Place, and ſets Fire to it. The* Jews *forced upon a Battle, where they loſt fifteen thouſand upon the Place.*

THE ambitious heart of John of Giſchala was grown now too big to content itſelf with any thing leſs than ſovereign power, ſo that withdrawing inſenſibly from the fellowſhip of his companions, and enliſting, by little and little, a party of profligate ruffians into his intereſt, his buſineſs was now to ſet up for himſelf. The faction, on, upon this, divided into two parties; John putting himſelf at the head of the Anti-Zelotes. They ſtood both upon their guard one againſt the other, and not without ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes too, but rather againſt the people than between themſelves, for the ſingle point in queſtion was only which of the two parties ſhould get the greater booty.

Jeruſalem being at this time labouring under three terrible judgments, war, tyranny and ſedition, the people taking the war to be the moſt tolerable of the three, quitted their habitations, and fled from their own countrymen for ſanctuary to ſtrangers, and found afterwards that ſafety and protection among the Romans which they could not obtain one from another.

The three judgments above-mentioned were now followed with a fourth, which contributed as much to the deſtruction of the Jews as any of the reſt. There ſtood a caſtle not far from Jeruſalem, called Maſſada, a place of great antiquity, and of mighty ſtrength and importance. It was erected and made uſe of by our kings in former times for a royal treaſury, and a magazine of all manner of ſtores and neceſſaries for war, and for an impregnable retreat in a time or caſe of danger. It was now in the poſſeſſion of a band of bravoes, commonly called Sicarii. There was not enough of them to kill, burn and over-run the country barefaced; but the miſchiefs they had done hitherto were by treachery and ſurprize. It was now the feaſt of unleavened-bread; on that night the ruffians broke into Engaddi by ſurpriſe, ſcattered the people, and maſtered the place before the inhabitants could recover their arms. They drove them out of the town, and after killing upward of ſeven hundred perſons upon the chaſe, moſt of them women and children, they rifled their houſes, and carried away all the fruits that were ripe and in ſeaſon to Maſſada: Depopulating all the towns, villages, caſtles, and country thereabouts after the like manner. The numbers increaſed daily by the acceſſion of a looſe, abandoned rabble, that came flocking in to join them. Judæa, that till now lay eaſy and quiet, became the very ſcene of all manner of violences upon that inroad: When they had plundered all within reach, they marched off with the booty into ſolitudes and deſerts, where they aſſociated in conſpiracies, and gathered together multitudes of free-booters, little inferior to formidable armies, and ſufficient to deſtroy cities, and lay temples deſolate.

The faction had guarded all the avenues with the greateſt ſtrictneſs and caution imaginable: But all this precaution did not hinder ſeveral deſerters yet from ſtealing away privately, with intelligence of the ſtate of the town to Veſpaſian, and to implore his relief. Veſpaſian, in a generous tenderneſs for the caſe of an unhappy people, advanced with his army nearer the town.

When he came to Gadara, the richeſt and the ſtrongeſt town beyond Jordan, and the metropolis of that province, he entered the place on the fourth of the month Dyſtrus, upon an invitation from ſome of the leading men by their deputies to come and take the town into his protection. The faction had nothing now to truſt to but flight; which was a point that in honour could not be reſolved upon, without taking a revenge firſt upon ſome of the authors of their ruin. Upon this conſideration they took up Doleſus, the firſt man of the city, into cuſtody, and cauſed him to be put to death, ordering the dead body to be whipt and ſcourged; and that being done, they all ſlipped away out of town.

Upon the nearer approach of the Romans towards the city, the inhabitants met Veſpaſian upon the way, and conducted him into the town with gratulatory acclamations: And beſide taking the oaths of fidelity, they made it their own act to demoliſh their own walls, as a farther ſecurity for their good faith. Veſpaſian, after this, gave them a garriſon of horſe and foot for their ſafeguard; ſent away Placidus with five hundred horſe and three thouſand foot after the fugitives; and went himſelf with the reſt of his troops back to Ceſarea.

When the fugitives found themſelves purſued, they turned off into a village called Bethennabris, before the Romans could come up to them. There was here a parcel of ſtout young fellows, and with this party they ſallied out, and made a raſh and a deſperate charge upon Placidus, who gave ground upon the very firſt puſh, but it was only to draw their adverſaries a little farther from the town, which ſucceeded accordingly; for Placidus got into a place of advantage, and there ſet upon them, and put them to the rout. Now Placidus made it his particular care, as far as poſſible, that none of the fugitives ſhould get back into the town: But ſome yet that were ſwifter and ſtronger than the reſt, made their way to the very wall; and now the watch were at their wits end whom to let in and whom to keep out, for they were afraid leſt by opening to all indifferently they might endanger the loſs of the place, as it came afterwards very near the matter: For the Romans having purſued ſome of the fugitives up to the wall, were within a very little of falling into the town with them; but with much ado they made ſhift to get the gates ſhut, and ſo prevented it. Placidus, upon this, gave a vigorous aſſault to the place, and followed it ſo cloſe, that he made himſelf maſter both of the wall and of the village that afternoon. The wretched common people that had no means of defence were all put to the ſword, and the reſt did what they could to ſave themſelves by flight, and carried the terror along with them wherever they came, all over the country. But now to finiſh the calamity, they firſt pillaged the houſes, and then laid the village in aſhes.

Placidus purſued them to the river Jordan, putting every creature to the ſword that they overtook upon the way. When the fugitives came to the river ſide, the waters were ſo much out, upon a great fall of rain, that there was no paſſing, nor, as the caſe ſtood, any poſſibility of getting away. In this difficulty they found themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of putting it to a battle. The Jews poſted themſelves along the bank of a river, but in the end were broke, and fifteen thouſand killed upon the place, about two thouſand two hundred taken, beſide a mighty booty of ſheep, camels and oxen.

This diſaſter was not only the greateſt that the Jews had ever yet received, but in ſome ſort even beyond itſelf. The highways where they marched were all covered with dead bodies, the river Jordan ſo choaked with carcaſſes that there was no croſſing it, and vaſt numbers floating down ſeveral channels that led into the lake Aſphaltitis.

Placidus being now in the train of his good fortune, reduced Abila, Julias, Beſemoth, and other places as far as the lake, where he ſettled garriſons of the beſt and truſtieſt men he could pick out of thoſe that came over to the Romans. His next work was to put his ſoldiers aboard, and clear the lake of all the fugitives that fled thither for refuge; which he did ſo effectually, that the Romans were by this time abſolute maſters of all beyond Jordan, as far as Machærus.

CHAP. IV.

Gaul *revolts.* Veſpaſian*'s Marches and Motions : He comes to* Jericho. *A Deſcription of the Place. The Lakes of* Aſphaltitis *aad* Tiberias. Eliſha*'s Fountain.*

WHILE this paſſed in Judæa, came news out of Gaul of a revolt there from Nero; and that Vindex with ſeveral principal men of the country were the heads of it. Veſpaſian upon this intelligence puſhed on the preſent war with greater vigour, for he did not know how many revolts might follow one upon the back of another, and the whole empire come to be in danger at laſt by a civil war: Whereas if the troubles in the eaſt were but firſt compoſed, Italy would have the leſs to fear. But winter not being a ſeaſon for it, all that could be done toward it at preſent was only to garriſon the towns and cities he had ſubdued, erect proper offices in every city, and to order reparations where they were needful.

The firſt thing he did was to march with his army from Ceſarea to Antipatris, where he ſtaid two days to put things in order, and on the third laid all the neighbourhood waſte with fire and ſword, together with the borders of the toparchy of Thamna, and Jamnia. Theſe two places ſubmitted to him: And then when he had peopled them with inhabitants from other towns, ſuch as he thought he could beſt confide in, he advanced to Ammaus, and poſſeſſing himſelf there of the paſſage that leads to the capital city, he pitched his camp and ran a wall about it; and leaving the fifth legion there, he moved with the reſt of his troops into the toparchy of Bethlepton, which he burned and deſtroyed, together with the neighbouring country and the borders of Idumæa, ſaving only ſome ſtrong caſtles that he garriſoned and fortified.

There were two towns that he took in the middle of Idumæa, (Bethabri and Caphartobi) where he killed upward of ten thouſand men, reſerving near a thouſand for ſlaves, drove out the reſt of the people, and left a conſiderable part of his troops to ſally out and commit outrages upon the mountains.

He returned after this with the remainder of his army to Ammaus; and paſſing from thence by Samaria and Neapolis, (which the natives call Mabartha) he came the ſecond of the month Deſius to Corea, where he encamped, and ſhewed himſelf next day before Jericho. At Jericho Trajan, one of his chief officers, joined him with the troops under his command, after the entire reduction of all beyond Jordan: But moſt of the inhabitants were withdrawn to the mountains over againſt Jeruſalem before the arrival of the Romans, and a great part of thoſe that ſtaid behind were put to the ſword.

Veſpaſian, in fine, found Jericho a deſolate and a forſaken city. It ſtands upon a plain that is overlooked by a naked and barren mountain, and is of ſuch an extent that it reaches upon the north ſide to the region of Scythopolis, on the ſouth as far as Sodom and the borders of the lake Aſphaltitis; a country ſo wretchedly poor and barren, that there's no living there. Over againſt this, and on the farther ſide of the river Jordan, there lies another mountain, which begins at Julias toward the north, and ſtretches ſouthward up to Gomorrha, and ſo borders upon Petra, a city of Arabia. There is alſo another mountain, which they call iron mountain, and runs out as far as the land of the Moabites. Between theſe mountains lies a place called the great plain: It begins at Gennabara, and ſtretches out to the lake Aſphaltitis; the length of it is two hundred and thirty furlongs, a hundred and twenty over, and the river Jordan croſſes the middle of it.

There are two remarkable lakes, the one called Aſphaltitis, the other the lake of Tiberias, but of very different, if not quite contrary qualities, the former being ſalt and crude, without fiſh, but the other ſweet, kindly, and fruitful. The ſummer heats there are intolerable, the country burned up with them, and the air hot and ſickly, without any refreſhment but from the river of Jordan; as appears by the palm-trees, which thrive much better upon the banks than at a diſtance.

At or near to Jericho itſelf, there is a large and plentiful fountain, which overflows all the grounds thereabouts, and takes its riſe not far from an ancient city, the firſt place that Jeſus the ſon of Nave, the famous general of the Hebrews, gained from the Canaanites by the ſword. There goes a tradition, that this fountain in time paſt was ſo dangerous, that it did not only corrupt the fruits of the earth, as well grain as plants, but likewiſe cauſed abortions in women, and tainted with a blaſting infection whatever it touched that was capable of ſuch an impreſſion. But it ſays farther, that from the days of the prophet Eliſha, the waters of this fountain became nouriſhing and wholſome; and upon this occaſion: Eliſha having been treated with reſpect by the people of Jericho, went out to the fountain, and cauſing a pitcher of ſalt to be let down into the bottom of it, he beſought God in his goodneſs to correct the waters, and to ſweeten the veins that paſſed from them, to ſoften the air, and make it temperate and fructifying; to beſtow children as well as fruits upon the inhabitants in abundance, and never to withdraw theſe bleſſings ſo long as they continued in their duty. Upon the offering up of this prayer, the quality of the fountain was changed, and the waters were now become an efficacious means of plenty and increaſe.

The country is ſeventy furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth, furniſhed with curious gardens and thick groves in abundance, with palm trees along the brooks of different kinds, names and taſtes. They preſs out of ſome of them great quantities of a ſort of honey, not much inferior to other honey, which they have there alſo in great plenty. And then for balſam, which is the choiceſt fruit they have, there is great ſtore of it; and ſo for Cyprus, and Myrobalanus: A bleſſing from heaven undoubtedly, for a country to produce not only the choiceſt of all the fruits of the earth, but the largeſt and beſt of the ſeveral ſorts. And they are not behind the happieſt of all other countries neither for the productions of other fruits, and for the improving of them as well in growth as in virtue. This may be aſcribed, in my opinion, to ſome peculiar property and diſpoſition in the water, and to a certain kindly warmth in the air. Such, in fine, is the temperature of the climate, that when it is froſt and ſnow in other parts of Judæa, the natives of this place go clad only in ſingle linen.

It lies a hundred and fifty ſtadia from the river Jordan, and the whole country between that and Jeruſalem is all rock and deſert. It lies lower indeed between this place and Jordan, and ſo to the lake Aſphaltitis, but every jot as rude and barren as the other. This is enough ſaid of the happy ſituation, and the natural advantages of Jericho.

CHAP. V.

Nothing ſinks in the Lake of Aſphaltitis. Veſpaſian *tries the Experiment, and finds it ſo. Several wonderful Qualities in this Lake. It borders upon* Sodom. *A fair Fruit there to the Eye, but falls to nothing upon the Touch.*

THE lake Aſphaltitis is ſalt, and no fiſh will live in it, nor hardly any thing ſink that is thrown into it, let it be never ſo heavy; ſo that a man would find it a hard matter to drown himſelf in this lake, if he had never ſo great a mind to it. Veſpaſian having heard of the ſtrange quality of this water, took a journey to ſee it, and ordered ſeveral perſons that could not ſwim to be caſt into it from above, with their hands tied behind them; and they all came up again as if they had been raiſed up by a puff of wind, and floated on the ſurface of the water. There is a wonderful ſecret in this lake, which is, that it changes colour thrice a day, according to the various refraction of the light of the ſun-beams upon it. There are alſo to be ſeen in ſeveral parts of it large lumps of a dark bituminous matter, not much unlike the bodies of bulls without heads. The people of the country fiſh them up in their boats, but the ſubſtance of them is ſo viſcous, and one part ſo glued to another, that there is no getting the veſſel off again but by diſſolving the lumps, and ſeparating that part without the boat from the other within; which diſſolution is to be wrought by the means of urine and the menſtrua of a woman. This bituminous matter ſerves both for ſhipping, and for medicines; for it ſtops leaks, and cures many diſeaſes.

The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, the breadth of it a hundred and fifty, and it runs out as far as Zoar in Arabia.

It borders upon the land of Sodom; a country once famous both for the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, and for the wealth of the inhabitants: but at preſent it lies totally deſolate, having been deſtroyed by a judgment of fire from Heaven for the wickedneſs of the people. There are yet to be ſeen there the remains of the ruins of five abominable cities that periſhed in that conflagration: And there are mock-fruits to be ſeen to this day ſpringing out of the aſhes, fair and lovely to the eye, but reſolving into ſmoke and aſhes upon the touch. So that we have not only tradition, but ocular teſtimony alſo for the credit of this hiſtory.

CHAP. VI.

Veſpaſian *inveſts* Jeruſalem. Geraſa *taken by Aſſault and burnt. The News of* Nero's *Death. Concerning* Nero, Galba, *and* Otho. Veſpaſian *ſuſpends his Deſign upon* Jeruſalem. *All Things are put to a Stand.*

VESPASIAN being reſolved to inveſt Jeruſalem on every ſide, raiſed two forts at Adida, putting into each of them gariſons both of auxiliaries and Romans. The general then ſent Lucius Annius with a body of horſe and foot to Geraſa, which he took by ſtorm upon the firſt attack. He put a thouſand young men to the ſword, whom he intercepted in their flight, carried away whole families priſoners, and gave the ſoldiers the pillage: And this being done, he ſet fire to the place, and ſo went forward. The rich fled, thoſe that could not get away were cut to pieces, and whatever they took they burned: Nothing in ſhort eſcaped them, neither mountains nor valleys, places or people, but all ſuffered in the outrages of the war. As for thoſe that were ſhut up in Jeruſalem, there was no ſtirring out: The Zelotes keeping ſo ſtrict a watch upon thoſe that were friends to the Romans; and the town being ſo beſet by the enemy, that the Zelotes party doſt not venture for fear of falling into their hands.

When Veſpaſian was now returned to Ceſarea, and preparing to advance with his whole army againſt Jeruſalem, News was brought him of the death of Nero, who had reigned thirteen years and eight days; and then killed himſelf.

Veſpaſian, upon this intelligence, put a ſtop at firſt to his expedition againſt Jeruſalem, till he might know what became of the government after the death of Nero; and finding the ſucceſſion ſettled upon Galba, he did not yet think it prudent to act in an affair of that quality without orders: So he ſent away his ſon Titus immediately to Galba, both to congratulate his acceſſion to the government, and to receive his inſtructions and commands, what meaſures to take. King Agrippa would needs put himſelf aboard with Titus upon the ſame errand; ſo they embarked together. But as they were upon their paſſage near Achaia, they were given to underſtand that Galba was ſlain, after a government of ſeven months and ſeven days: Otho ſucceeding him, who governed three months. This alteration did not hinder Agrippa from proſecuting his journey to Rome: But Titus by a divine impulſe ſailed from Achaia into Syria, and from thence very ſeaſonably got back to Ceſarea to his father. They both were in ſuſpence what would enſue, and who ſhould be emperor, the empire being ſo full of trouble: And ſo they neglected the war againſt the Jews, fearing for their own country, and therefore thinking it an unfit time to invade ſtrangers.

CHAP. VII.

A new War in Jeruſalem. Simon *encounters* Ananus. *He is worſted, and flies to* Maſſada. Simon *begins with* Idumæa *upon the Death of* Ananus. *An obſtinate Fight betwixt him and the* Zelotes. Eleazar *ſummons* Herodion, *and the Garriſon receives him.* *He is diſcovered, and makes himſelf away.* James *of* Idumæa *falſe under the Countenance of a Spie.* Idumæa *taken without a Stroke.* Chebron *ſurprized.* Idumæa *laid waſte.*

UPON this revolution there broke out a new war in Jeruſalem. There was one Simon the ſon of Giora, a Geraſene born, and in the prime of his age; he was ſo dangerous a perſon that Ananus the high-prieſt drove him out of his government in the toparchy of Acrabatena, and made him fly to the thieves in Maſſada for refuge. They ſuſpected him at firſt, but finding how fit he was for their turn, who but Simon to command parties upon adventure, and to join the reſt of the troops in pillaging and depopulating the territory of Maſſada? But nothing leſs than ſovereignty would ſerve his turn; though to no purpoſe, till the news was brought him of the death of Ananus. And immediately upon the removal of that obſtacle he took his courſe into the woods, and iſſued out proclamations of liberty to all ſlaves, and rewards to all freemen, that would liſt themſelves in his party. He made ſeveral excurſions into the toparchy of Acrabatena and the greater Idumæa, where he made choice of Nain for his retreat. In the valley of Pharan he found many caverns fitted to his hand, and others that he enlarged, for granaries, ſtores, magazines, and places of ſtowage, for what he got by pillage and booty. By this proviſion of men and neceſſaries, every body gave it for granted that his main deſign was upon Jeruſalem. The Zelotes were of the ſame opinion too, and finding it dangerous to let him go on, they advanced in a full body to charge him at the head of his troops: He encountered them with great courage, made a conſiderable ſlaughter among them, and put the reſt to the rout.

Now Simon did not think himſelf ſtrong enough yet to meddle with Jeruſalem, but choſe rather to begin with the conqueſt of Idumæa, and ſo marched away preſently twenty thouſand ſtrong toward the borders. Upon this appearance the heads of the Idumæans quickly got an army together of near twenty five thouſand choice men, leaving alſo a competent number to ſecure the country againſt the cut-throats in Maſſada. The Idumæans waited for Simon upon the borders, where upon his advance the two bodies engaged, and the battle laſted from morning till night, upon terms ſo equal that nobody could ſay which of the two had the better or the worſe: But they had both enough of it; for Simon drew off quietly to Nain, and the Idumæans returned to their own home.

Not long after Simon took the field again with the reinforcement of a much ſtronger army, and encamping near the village of Thecue, he ſent Eleazar to the governor of Herodion, requiring him to deliver the caſtle into his hands. The officers upon coming to underſtand his commiſſion, all drew upon him, and Eleazar finding it impoſſible to eſcape, leaped down the precipice from the wall, where he was daſhed to pieces.

The Idumæans were poſſeſſed with ſuch an apprehenſion of Simon's ſtomach and power, that they had no mind to grapple with him, till they might firſt be perfectly well informed in the ſtate and ſtrength of his army. James, one of their commanders, very readily took upon himſelf the office of an informer, and ſo went to Simon. After ſome diſcourſe, he entered into a ſolemn contract with Simon to deliver up his country into his hands, upon condition to be treated after the performance of it as his firſt miniſter and favourite; and undertaking in the next place to make all Idumæa for him. When Simon had ſufficiently ſweetened this treacherous inſtrument with a ſplendid treat, fair words, and large promiſes, he went back again to his own people, where he made Simon twenty times more conſiderable than in truth he was, which had ſuch an effect that they were prevailed upon to lay all at Simon's feet: James ſending away meſſengers at the ſame time to Simon to come immediately. Upon the approach of the army, James was the firſt man that took horſe, and away he ſpurred, as in a fright, with the reſt of the faction at his heels. This ſtruck ſuch a terror into the hearts of the people, that they ran their ſeveral ways; and ſo diſperſed upon it, that the whole army was diſſolved without ſo much as one ſtroke.

Simon being now poſſeſſed of Idumæa, he ſurpriſed the town of Chebron, with corn in it, and other booty to a prodigious value. This city is of great antiquity, and not only the eldeſt of the province, but, if we may believe the natives, ancienter than even the Egyptian Memphis itſelf, being computed to be of two thouſand three hundred years ſtanding. They have a tradition that Abraham, the original father of the Jews, took up his habitation there, upon his leaving Meſopotamia, and that his poſterity removed from thence into Egypt; where there are monuments to be ſeen at this day, with marble inſcriptions curiouſly wrought, with confirmation of what I deliver. There is likewiſe to be ſeen, within ſix furlongs of the place, a wonderful turpentine tree, which, according to the tradition of the place, was created with the world itſelf, and is yet ſound and firm.

From this place Simon made his inroads quite through Idumæa, with a train of forty thouſand men at his heels, beſide his men of arms; deſtroying and depopulating, not only towns and villages, but whole territories and countries, wherever he came.

The inhumanity of this proceeding ſtuck in the ſtomachs of the Zelotes, though they durſt not bring it to an open war, but contented themſelves with what they got now and then upon the ſnap, by ſurpriſe; and it was their fortune at laſt to take Simon's wife priſoner, and carried her away to Jeruſalem with as much joy and triumph as if it had been the Huſband himſelf, making no doubt but Simon would now lay down his arms and compound for his wiſe.

He went immediately to the gates of Jeruſalem, and there, like a wild beaſt that is wounded and cannot come at the man that did it, he diſcharged his outrageous choler upon whatever came in his way; men, women and children, that only went out of the town for ſticks and herbs, he cauſed to be taken up and whipped to death, young and old without diſtinction. He alſo took many and cut off their hands, and ſent them to the town ſo maimed, with theſe words in their mouths: That Simon ſwore by the great God, who governs the univerſe, if they did not immediately ſend him his wiſe again, he would force their walls, and put every creature in the town to the ſame extremity, whether they were young or old, guilty or innocent. The dread of theſe menaces did not only work upon the multitude, but upon the Zelotes themſelves: Inſomuch that they returned him his wiſe upon it, and ſo far pacified his wrath as to obtain ſome ſort of reſpite to his daily cruelties.

CHAP. VIII.

The Roman *Empire fallen to Pieces within itſelf. Two Battles between* Otho *and* Vitellius. Otho *kills himſelf.* Veſpaſian *propoſes to over-run* Judæa. Cerealis *takes* Capharis, *and lays* Chebron *in Aſhes.*

NOT only in Judæa, but alſo in Italy, at this time was civil war; for Galba was ſlain in the midſt of Rome by the ſoldiers; after whom Otho was created emperor, and ſought againſt Vitellius, who affected the empire, being choſe emperor by the German legions. They had two battles for it near Bebrias, a town in Gallia Ciſalpina: The firſt day Otho got the victory againſt Valens and Cecinna, the generals of Vitellius's army; but the day following they overcame Otho's army. There was a great ſlaughter; and Otho, upon this defeat, ſlew himſelf at Brixels, having held the empire three months and two days. Otho's ſoldiers turned to Vitellius's captains, and joined with them, and ſo Vitellius marched away to Rome with his army.

Veſpaſian in the mean time removed from Ceſarea on the fifth of the month Deſius, in a proſpect of making a thorough conqueſt of Judæa, by reducing the remainder of it that yet ſtood out: He began among the mountains, and made himſelf maſter of the toparchies of Gophnis and Acrabatena, poſſeſſing himſelf afterwards of the cities of Bethel and Ephraim, where he ſettled garriſons. His next remove was toward Jeruſalem, where he took and killed a great number of Jews by the way.

Cerealis, in the mean time, one of the principal officers, with a body of horſe and foot, over-ran the upper Idumæa; took and burned the caſtle Caphetra by the way; and having laid ſiege to Capharis, a ſtrong walled town, the townſmen opened their gates, and gave it up. Having thus carried every thing before him, he went to Chebron, which he attacked and carried at the firſt aſſault: He put all the people in it to the ſword, and ſacked and burned the city. There were yet three caſtles in the poſſeſſion of the faction, Herodion, Maſſada and Machærus: and Veſpaſian wanted nothing after this to put a final end to this terrible war but the taking of Jeruſalem.

CHAP. IX.

Simon *a worſe Enemy than the* Romans; *and the* Zelotes *worſt of all. The* Idumæans *revolt and ſcatter the* Zelotes; *Purſuing them to the Palace, and ſo to the Temple.* John *caſt off*; *and* Simon *invited into the Government*; *Where he is welcomed with Acclamations. An Aſſault upon the Temple.*

WHEN Simon had got his wife again from the Zelotes, he wreaked the bitterneſs of his malice upon the remainder of the Idumæans, and perſecuted them ſo bloodily that divers of them fled to Jeruſalem for ſanctuary, Simon purſuing them to the very foot of the wall, and killing all comers and goers that came within his reach. So that Simon without the town was a worſe enemy than the Romans, and the Zelotes within worſe than both. But the Galileans all this while improved them in all the arts of wickedneſs, by inſtruction, encouragement and example. Now John being their creature, thought it but reaſonable to employ the power they had procured him to the ſatisfaction of his patrons; and ſo left them at liberty to live without control, according to their luſts. In the matter of rapine and pillage their avarice was inſatiable. They made no more of taking away the lives of men, and the honour of women, than of a common frolic of diverſion: He that eſcaped John fell into the hands of Simon, the bloodier monſter of the two: And he that got clear of the domeſtic tyrant, was deſtroyed by the other before the town: Beſide that all the paſſages were ſo blocked up that there was no coming off for thoſe that had a mind to go over to the Romans.

Between the envy of John's power and the deteſtation of his barbarous cruelties, the eyes of the Idumæans were by this time opened; for they broke out into a direct revolt, and made head againſt him. It came to a battle, and a great many of the Zelotes were ſlain upon the ſpot; the reſt fled into the palace royal, which was originally erected by one Grapte, a kinſwoman of Izates, the king of the Adiabenians. The Idumæans puſhed in along with them: and ſo beating the Zelotes into the temple, they made themſelves maſters of the whole maſs of John's treaſure for a booty, which was there depoſited under the roof of his own habitation. The Zelotes up and down the town gathered together upon this, to join thoſe of their companions that were got into the temple; and John immediately put himſelf in a poſture for a ſally upon the Idumæans and the citizens. Upon this occaſion they deliberated with the high-prieſt what meaſures they were to take; ſo they reſolved among themſelves to caſt off John, and to ſet up Simon in his ſtead; and Matthias the high-prieſt was ſent to invite Simon into the town for their governor, whom they had been ſo often in dread of. Simon gave them a magiſterial anſwer that their petition was granted, and ſo entered the city in the quality of their preſerver, the people receiving him alſo with acclamations in the ſame ſtile and character. This happened in the third month that they call Xanthius. Simon had no ſooner entered Jeruſalem with his troops, but his head was preſently at work how to ſettle himſelf, for he looked upon thoſe that called him in, and thoſe againſt whom he was called, to be equally his enemies.

When John found himſelf cooped up in the temple with the reſt of the Zelotes, and that Simon and his companions had made a thorough rifle of the city, he gave himſelf for loſt. The latter, in the mean time, led on the common people to an aſſault upon the temple; but the beſiegers were ſo galled with ſtones, darts and arrows from the galleries and battlements over head, that they were driven back with great loſs.

CHAP. X.

A civil War in Rome; *and* Vitellius *at the Head of a vaſt Army there. The News of* Vitellius *being choſen Emperor goes to the Heart of* Veſpaſian. *The Soldiers are bent upon a Change; and* Veſpaſian *takes the Army into his Care.*

IN the very heat of theſe broils in Jeruſalem, there broke out a worſe miſchief in Rome itſelf, that is to ſay, a civil war. Vitellius was now come out of Germany, and ſo prodigious a multitude of foreign troops along with him, that for want of room in the lodgments that were aſſigned them, they were obliged to take up in private houſes, and to turn the whole city into one general quarter. The ſparkling of the Romans gold and ſilver was ſuch an eyeſore to ſtrangers that were not uſed to thoſe ſights that they could hardly keep their finger off, either from taking things by force, or killing thoſe that hindered them. This was the condition of Italy at that time.

Upon Veſpaſian's return to Ceaſarea, after laying waſte all about Jeruſalem, the news was brought him of ſtrange tumults in Rome, and that Vitellius was declared emperor. This wonderful turn was ſo great a mortification and diſtraction to Veſpaſian, that he could not ſo much as think of any foreign wars, at a time when his country was labouring under ſuch miſerable circumſtances at home. But as his indignation ſpurred him on to a revenge on the one hand, ſo the difficulties of ſo long a journey in order to the execution of it (in winter too) put a check to him on the other. While this was in agitation the officers and ſoldiers drew into clubs and cabals, in parties; and ſo diſcourſing freely upon matters of ſtate and government, they came at length to an unanimous reſolution to make Veſpaſian emperor; and one and all cried up Veſpaſian emperor, begging him at the ſame time to take the tottering empire into his protection. This great man had been a long time the ſupporter of the empire; but for the ſtile of emperor he abſolutely refuſed it, declaring that he had much rather ſpend the remainder of his days in the freedom of a private life, than among the ſnares and difficulties of a more illuſtrious ſtation. The more Veſpaſian ſtood off, the more the officers preſſed him, till at length, upon his obſtinate denial, they came all up to him with their ſwords drawn, and threatened to kill him, unleſs he would ſubmit to accept of the honour that he deſerved; ſo he yielded to the importunity.

CHAP. XI.

Mucianus *preſſes* Veſpaſian *to march againſt* Vitellius; *but* Veſpaſian *is rather for* Alexandria. *Of* Egypt *and the Situation of it.* Alexandria *a dangerous Port. The Tower of* Pharos. Tiberius Alexander *a true Friend to* Veſpaſian.

VESPASIAN was no ſooner advanced to the empire, but Mucianus and the reſt of the officers that invited him to the government, with the whole army, called out with one voice to march againſt Vitellius; but Veſpaſian was rather of opinion for beginning with Alexandria; Egypt being one of the moſt neceſſary and conſiderable branches of the empire, in reſpect of the vaſt quantities of corn it produces: Inſomuch that if he could but make himſelf maſter of that country, he was in hope that Rome itſelf would rather turn out Vitellius than run the hazard, if they ſtood it out, of ſtarving for his ſake, as of neceſſity they muſt without relief from Egypt. He deſired alſo a reinforcement of two legions that lay at Alexandria to join him.

He propounded alſo the making of the province a ſecure place of retreat in the worſt of fortunes. There is hardly any coming at it by land, and no ports to the ſea: It is bounded on the weſt with the parching land of Lybia; on the ſouth Syene divides it from Ethiopia and the impaſſable cataracts of the river Nile; on the eaſt the Red-Sea ſerves it for a rampart as far as the city Coptos; and on the north it ſtretches out as far as Syria, and that which they call the Egyptian Sea, and the coaſt quite thorough wholly deſtitute of ports: So that nature hath provided for the ſecurity of Egypt in the very ſituation of it. From Peleuſium to Syene they reckon two thouſand ſtadia, and three thouſand ſix hundred by ſea from Plinthine to Peleuſium. The Nile is navigable as far as Elephantine, but there is no paſſing further for the cataracts.

Alexandria, let the weather be never ſo fair, is a nice and a dangerous port, the entrance very narrow, and the rocks ſo ſcattered up and down in ſhallow water, that he muſt be a very exact guide that knows all the turnings. On the left hand it is encompaſſed with a dyke, like an arm about it; on the right lies the iſle of Pharos, which hath been ſo celebrated for a famous ſea-mark: The light of it is ſeen three hundred furlongs off at ſea, and ſerves as a direction to mariners what courſe they are to ſteer. About this iſland there are mighty defences of ſtrong keys and thick walls to break the violence of the waves that beat upon that quarter, and the rage of the billows daſhing one upon another makes the paſſage yet more hazardous. But after all theſe difficulties in the way, there is not a ſafer port in nature when you are once over the bar. The length of it is thirty furlongs, and it is furniſhed with conveniences of ſtorehouſes for all manner of goods, to be either imported or exported.

Veſpaſian was much in the right when he pitched upon Alexandria in order to the eſtabliſhment of the empire: And upon that occaſion, he gave the governor Tiberius Alexander to underſtand, that being prevailed upon by the importunity of the ſoldiers to take charge of the government, he could not do better than to deſire the favour of his aſſiſtance and advice in the adminiſtration. Alexander had no ſooner read the letter, but with all frankneſs and alacrity, he gave the legions and the people the oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian; who took it with the greateſt inſtances of joy and affection imaginable, being abundantly ſatisfied before-hand in the certain knowledge and experience of his honour and virtue.

Alexander in the mean time made a juſt and a generous uſe of the power that was given him for the ſervice of the public, and applied himſelf in the firſt place to the providing neceſſaries for the reception of the new prince.

CHAP. XII.

Veſpaſian's *Advancement pleaſes all People. He aſcribes all his Succeſſes to Providence. Several Preſages of his future Greatneſs.* Joſeph *treated* Veſpaſian *in the Stile of* Emperor, *even while* Nero *was yet living, and himſelf a Priſoner; for which* Veſpaſian *gives him his Liberty with Honours and Rewards.*

THE news flew like lightning every where up and down the eaſt of Veſpaſian's being advanced to the empire, and it was ſo welcome wherever it came, that all the cities made holiday upon the arrival of it, with vows and ſacrifices for Veſpaſian's happy reign.

The legions that were quartered in Mæſia and Pannonia, and were lately up in arms againſt Vitellius, for his tyrannical inſolence, took the oath to Veſpaſian with all the chearfulneſs in the world.

Upon Veſpaſian's return from Ceſarea to Berytus, there were ſeveral ambaſſadors from Syria and other provinces that met him upon the way, with garlands and congratulatory addreſſes in the name of the cities and people: Mucianus the governor of Syria among the reſt, with aſſurances of the faith and good affection of all in general, expreſſed by oaths and otherwiſe, to the perſon and authority of Veſpaſian.

Now Veſpaſian being ſo fortunate in all his undertakings, he began to think that it was the hand of God, not fortune, that raiſed him up to the enterpriſe. It came then into his head what ſtrange prophetical hints and touches he had obſerved in the courſe of his life, and all pointing to the ſame end; as a paſſage particularly of Joſeph's, who had the confidence in the very life of Nero, to give Veſpaſian the title of emperor. This remarkable prediction made ſuch an impreſſion upon Veſpaſian, that calling Mucianus and ſeveral of his friends and officers about him, he took occaſion to make mention of Joſeph's predictions, " Which," ſays Veſpaſian, " I took to " be only inventions to keep himſelf in a " whole ſkin, till time and the event of " things have made it evident that they " were inſpirations; And what a ſhame is " it for me ſtill to treat the meſſenger of " God, that brought me the tidings of my " preferment, at the ſcandalous rate of a " priſoner."

He had no ſooner paſſed this reflection, but Joſeph was immediately ſent for and ſet at liberty. Titus told his father, that in barely ſetting Joſeph at liberty the work was but half done, for his chains ought to be broken as well as taken off, to pronounce him an innocent, and to leave him as he found him. Veſpaſian thought it but reaſonable, and ordered his chains immediately to be hewn in pieces.

CHAP. XIII.

Veſpaſian *takes* Antioch *in his Way to* Rome; *and ſends* Mucianus *with a great Army into* Italy. Cæcinna *draws* Vitellius's *Men over to* Veſpaſian; *and the Soldiers ſeize him as a Traitor. A Fight betwixt* Anthony *and the* Vitellians; *the latter worſted, and fly toward* Cremona, *where they are totally cut off.* Sabinus *ſeizes the* Capitol. Vitellius *ſtabb'd to Death.*

WHEN Veſpaſian had given the ambaſſadors their anſwers, and ſettled all his governments in the hands of fit and careful officers, he changed his mind, and went to Antioch, and ſo forward to Rome, rather than Alexandria, as he thought to have done, the latter being ſafe and quiet, and the other miſerably embroiled by Vitellius, and ſtanding in more need of him of the two. So he ſent Mucianus over land into Italy with an army of horſe and foot, by the way of Cappadocia and Phrygia, for he durſt not venture his troops upon a winter ſea.

Among others there was Antoninus Primus, the governor of Mœſia, with the third legion that lay in that province, who deſired nothing more than to come to an encounter with Vitellius. And ſo Vitellius, on the other hand, ſent Cæcinna at the head of a ſtrong army againſt him. As he was upon his march for Rome, he met Anthony upon the borders of Italy, not far from Cremona, where he ſtopped and gazed upon the numbers, the order and the diſcipline of the enemy, but durſt not engage them. He was now at a ſtand what to do. Fight he durſt not, and he could not run away with honour: So he choſe the part of a deſerter rather than of a coward. He called his centurions, tribunes, and all his officers together, and made uſe of that occaſion to enter into a deſcant upon Veſpaſian and Vitellius, ſtill derogating from the one, and elevating the other; and with a deſign all this while to draw Vitellius's people to Veſpaſian. Cæcinna plied his argument ſo far that he gained his point, and carried the ſoldiers over to Anthony. But the next night Cæcinna's men, between repentance for what they had done, and fear of puniſhment in caſe Vitellius ſhould get the better of it, came in a rage with their ſwords drawn up to Cæcinna to kill him; and they had certainly done it if the tribunes had not paſſionately interpoſed on his behalf: So that they ſpared his life, but ordered him however to be kept in chains, and ſent away to Vitellius for a traytor. As ſoon as this came to Anthony's ear, he preſently commanded out a party to fall upon them as deſerters. They made a ſhort ſtand, but after the firſt ſhock they gave ground, and took their flight toward Cremona; but Anthony put in with his horſe between them and the town, and begirting them around made a great ſlaughter upon the place, and gave the ſoldiers the pillage of the town. There periſhed promiſcuouſly in this ravage, foreign merchants and townſmen in abundance, with the whole army of Vitellius, to the number of thirty thouſand two hundred perſons. There fell four thouſand five hundred of the men brought out of Mœſia by Anthony, who ſetting Cæcinna at liberty, ſent him away to Veſpaſian with the news of the victory; where he was received with great and unexpected honours to balance the diſgrace of being falſe to his maſter.

When Sabinus, Veſpaſian's brother, underſtood that Anthony was upon his march toward Rome, it put new life into him; ſo that drawing together the city guards, that night he ſeized the capitol. Great numbers of perſons of the firſt quality came in to them the next day, and among the reſt his nephew Domitian, who had a great hand in the glory of that action.

Vitellius never troubled his head about Anthony; but his main ſpite was at Sabinus, and the reſt that join'd with him in the revolt: And being naturally ſanguinary and cruel, he ſent a body of his own troops to attack the capitol, and in the end the Germans overpowering their adverſaries with numbers gained the hill. Domitian and ſeveral Romans of the higheſt quality eſcaped, but Sabinus was carried to Vitellius, who ordered him immediately to be put to death; and all the reſt were cut to pieces, the ſoldiers ſeizing the plunder of the temple, and then ſetting fire to it.

Anthony came up the next day with his army, and the Vitellians gave him battle. They fought in three ſeveral parts of the city, and the forces of Vitellius were all defeated. After this Vitellius came out of his palace, wallowing drunk, and was ſeized and dragged through the ſtreets, vilified with all ſorts of ſcurrilous outrages, and ſtabbed to death in the middle of the city. He had now reigned eight months and five days, and ſuch was his profuſion, that if he had lived longer the revenue of the empire would not have anſwered the charge of his debauches. They reckon upon upward of fifty thouſand men ſlain, over and above thoſe already mentioned. This great action happened upon the third day of the month Apellæus.

Mucianus next day entered Rome with his army; and after ſome ſtop put to the mercileſs rage of Anthony's ſoldiers, intimated to the people that they ſhould do well to chuſe Domitian for their governor till his father came up. But the people would not hear of any other governor than Veſpaſian.

CHAP. XIV.

Veſpaſian *at* Alexandria, *and courted with Addreſſes from all Quarters. He ſends away his Son* Titus *upon an expedition to* Jeruſalem. Titus's *March.*

VESPASIAN, at his coming to Alexandria, was entertained with the whole hiſtory of what had paſſed at Rome, and plied with congratulatory embaſſies and applications from all quarters, to give him joy of his exaltation to the empire. Alexandria is looked upon as one of the largeſt cities in the world, next to Rome itſelf, and yet upon this occaſion it was too little for the company. The imperial ſtate of Rome being now ſettled and ſecured, the people quiet and eaſy, beyond all expectation, and the winter over, Veſpaſian began to bethink himſelf of looking toward the remainder of Judæa, and to prepare for his journey to Rome. When he had put every thing in order in Alexandria, he ſent away his ſon Titus with his beſt troops upon an expedition againſt Jeruſalem. He went as far as Nicopolis by land, (about twenty furlongs from Alexandria,) and then embarking his troops upon long boats, paſſed down the river Nile, along the banks of the Mendeſian canton, to the city of Thmuis, and went aſhore at Tanis. From thence he went to Heracleopolis, and ſo to Peleuſium, where he ſtaid two days to refreſh his troops, and then marched away acroſs the deſart, and encamped by the temple of Jupiter Caſſius. The next day he went to Oſtracine, a place ſo extremely dry that the inhabitants have no water at all but what they bring from abroad. From thence to Rhinocorura, where he ſtaid a while; and then to Raphia, the firſt city upon the borders of Syria, and his fourth ſtage: Gaza was the fifth, and he went from thence to Aſcalon, and ſo to Jamnia and Joppa:

From Joppa to Ceſarea, with a reſolution to ſtrengthen himſelf with other additional troops.

When he had paſſed the deſarts between Egypt and Syria, in ſuch manner as is already ſet forth, he came to Ceſarea, with a reſolution to draw his troops together there, and to form his army.

THE

THE

WARS of the *JEWS.*

BOOK V.

The Year of the World 4034.

CHAP. I.

Three Factions in Jeruſalem. Eleazar *began the Breach, by ſetting up the* Zelotes *againſt the People.* John *of* Giſchala *puts in for himſelf. A Fight betwixt* John *and* Eleazar. *An Encounter betwixt* John *and* Simon. *The deplorable State of* Jeruſalem, *that has neither Humanity left in it, nor Conſcience.*

WHILE Titus was as yet with his father Veſpaſian at Alexandria, giving orders about the adminiſtration of the empire which God had put into their hands, the factions in Jeruſalem were divided into three parties, and each againſt the other.

Eleazar the ſon of Simon was the firſt that began the ſeparation in the temple, by ſetting up the Zelotes againſt the people, upon the pretence of being wonderfully offended at the daily inſolence of John of Giſchala, but at the ſame time doing the ſame cruel things himſelf; and fell off from his companions and ſet up for himſelf, with Judas the ſon of Chelcias, and Simon the ſon of Ezron, two perſons of great quality and intereſt, and likewiſe with Ezechias the ſon of Chobar, a man nobly deſcended; and every one of them a train of Zelotes at his heels. With this party they took poſſeſſion of the inner temple, and put guards upon the ſacred porches and doors, in confidence that the proviſions of the place, by reaſon of the multitude of their daily oblations, would ſupply them with all neceſſaries; the only thing they feared was want of men for the execution of any conſiderable deſign. John was much the ſtronger of the two; but what Eleazer wanted in number was abundantly made good to him by the advantage of the place, for he had his enemy under him. Now John could not attempt any thing upon him but to his loſs: But his ſtomach and animoſity carried it in the end however from his diſcretion, and he made ſeveral attacks both with darts and other weapons of that quality, till the temple was polluted with the gore of the dead bodies.

On the other ſide, Simon the ſon of Gorias, whom the people in their diſtreſs had invited and entertained for their governor and protector, having in his poſſeſſion the upper town, and the greater part of the lower, carried on the aſſault againſt John and his party with the greater vigour, when he ſaw how he was preſſed at the ſame time from above by Eleazar. But John had the ſame advantage of Simon that Eleazar had of John, who effectually had a double war upon him, and as much the better of the one as the worſe of the other: For juſt ſo much as Eleazar was too hard for John, whom he had under him, ſo much was he too hard for Simon who was below him again. So that John had little or no difficulty to repulſe the attempts of Simon from the lower ground; as he defended himſelf the beſt he could from Eleazar that was over his head, with ſlings and machines to caſt darts and ſtones. And theſe engines did execution not only upon the people in arms, but upon thoſe alſo that came out of devotion to worſhip. The dead bodies of ſtrangers and of natives, perſons holy and profane, were here promiſcuouſly confounded, and their blood flowing up to the very altar.

Jeruſalem in the mean time, between the faction within the town, and the beſiegers without, was like a great body worried and torn to pieces for a prey. Old men and women under ſuch an aſtoniſhment for what they ſaw and ſuffered, that they prayed for the ſucceſs of their very enemies, the Romans, and for a foreign war in exchange for a civil! The faction all this while fought on, and their heads and hearts were bent upon wickedneſs; and whatever came into their thought that they were able to compaſs, be it never ſo bloody and cruel, they made no ſcruple to execute it: Witneſs John's perverting to profane uſes thoſe ſacred materials that were ſet apart for the ſervice of God's houſe. There was once a reſolution taken up by the people and the high-prieſts, to raiſe the temple twenty cubits higher, and to carry up an arch to ſupport the work. To this end king Agrippa, with incredible charge and labour, brought from Mount Libanus certain admirable pieces of timber, both for length and ſize: But the war breaking out interrupted the deſign. So that John having occaſion for the materials, had the trees cut out into lengths for his own proper uſe, and then framed into turrets for his ſecurity and defence againſt Eleazar. They were raiſed along the wall to the weſtward, over-againſt the great hall, as the only place capable of ſuch a ſtructure, by reaſon of ſo many ſtair-caſes in the way. John flattered himſelf that this impious contrivance of his would have laid his enemies at his feet: But God in his providence diſappointed him, by bringing the Romans in upon him, before he could perfect his work.

When Titus had gotten together one part of his army, and ordered the remainder of it up to Jeruſalem, he went to Ceſarea, where he had with him beſide the three legions that had formerly made ſuch havock in Judæa under his father, the twelfth legion alſo, which was never the leſs brave for that unlucky encounter under Ceſtius: He ordered the fifth legion to meet him by the way of Ammaus, and the tenth by Jericho, while he himſelf marched with the reſt, in conjunction with a body of Royal auxiliaries, larger than ever heretofore, and a great number of Syrians. The detachments that were ſent by Veſpaſian under Mucianus into Italy, out of the four legions, he made good out of two thouſand choice men of the Alexandrian army that he brought along with him, and three thouſand more that followed him from the Euphrates: And there was the beſt of friends alſo, both for integrity and counſel, Tiberius Alexander, formerly the governor of Egypt, but now made choice of to command the army.

CHAP. II.

Titus *marches into the Enemy's Country; and takes a View of* Jeruſalem. *The* Jews *make a deſparate Sally.* Titus *preſerved by Providence. His Bravery and Conduct.*

TITUS advanced by the way of Samaria up to Gophna, a place that his father Veſpaſian had formerly taken; and there he found a garriſon, where he took up his lodging that night, and proſecuted his march next morning to a place that the Jews call the Valley of Thorns, near the village of Gabath Saul, or the Valley of Saul, where he encamped that evening, near thirty furlongs from Jeruſalem.

At this place Titus put himſelf at the head of ſix hundred choice horſe, and led them toward Jeruſalem to take a view of the town, being well aſſured that the people wanted nothing but ſtrength and opportunity for a revolt: But upon croſſing over toward the turret called Pſephinos, there ſallied out a vaſt number of Jews from the gate over-againſt the ſepulchre of Helena, on the quarter they call the Woman's Tower, that broke quite through the middle of Titus's body, and cutting off the communication between the two divided parties, they could not relieve one another. In this confuſion the Jews ſingled out Titus, with a very ſmall number of people about him, in a place where there was no going forward for the encloſures, gardens, and ditches between him and the wall; and his retreat was intercepted, on the other hand, by a ſtrong body of the enemy that was gotten betwixt him and his own people. But Titus's men not knowing the danger their general was in, and believing him to be yet ſafe and in the crowd, they had nothing more to do, they thought, but every man to look to one, and ſo to ſollow their captain. Titus finding that he had nothing but his ſword and his courage leſt him to truſt to, called out to his fellow ſoldiers to follow him, and in the ſame inſtant ſpurred deſperately into the enemy's body to force his way through to the reſt of his men. Now this was a time and action to give all people to underſtand how far the providence of God interpoſes in the event of wars, and in the perſonal preſervation of emperors and princes: For Titus, who came not out to fight a battle, but to make a diſcovery, had not provided himſelf with armour either for his head or his body, and yet not one dart or arrow, of all thoſe ſhowers that were thrown againſt him, once touched him. Titus in the mean time clearing his paſſage on both ſides with his ſword in his hand, overbearing all before him, and trampling his enemies under his horſe's feet; but finding that there was no way to come off but by a charge quite through and through, he made the puſh immediately, wherein one of Titus's friends was killed, horſe and man, and another overthrown and ſlain, and his horſe taken and carried off; while Titus, with the remainder of his people, got back again to his camp, without ſo much as one wound. The Jews took ſuch heart upon this temporary advantage, that they looked upon it as an earneſt of greater things to follow.

CHAP. III.

Domeſtic Factions are united by a foreign War. The Roman *Soldiers being ſurpriz'd without their Arms are beaten from their Camp. A Skirmiſh between the* Jews *and the* Romans. Titus *miſſing; and the* Romans *at their Wits End to know what was become of him. The* Jews *make a running Fight of it.*

UPON the coming up of a legion that night from Ammaus to join Ceſar, he marched away next morning early to Scopos, a place ſeven ſtadia to the northward from the city. It ſtands low, and in a fair proſpect both of the town and of the temple, (and ſo properly enough called Scopos.) He ordered two legions to encamp upon the place, and the fifth legion to withdraw three ſtadia farther off, where they might entrench without any danger from the enemy, being already wearied off their legs with a tedious night's march. Theſe legions were no ſooner at work upon the orders, but up comes the tenth legion from Jericho, a place lately taken and garriſoned by Veſpaſian. This legion was appointed to encamp ſix ſtadia to the eaſt of Jeruſalem and the Mount of Olives, which is over-againſt the city, and the valley of Cedron betwixt them.

The factions in the town went on tearing one another to pieces, as the bittereſt adverſaries in the world; till the dread of a foreign war and a common enemy made them friends again; and betaking themſelves to their arms, made a furious excurſion croſs the valley upon the tenth legion, with horrid clamours and outcries, as they were entrenching their camp; the ſoldiers being at work without their arms, the Jews fell upon them unawares; whereupon every man quitted his poſt: Some ran quite away; others fled to their arms, but were cut off before they could make uſe of them. Upon the credit of this victory, the Jews came flowing in more and more; and as the numbers increaſed on the one hand, ſo of neceſſity muſt the confuſion be on the other; till in the end the Romans were forced totally to abandon their camp: And the whole legion had been entirely cut off, if Titus had not come in the preciſe minute to their ſuccour; and betwixt reproaches of cowardice on the one ſide, and exemplary bravery on the other, put a ſtop to their flight. Titus took this opportunity of joining the fugitives, with a party of choice men he had about him of his own; and charging the Jews in flank, he killed ſeveral upon the ſpot; wounded more, and drove the whole body down into the valley: Upon their paſſing the valley they made a ſtand and maintained a fight with the Romans a-croſs it till mid-day. In the afternoon, Titus reinforced the legion with the troops he brought to ſuccour it, and poſting parties up and down to ſecure the Romans againſt excurſions, he ordered the remainder of his forces up the mountain, to encamp and fortify upon the top of it.

The Jews that were within diſtance of obſerving this motion from the walls, took it for a direct flight, and ruſhed out in ſuch an outrageous fury, that they looked liker a herd of wild beaſts than a multitude of men. The violence was ſo impetuous that not ſo much as one man in the contrary party durſt ſtand the ſhock: But they were all driven, ſome one way, and ſome another: But preſſing up the mountain all that was poſſible for refuge. About half way up the hill, Titus made a ſtand, with a few of his generous reſolute friends: Who, out of the veneration they had for the perſon and dignity of the emperor, beſought him not to expoſe any longer his own ſacred life againſt the worthleſs lives of a deſperate rabble of Jews: Titus took no more notice of what they ſaid than if he had not heard it; but ſtood upon his guard againſt all oppoſers, and encountered all aſſaults.

When the Romans from their camp above took notice what havock was made of their companions below, it ſtruck them with ſuch a horror and amazement, that the whole legion diſperſed upon it, taking for granted that the Romans were not able to ſtand before the Jews, and that Titus himſelf had quitted the field; or his ſoldiers (they thought) would never have forſaken him. While they were in this diſtraction, there was an alarm given by ſome that had ſeen Titus labouring for life in the middle of his enemies; calling upon them with outcries to haſten away to the reſcue of their general. This reproach tranſported them to ſo revengeful a rage that, without any farther thought of ſhifting for themſelves, they fell with all their might upon the Jews, and drove them away before them down the brow of the mountain. Titus preſſed hard upon thoſe he had to do withal, and ſo ſent the legion back to make an end of their trenches, he himſelf ſtaying with his own people about him, to keep the enemy at a diſtance. Now if I may be allowed to ſpeak the juſt truth of the matter, without flattery, envy, or detraction, this was the ſecond time that Titus ſaved this legion in the ſame day. And the ſoldiers were now at liberty to fortify and ſettle their camp.

CHAP. IV.

The Paſchal Feaſt at Hand. A curſed Deſign under the Cover of Religon. The three Factions contracted into two. Titus *moves toward* Jeruſalem, *and orders the levelling of the Paſſes.*

THE Jews had no ſooner a little breathing-while from the hoſtilities of the Romans, but they fell preſently all to pieces among themſelves. The paſchal feaſt, or the feaſt of unleavened bread, being now at hand, Eleazar cauſed the temple gate to be ſet open for a free entrance to all people that came up to worſhip. John made uſe of this religious occaſion, for a cover to a moſt execrable wickedneſs that he had in his heart. He picked out a ſelect number of his own people, whom he ſecretly intermingled with the worſhippers, giving them daggers and private arms under their coats, with inſtructions how to behave themſelves. The temple was immediately all in a tumult both within and without, and this uproar was looked upon as a general deſign upon the whole multitude, by thoſe that were not of the plot. But Eleazar and the Zelotes knew better, and that the malice of this exploit was principally levelled at them: And thereupon the guards drew off from the gates, others leapt down from the towers without ſtriking a blow, and crept into the temple vaults to hide themſelves. The common people that betook themſelves to the altar, were miſerably deſtroyed; ſome of them ſqueezed and trampled to death in the croud, others lay weltering in their blood up and down, or had their brains beaten out with ſwords and cudgels. But after all theſe barbarous inhumanities upon the innocent, the guilty found ſome ſort of quarter yet, in a connivance of their eſcapes out of thoſe vaults and holes where they had abſconded. The Zelotes being now abſolute maſters of the inner temple, preſſed harder ſtill upon Simon: The factions being now reduced to two diviſions that were in three before.

Titus was at this time thinking to decamp from Scopos, and to advance nearer Jeruſalem. So that in order to his removal he poſted a competent ſtrength of his beſt troops to prevent and to encounter inroads, and gave it in charge to another body of men, to ſee all the ways levelled between that and Jeruſalem. Upon this the hedges, the walls and the country people's fences about their gardens were all taken away, and the trees cut down round about, fruit-trees and all, though never ſo choice: The hollows all filled up, the crags plained, and the whole tract of ground from Scopos to Herod's ſepulchre, and the Pool of Serpents (otherwiſe called Bethara,) all made ſmooth and even.

CHAP. V.

The Jews *lay their Heads together to put a Cheat upon the* Romans. Titus *has no Faith in the Pretence. The* Jews *outwit the* Romans. Titus *threatens his Men with martial Law; but upon the Officers Mediation* Titus *grants them their Pardon. The Siege of* Jeruſalem.

THE Jews had at this time a plot in their heads how to put a trick upon the Romans. Some of the boldeſt of the party made a ſtep out of the town a little beyond the place they call the Woman's Tower, upon a pretence that they were forced out of the city, and that they durſt not venture any farther for fear of the Romans: But there they kept themſelves as cloſe, and as much out of ſight as they could. There was at the ſame time another party upon the walls roaring out as loud as they could, and in the name of the inhabitants, for a peace and an alliance with the Romans: Imploring them at the ſame time to come over to them, and they would open them the gates. The cheat went down well enough with the common ſoldiers, who preſſed as eagerly to be in action as if there had been nothing wanting but the ceremony of opening the gates to put them in poſſeſſion of the town. Titus had no faith at all in the report; and commanded his ſoldiers every man of them to ſtand to their arms, and to maintain their poſts: But in the mean while ſome of thoſe that were employed upon the trenches betook themſelves to their weapons in a hurry, and ran toward the gates. The Jews that pretended to be driven out of the town, let them paſs by without any interruption, till they were got up within a little of ſome of the towers near the port, and then following them cloſe up the rear, they hemmed them in within reach of ſtones, darts, and all manner of ſhot of that quality, from the walls, where great numbers of them were killed and wounded, being ſo pent up by thoſe that preſſed upon the backs of them, that there was no getting clear of the wall: Beſides that betwixt ſhame and confuſion, on the one hand, for their diſobedience, and the fear of puniſhment for it, on the other, they were hardened into a reſolution of proſecuting what they had begun. But, in fine, aſter a long diſpute, and with an equal loſs on both ſides, the Romans in the concluſion broke through the body of the Jews, who yet purſued them in their retreat with lances and other ſuch like weapons, as far as the ſepulchre of Helena: And not without inſolent and contemptuous reproaches upon the Romans for being outwitted, and made ſuch fools of. This they did, waving their bucklers over their heads, leaping and dancing all the way they went, with ſhouts of joy and triumph.

When the Romans had thus come off, their officers treated them with menaces and ſcorn; and Titus himſelf received them with a ſpeech of reſentment and indignation, which gave the officers to underſtand, that the law was to be executed; and upon this, the whole body of the offenders gave themſelves for loſt, but the legions did in a manner beſet Titus, with petitions and interceſſions on the behalf of their unfortunate companions. Ceſar found his intereſt, as well as his inclination, in complying with this meditation; and, in fine, forgave and forgot all that was paſt; upon condition that his people would be honeſter and wiſer for the time to come: And from thenceforward he ſet his thoughts at work how to revenge himſelf of the treacherous Jews.

His firſt buſineſs was to lay all level betwixt himſelf and the town; which was the work only of four days: After which he ordered the beſt of his troops to advance the ramparts, betwixt north and weſt: The foot drew up in ſeven battalions, with archers betwixt them. This being a force ſufficient to prevent or repel all excurſions, the baggage of the three legions, and the train thereunto belonging, were all out of danger.

Titus encamping at the diſtance of two Stadia from the city, over againſt the tower called Pſephinus, upon the angle of the wall, where it winds off from the north to the weſtward, intrenching alſo another part of his army toward the tower Hippicos, two furlongs likewiſe from the city, keeping the tenth legion ſtill where it was, upon Mount Olivet.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Deſcription of Jeruſalem. *Three Walls. The old Wall impregnable. Three famous Towers. A diſmal Conflagration. The Magnificence and Situation of the Temple. The Women's Oratory. The holy Sanctuary. The inner Part of it, with the Partitions. The Candleſtick, Table and Altar. The Outſide of the Temple. The Roof. The Altar before the Temple. No unclean perſon ſuffered to enter. The Prieſts exemplary in their Converſation. The Preiſts Veil. The Ephod. Fort* Antonia.

THE city of Jeruſalem was ſurrounded with three walls; ſaving only upon the quarter toward the inacceſſible vallies, where there was but one. It was erected upon two hills, the one directly fronting the other, and a deep valley betwixt them; all covered with houſes. The mountain that the upper town ſtands upon is much higher and the ſteeper of the two: And for the ſtrength of the ſituation, king David the father of Solomon that erected the temple, gave it the name formerly of the fortreſs or caſtle, and this is it which we call at this day the upper market.

The lower town is ſeated upon another hill that bears the name of Acra, with a ſteep declivity round about it. There was formerly another hill alſo over againſt this, ſomewhat lower than the Acra, and divided from it by a large valley: But in the time of the Aſmonæans, their princes filled up this bottom; and cutting off from the hill Acra, they joined the town to the temple, by which means it overlooked and commanded all the reſt.

The name of the valley aforeſaid, that ſeparates the upper town from the lower, is Tyropœon; and it ſtretches as far as to the fountain of Siloe: That affords an excellent water to drink, and great plenty of it.

There are likewiſe without the town two other towns, next to inacceſſible, by the crags and precipices every where round about them.

The oldeſt of the three walls was extremely ſtrong, by reaſon of the depth of the valley below, and the over-hanging of the rock from above, whereupon it was erected. And beſide the natural advantage of the ſituation, it had all the helps that David and Solomon, and ſeveral other princes, could contribute to the further ſtrengthening of it by art, induſtry, and expence. It began on that ſide, at the tower Hippocos; and ſo to another tower called the Galleries, running along by the town houſe, to the weſt porch of the temple. It paſſed on the other ſide, reckoning from the ſame place, by Bethſo, down to the Eſſene-Gate; and and ſo ſouthward, by the fountain of Siloe;

where it ſtrikes off to the eaſtward, toward the pool of Solomon, and thence by Ophlas, to the eaſt porch of the temple.

The ſecond wall begins at Genath, a gate belonging to the former wall, and ſo runs on, upon the north ſide of the city, to the fort Antonia.

The third wall began at the tower Hippicos, and ſo ran northward to that of Pſephinos; over-againſt Helana's ſepulchre, the queen of Adiabena, and mother of king Izates; keeping along by the royal caves, from the tower at the corner toward that which they call the Fullers Monument; whence it came up to the old wall in the vale of Cedron: And this was the compaſs of it. This wall was the work of Agrippa, for the ſecurity of that part of the town that he had built; which was otherwiſe naked and defenceleſs. The city was by this time grown ſo populous, that the place was too narrow for the inhabitants, ſo that by little and little they crept out into a kind of ſuburbs, and on the north of the temple next the hill, their buildings encreaſed extremely.

There was a fourth mountain that fronted Antonia; with ditches cut out, of a prodigious depth betwixt them, inſomuch that there was no coming at the foundation of Antonia, to undermine it: Beſides that the ſinking of the trench added ſo much to the height of the tower. They gave the fourth mountain the name of Bezeth, or the New-Town; being an enlargement only of the former. When this place came to be inhabited, the people earneſtly deſired to have it fortified: And Agrippa the father of this king of the ſame name, modelled his deſign, and ran up his wall about it, as you have heard. But upon a fancy coming into his head, that Claudius Ceſar might perhaps take ſome offence and jealouſy at the pomp and oſtentation of ſo magnificent a work, Agrippa went no farther than the laying of the foundations, and ſo dropped the project: But if he had gone on, Jeruſalem could never have been taken.

The ſtones of this wall were twenty cubits in length, and ten over, and ſo hard and firm withal, that they were proof either againſt mining or battery. The wall was alſo ten cubits thick, and they would have been anſwerably high in proportion, if the fear of Claudius (as I told you) had not put a ſtop to Agrippa's deſign. The Jews, 'tis true, carried up the wall afterwards to twenty cubits, with battlements of two cubits at the top, and parapets, of three: Which in all make five and twenty cubits. The wall was fortified with towers of twenty cubits ſquare, every jot as ſubſtantial as the very wall; and not inferior, for ſtrength and beauty, to the ſtones and workmanſhip of the temple itſelf. Theſe towers were raiſed twenty cubits above the wall, with winding ſtair-caſes leading up to them, lodgings and eating rooms on the top, and ciſterns for rain water. Upon the third wall there were ninety towers all of a make, and at the equal diſtance of two hundred cubits one from another. The middle wall had only fourteen towers; the old wall, ſixty; and thirty three furlongs was the compaſs of the whole city.

The third wall was all over a wonderful piece of workmanſhip from one end to the other; but yet not comparable to the town called Pſephinos: It ſtands upon the angle of the wall, north-weſt of the city; upon that quarter where Titus had encamped. The height of it was ſeventy cubits; and ſo advantageous a proſpect, that in a clear day one might ſee Arabia from it; the ſea, and the uttermoſt confines of the Hebrews. The figure of it was with eight angles. Juſt againſt this, was the tower Hippicos, and there were near at hand two other towers of Herod's erecting upon the old wall: Which, for ſize, curioſity, and ſtrength, were looked upon as the moſt famous maſter-pieces in the world. For the king, over and above the natural greatneſs of his mind, gratified the impulſe of his inclination alſo, in doing all he could for the good and glory of the city.

The tower of Hippicos (the name of one of his friends) had four angles, five and twenty cubits over, and thirty in height, and the whole body of it ſolid. Above this was a platform of ſtones accurately jointed; and a receptacle for rain water, of twenty cubits deep. Over this terras, were yet two ſtories of five and twenty cubits each, and divided into ſeveral chambers or quarters: And over that building were battlements of two cubits high, and parapets of three cubits all around, amounting in the whole to the height of eighty-five cubits.

Herod called the ſecond tower, Phaſael, by the name of his brother. It was forty cubits ſquare, and in height after the manner of a pillar: All maſſive within from top to bottom. And above this was a porch, of ten cubits high, ſupported with arches, and ſet out with other curioſities. Over the middle of this porch, was another, with rich bathes and apartments to it, ſuitable to the magnificence of the royal founder. On the top of it were battlements and fortifications; the whole height of the tower falling little ſhort of ninety cubits. It had at a diſtance ſome reſemblance of the watch tower of Pharos, the famous ſea-mark to thoſe that ſailed toward Alexandria; only much the larger of the two, and at this time, the reſidence of Simon, that tyrannical oppreſſor.

Herod gave the third tower the name of the queen Mariamne his wife. It was twenty cubits ſquare, length and breadth, and five and fifty cubits high. This was on the north ſide of the city, and juſt within it there ſtood a royal palace, ſo rich and curious, that it is not for the tongue of man to expreſs it.

Now as to theſe towers, the height was prodigious; and yet the place they were raiſed upon, made it ſeem much higher than it was. For the old wall they ſtood upon, was itſelf erected upon a very high piece of ground: And theſe turrets again were advanced upon the top of a mountain that was yet thirty cubits higher than the ancient wall. Neither were they leſs admirable for the materials they were made of, than for the ſtructure. The ſtones were not common, nor of a weight to be removed with hands: But of white marble cut out in planks twenty cubits long, ten in breadth, and five cubits deep; and ſo artificially put together, that there were no joints to be ſeen; but every diſtinct tower looked like one entire piece.

Beſide that it was all incloſed with a wall of thirty cubits in height, and turrets of the beſt work and maſters, planted at equal diſtance one from another round about it; with ſplendid lodgings and treating-rooms to receive a hundred perſons. There was an incredible collection of the choiceſt marbles for variety and beauty, that could be gotten for money. The beams and timbers that ſupported the roofs were for length and thickneſs beyond imagination, and ſo were the ornamental additions toward finiſhing of the work. There were a world of chambers with commodious paſſages, and contrivances innumerable, for ſight as well as for convenience, the whole being magnificently ſet out and furniſhed with all the advantges of gold and ſilver, and whatever elſe was precious. There were alſo porches and galleries in abundance, leading in a kind of circle from one to another, and in each of them a row of pillars. Now for the diſtances between thoſe pillars that lay to the open air, nothing could be more agreeable than the proſpect of ſo many groves and nurſeries of ſo many ſeveral plants; long and pleaſant walks, beſet with ciſterns, fountains, pipes, and braſen figures to ſpout out water, with volaries of tame pidgeons gathering about it for refreſhment. But it is impoſſible for any man to do this place juſtice in the deſcription of it; beſide that my heart bleeds at the very thought of the ſtory, to conſider what a devaſtation hath been made here by an impious crew of incendiaries and traitors. For this conflagration was not the work of the Romans, but of a band of wicked miſcreants, as we have already obſerved upon the beginning of this ſedition, who burned all from the fort Antonia, and then carrying it on to the palace ſet fire to the roof of the three towers.

The temple was built, as I ſaid, upon a very hard rock, which was ſo ſteep on all hands that at the firſt there was ſcarce ground ſufficient on the top of it for the temple, and the encloſure that was to be about it. But when king Solomon erected this fabric, he ordered the running up of a wall to the eaſtward of it, to keep up the earth; and having ſo far ſecured it, he built a porch upon the rampart. There was not as yet any other fortification; but the people carrying up earth from time to time afterwards to ſupply the defect, the hill came by degrees to be enlarged. They broke down ſome time after this the north wall, and took in as much ground there to as ſerved in time to come for the foundation of the whole temple.

The deſign ſucceeding ſo much beyond expectation, they encompaſſed the hill with three walls, but with a prodigious expence of time and treaſure, for it was not only a work of many ages, but the whole maſs of religious oblations from all parts of the world, to the honour and ſervice of God and his worſhip, was ſpent upon this undertaking, reckoning the charge as well of the upper as of the lower temple, which latter was erected upon a foundation of three hundred cubits deep, and in ſome places more, but the depth did not appear in regard that the valley was now filled up to the very level of the ſtreets in the city. The ſtones provided for this mighty undertaking were forty cubits in length, which gave them to underſtand that there was nothing impoſſible where there was money and good-will, and that conſtancy, time - and patience, could work miracles.

As the foundations were wonderful, ſo the dignity of the ſuperſtructure was not inferior to that of the ground-work. The galleries above were all double, upheld by pillas of white marble all of a piece, and five and twenty cubits in height, and wainſcotted with cedar, which for the curioſity of the work, and the ſmoothneſs of the grain, was a delightful entertainment to the ſpectator, without need of any additional ornaments either of painting or carving. They were all thirty cubits over, and ſix ſtadia the whole compaſs of them including the tower Antonia. In the open air, where there was no covering over head, the ground was paved and chequered with all ſorts of ſtones: But the way to the ſecond temple was lined on each hand with ſtone balluſters, delicately wrought and poliſhed, of three cubits high. In this paſſage there were alſo ſeveral pillars orderly diſpoſed, with inſcriptions and precepts upon them in Latin and Greek, upon the ſubject of continence and chaſtity, and forbidding ſtrangers to enter into that holy place. For the ſecond temple was called holy, and it was fourteen ſteps above the firſt. The figure of it was four-ſquare, with a wall of its own, which though forty cubits without, was yet but five and twenty cubits within, the place being covered with the ſteps that led to mount it. Now this wall being built upon an advanced ground with ſtairs to it, part of the inſide was ſo blinded with the mountain that it could not be diſcerned.

After the fourteen ſtairs, there was a plain made level with the wall of three hundred cubits; from thence paſſed on five other ſtairs which led to the gates, whereof on the north ſide and the ſouth there was eight, four on each ſide, and two on the eaſt.

The women had a peculiar place to exerciſe their devotion in, which alſo was encloſed with a wall. And ſo it was neceſſary there ſhould be two doors; and againſt the firſt gate there was juſt oppoſite unto it one gate on the north ſide, and another on the ſouth, both ſeparated from the reſt, whereby we entered the women's apartment; for it was not lawful for any to paſs by any other gate to the women, neither could they go beyond their own door, becauſe of the wall, for that place was common, both to the women of that nation, and all ſtrange women that came for religion ſake. There was no gate on the weſt part, but a wall that reached all along in that place. Between the gates were porches oppoſite one againſt another, reaching from the wall unto the treaſure-houſe, ſupported with ſtately pillars, plain and ſimple, and not much inferior to thoſe below.

The gates were covered with gold and ſilver, as alſo the poſts, and fore-parts thereof, were, one only excepted that was covered with Corinthian braſs, far ſurpaſſing in beauty the others that were covered with ſilver and gold. In every gate there were two doors, each thirty cubits high and fifteen broad; and after the entrance, where they were made larger, every one had on each ſide ſeats thirty cubits long, and large like a tower, and forty cubits high, each one ſupported with two pillars twelve cubits thick.

As to the Corinthian portal on the eaſt ſide of the temple where the women came in, it was undoubtedly the largeſt, and the moſt magnificent of them all; for it was fifty cubits high, the gates forty, and the gold and ſilver plates upon it more ſubſtantial than thoſe that Alexander, the father of Tiberias, laid upon the other nine. There were fifteen ſteps from the wall that parted the men and the women, to the great gate; which was five ſhort of thoſe that led to the other gates.

The temple itſelf, that is to ſay, the holy temple or ſanctuary, was placed in the middle with twelve ſtairs up to it. The height of it was a hundred cubits, and the breadth, as many in the front, but backward, it wanted forty of the number. For upon the entrance, there were two additions raiſed (like two ſhoulders) of twenty cubits each. The height of the firſt gate was ſeventy cubits, and five and twenty over; but it had no doors to it, being a figure of Heaven, open and viſible to the whole world. The front and outſides of it were all over guilded; and nothing to be ſeen in the inſide of the temple neither, which had not likewiſe a dazling luſture.

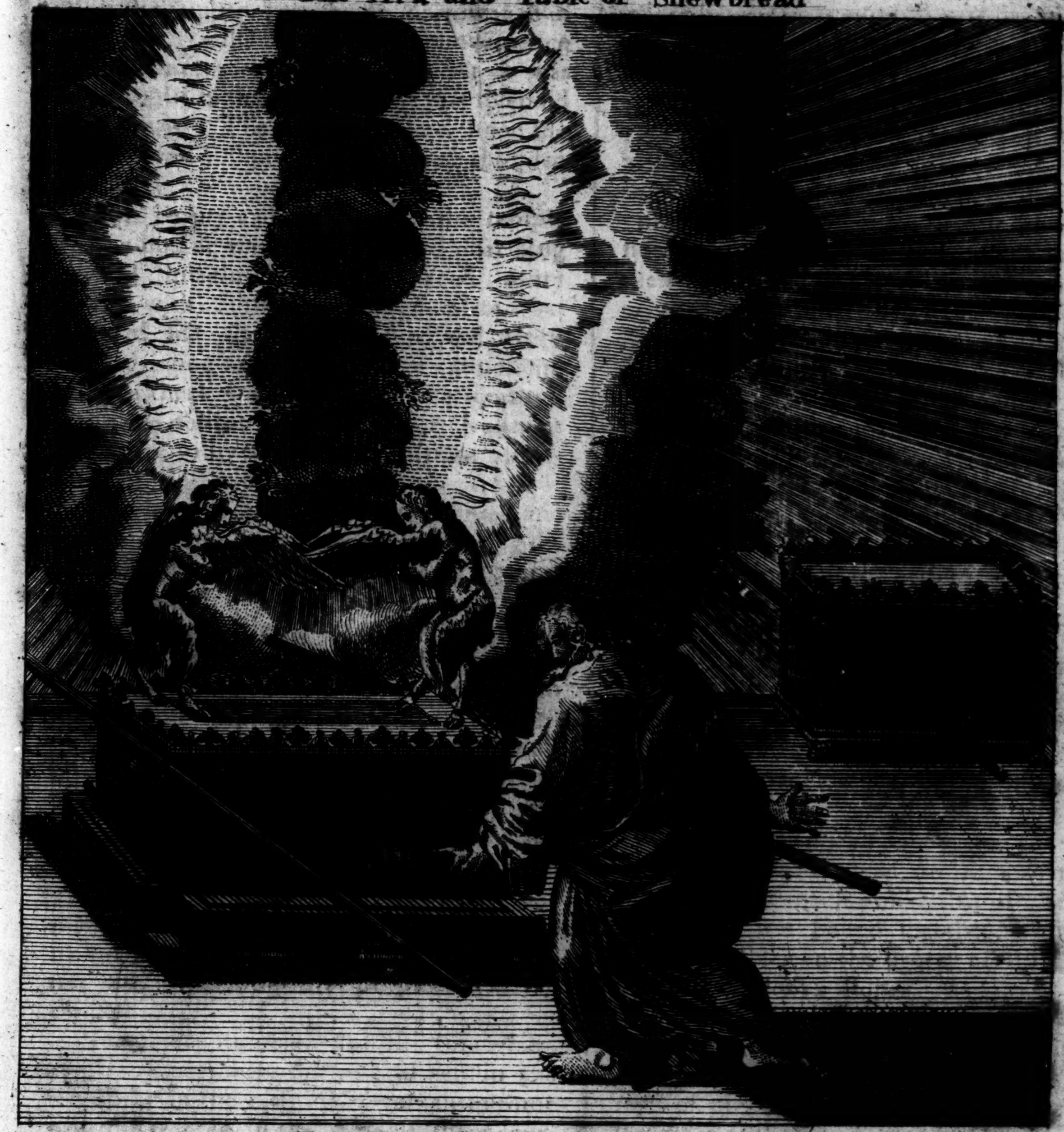
The inner part of it was divided into two partitions. The firſt of them in ſight was open to the top, which was ninety cubits in height, forty in length, and twenty over. The inſide of the gate was, as I ſaid, plated all over with gold, and the wall gilded every where about it. There were alſo leaves and branches of vines over head, and, huge cluſters of grapes that hung dangling down, betwixt five and ſix feet deep, all of gold too. The other partition of the temple being cielled above, appeared the lower of the two. The doors to it were of gold, five and fifty cubits in height, and ſixteen broad, with a piece of Babylonian tapeſtry hanging before them, of the ſame dimenſions, and interwoven with blue, purple, and ſcarlet, moſt artificially put together, and wrought to admiration. And the mixture was not a bare curioſity neither, but a myſtical alluſion to the four elements either by the colours, or by the matter they were made of, the ſcarlet, repreſenting the fire, the ſilk, the earth that produced it, the azure, the air, and the purple, the ſea from whence it comes. So that this vail or hanging, was, in little, an emblem of the univerſe only excepting the celeſtial ſigns.

This entrance leads you into the lower part of the temple, the height and length of it ſixty cubits, and the breadth twenty. The former part of forty cubits, had in it the three wonderful rarities that had been celebrated over the whole world, the candleſtick, the table, and the altar of incenſe. The candleſtick had ſeven branches, (all out of the ſame ſtem) with ſeven lights, repreſenting the ſeven planets. The twelve loaves of ſhew-bread upon the table pointed at the twelve ſigns in the Zodiack, and the courſe of the year. By the thirteen ſorts of perfumes in the cenſer upon the altar of incenſe (divers of theſe odours being extracted out of the deep of the inhoſpitable ſea) we are given to underſtand that God is maſter of the univerſe, and that all things are made for his honour and ſervice.

The inner part of the temple contained twenty cubits, which alſo was ſeparated from the other part by a vail, and nothing was within it: this place was the holy of holies, and no man might enter, look into it nor violate the ſame.

Upon the ſides of this lower temple were ſeveral

The Ark and Table of Shewbread



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ſeveral lodgings, leading from one to another, with three ſtories over head, and paſſages into them out of the great portal. Now the upper part being narrower than the other, could not have the convenience of the ſame order of chambers, but it was forty cubits higher, though the leſs ſplendid of the two. The height, in fine, upon the whole, was a hundred cubits, and the plan only ſixty.

The beauty and curioſity of the temple on the outſide was agreeable and charming beyond imagination, being faced every where with ſubſtantial golden plate that ſparkled like the morning ſun, and every jot as dazzling to the eye to gaze upon them. Where there was no gilding the ſtructure was all ſo delicately white that it looked at a diſtance to travellers like a marble mountain, or a pillar of ſnow.

The roof of the temple was covered and armed all over with pointed ſpikes of gold, to keep off the birds from neſtling upon it and fouling it. There were a great many ſtones in this building of forty five cubits long, five in height, and ſix cubits broad.

The altar before the temple was fifteen cubits high, and forty ſquare, and four angles to it like horns. The aſcent to this altar was on the ſouth ſide, and very difficult by reaſon of the declivity of the paſſage. There came no hammer upon it, nor any iron tool in the working of it.

There was a partition raiſed of ſtone work, curiouſly wrought, and of one cubit in height, encloſing the temple and the altar, and ſeparating the people from the prieſts.

No people troubled with the gonorrhæa, and no lepers were ſuffered, either in the temple or in the city. No women to come near the temple in the time of their courſes, and even when they are over not to paſs further than as we have ſaid above. Neither were men allowed to enter the inner temple without being firſt purified, and even then alſo they were not to mingle with the prieſts.

Thoſe of the ſacerdotal race that were hindered by any defect from the exerciſe of their function, took their places yet with thoſe that had none, and had their allowances in common with the reſt, only under the diſtinction of a lay habit; for no man is allowed to wear the veſtments of a prieſt, but he that actually executes the office.

The prieſts that ſerve in the temple and at the altar, were to be perſons exemplary in their lives and converſation, and without either ſcandal or blemiſh: Their cloathing fine linen; temperate and abſtemious in their eating and drinking, for the reverence of the holy function. The high-prieſt went up with the other prieſts to the altar every ſeventh day, and upon the firſt day of every month, and upon all public anniverſary feſtivals, where he officiated in a veil girt about him, and hanging down over part of his thighs, with a linen veil under it that reached down to the ground; and over both theſe he wore a large violet coloured garment, fringed at the bottom, and golden bells and pomegranates interchangeably faſtened to it, the bells repreſenting the thunder, and the other the lightning. His pectoral was tied about him with party-coloured ribbons, as gold colour, purple, ſcarlet, linen and violet, which were the colours alſo, as I have ſaid already, of the veils of the temple.

The mixture of the ephod was the ſame too, only more of gold in it, and in the ſhape of it not much unlike that of a breaſtpiece. It was bound together with two golden buckles in the figure of aſpes, and ſet with ſardonyx ſtones, the largeſt and the richeſt that were to be got, with the names of the twelve tribes of Iſrael engraved upon them. There were alſo four rows of precious ſtones, hanging down in the order of three and three in a row: That is to ſay, a ſardonyx, topaz, emerald, carbuncle, jaſper, ſapphire, agat, amethyſt, a lynx ſtone, onyx, a beryl and a chryſolite; with the ſame names upon them reſpectively as before.

He had upon his head a ſilken tiara, with a crown over it of violet colour, and another

ther crown over that of gold, with the ſacred vowels engraven upon it.

The high-prieſt's * every day habit was not ſo rich and magnificent, but this was only made uſe of for the ſolemnity of once a year, and that for him alone too, and when he entered into the holy of holies, which day was ſtrictly obſerved as a religious faſt.

The fortreſs of Antonia was built in an angle between the two galleries of the firſt temple, looking weſt and north. It was raiſed upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, inacceſſibly ſteep on all hands, and, in fine, Herod's maſter-piece, both for magnificence and contrivance. The rock was faced and cruſted with thin ſcales of marble from the bottom to the top, both for ornament and for ſecurity ſake, for it was ſo ſlippery that there was no going up or down. This tower was encloſed with a wall only of three cubits high, and within that compaſs ſtood the caſtle of Antonia of forty cubits, with the ſtate, ſplendor and convenience of a court, lodgings, and offices for all purpoſes, ſpacious halls, and places of parade for the uſe and ſervice of a camp. So that for matter of neceſſaries, it was rather a city than a fort; and for the magnificence, it looked like a palace. It was upon the whole the reſemblance of a tower, and encompaſſed with four other towers at equal diſtances one from another, and one from every corner; three of them of fifty cubits in height, and the fourth, which looked toward the ſouth and eaſtward, of ſeventy cubits, and from thence they had the view of the whole temple. From the place where the galleries joined there were upon the right and left two pair of ſtairs, which ſerved for a paſſage to the ſoldiers into the temple: For when the Romans were maſters of Jeruſalem, there were guards poſted ſtill upon that quarter to prevent ſeditions upon their public feſtivals and meetings. The temple commanded the city, as Antonia commanded the temple. This place had a guard upon it, and Herod's palace was as good as a fort to the upper town. The mountain Bezeth (the top mountain of them all) was cut off, as I ſaid before, from Antonia, and joined to part of the new town: Beſide that it was the only blind on the north ſide of the temple.

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* *Cunæus* confutes this Opinion of *Joſephus*, in his *Rep. Hebr. l.* 2. *c.* 1. See *Bonfrerius* upon *Leviticus*, who gives another Reading of the Text.

CHAP. VII.

Simon *fifteen thouſand ſtrong.* John *in Poſſeſſion of the Temple.* Simon *Maſter of the upper Town; and* Monobazus, *of the Hill* Acra. *The* Romans *at the Gates; and the Factions in the Town as violent as ever.* Titus *views the Place where to give the Aſſault.* Nicanor *baſely wounded, and* Titus *meditates a Revenge. A Siege reſolved upon, and the Manner of it.*

SIMON had a body of ten thouſand men, beſides Idumæans, which were five thouſand more, fifteen thouſand in all: Ten thouſand of them under fifty captains, and Simon himſelf the commander in chief; the other five thouſand under twenty officers, and theſe were the moſt daring mutinous part of the whole faction. The principals among them were James the ſon of Soſas, and Simon the ſon of Cathlas.

John was now in poſſeſſion of the temple, with ſix thouſand men under the command of twenty captains; and there came in to him four and twenty hundred Zelotes, who liſted themſelves under Eleazar, whom they had formerly ſerved, and Simon the ſon of Jair.

In this oppoſition of the two parties the people were a common booty, and the leaſt ſeditious were a prey to them both. Simon was now maſter of the upper town, and the great wall as far as Cedron, and ſo likewiſe of the old wall that runs out to Siloe, and then bending to the eaſtward goes on to the palace of Monobazus. This Monobazus was the king of the Adiabenians, a people beyond Euphrates. He was poſſeſſed alſo of the hill Acra, the ſeat of the lower town, as far as the royal reſidence of Helena, the mother of Monobazus.

John all this while had the command of the temple, and ſome places about it; but for Ophlas, and the vale of Cedron, and what lay between him and Simon, it was all conſumed to aſhes, and of no other uſe or ſervice than for a field of battle. The Romans were at this time drawn up before the very gates; and yet the ſedition within the walls as hot as ever.

While matters were at this paſs in the city, Titus with a party of choice horſe took the whole tour of the walls, to conſider upon what quarter it lay moſt expoſed to an attack. There was no coming at it he ſaw, for either horſe or foot, by the way of the vallies; and on the other ſide, the firſt wall was ſo firm that there was no good to be done upon it by battery. He bethought himſelf a while, and after a little pauſe pitched upon that part of the line toward the ſepulchre of John the high-prieſt, as the place that lay the moſt expoſed to an aſſault, both as the firſt wall was lower there, and likewiſe cut off from the ſecond wall;

having neglected the fortifying of that place, in regard that the new city was not as yet peopled enough to attend it: Beſide that they might paſs from thence to the third wall, and ſo to the upper town, and, with the help of Antonia, take the very temple itſelf.

While Titus was conſidering theſe things, a particular friend of his, Nicanor by name, was wounded in the left ſhoulder by an arrow from the wall, as he was labouring with Joſeph to bring the Jews over to deſire a peace. Titus was ſo tranſported at the ungrateful bitterneſs of theſe people, that he immediately took up a reſolution of beſieging the town in form: Upon this he gave the ſoldiers the pillage of the ſuburbs, ordering them to make uſe of the rubbiſh and ruins for works and platforms. He divided his army into three bodies, aſſigning to all his troops their work and ſtations.

CHAP. VIII.

Titus *orders three Attacks. The Factions fall heavy upon the* Roman *Engineers.* Titus *ſupports the Machines. The* Romans *worſted by Surprize: But a Party of* Alexandrians *recover the Honour of the Day.* Titus *finiſhes the Work.*

THE people that had been formerly expoſed to robberies and murders, finding the faction ſo wholly taken up in their own defence, began to flatter themſelves with ſome proſpect of eaſe, in the very hope that the Romans themſelves if they got the better of it, would effectually revenge their quarrel. John's people made a very vigorous oppoſition to the beſiegers; but he himſelf durſt not ſtir out of the temple for fear of Simon. Now Simon being poſted next the enemy, was never out of action. He planted along the wall the ſhot engines that he had formerly taken from Ceſtius, and out of the fort of Antonia. But his people made little advantage of it, for want of underſtanding the right uſe and management of them: But yet the Jews made uſe of them however to gall the enemy from the ramparts, with ſtones and arrows: Sallying out alſo in ſmall parties, and coming to hand blows with the Romans, who, on the other ſide, covered their workmen with hurdles and gabions, The Roman legions had every one of them wonderful machines to throw ſtones, every ſtone was of a talent weight, and did execution not only at hand, but to the top of the walls or ramparts, though it were at a furlong diſtance. The Jews were ſeveral ways advertiſed of theſe ſtones: Firſt, as they were white and eaſily diſcerned in their paſſage;

ſecondly, by the noiſe they made in the air; and thirdly, by the notice that was given from theſe that were ſet to watch them: For there were people placed up and down upon the towers to obſerve the playing of theſe engines, and ſtill as any of them were diſcharged, the watchman cried out in his mother tongue, "The ſtone comes:" The Romans after this diſcoloured the ſtones, that they might not be diſcovered in their courſe; and by the help of that invention, killed ſeveral Jews ſometimes at one blow.

As ſoon as the Romans had compleated their works, they caſt down a line and plummet to take meaſure of the diſtance between the mount and the wall, which could not be done otherwiſe, for there was no abiding near it for the ſhot and darts that were ſhowered down from above. When they found the place juſt fit for the rams, Titus ordered them to be brought up and the other machines to be advanced near the wall, that they might have more liberty to play: And hereupon they ſet three batteries at work at a time upon three ſeveral parts of the wall. The terrible knocking of theſe engines was heard all over the city, with the cries of citizens upon the terror of it, and the faction itſelf trembling under the apprehenſion. The divided members of this ſedition, finding themſelves now to be all under one common danger, bethought themſelves of joining in one common defence, and marched directly up to the walls in a full body. When they had poſted themſelves for their purpoſe, they fell to work with their fires and torches upon the Roman engines, preſſing furiouſly alſo upon thoſe that had the ordering of them with darts and other weapons of offence without intermiſſion. In this heat of rage and reſolution the Jews leaped down deſperately from the walls in troops, upon the very engines, tore off their covers, and broke in upon the guards that were ſet to defend them.

But Titus clapt a party of horſe and archers upon the guard of the machines to keep off the fire, holding the Jews in play upon the walls, to leave the engineers at liberty to do execution. All this battery made little or no impreſſion yet; only the ram of the fifth legion ſhook the corner of a tower, but without any damage to the wall itſelf, for the tower being much higher than the wall, it tumbled down without drawing any part of the wall after it.

The Jews having for ſome ſhort time intermitted their ſallies, the Romans took it to be either out of fear or wearineſs, and ſo went their way careleſly up and down as in a ſtate of ſecurity. But the Jews taking notice of this from the town, and how the Romans were ſcattered and out of order, they made a furious excurſion upon them out of a ſally-port from the tower Hippicos, ſet fire to their works, and puſhed the beſiegers back to their very camp. The alarm paſſed immediately through the whole army, and the Romans far and near drew preſently together to the relief of their companions. The daring hardineſs of the Jews was not yet able to ſupport itſelf againſt the diſcipline of the Romans. They over-ran at firſt all that they met withal, attacking thoſe that they found in a body. But the pinch of the conflict was about the engines; how to burn them on the one ſide, and to ſave them on the other. The fire had by this time laid hold of the machines: And they had certainly been deſtroyed with all that belonged to them, if they had not been ſupported by a choice party of the Alexandrian troops.

Theſe troops gave the Jews a ſtand, till the general himſelf, with a brave body of horſe, broke in upon them. He cut down twelve men with his own hand, and drove the reſt before him into the city. This exploit was the ſaving of the engines.

There was a Jew taken alive upon this encounter, whom Titus ordered to be crucified in ſight of the walls, to try how far ſuch an exemplary terror might work upon them. But for all this, after his departure, one John, an Idumæan officer, as he was talking with a ſoldier of his acquaintance before the walls, was ſhot with an arrow quite through the heart by an Arabian, to the great grief of all that knew him, Jews and Zelotes, having the reputation of a worthy man to all purpoſes, both for wiſdom and valour.

CHAP. IX.

A Tumult occaſioned by the Fall of a Tower in the Night. The Jews *fear nothing elſe. The Ram made the firſt Breach. The* Jews *quit the firſt Wall, and betake themſelves to the ſecond. They make ſeveral bold Sallies. The Diſcipline of the* Romans *is too hard for the hot-headed Raſhneſs of the* Jews. *A glorious Action of* Longinus.

TITUS had ordered the raiſing of three towers of fifty cubits in height, to be erected upon three ſeveral ramparts, ſo as to have the command of the town wall. In the dead of the night one of theſe towers of itſelf fell down to the ground, with ſo dreadful a clatter, that the ſurpriſe frightened and alarmed the whole army. The Romans ran preſently to their arms, and put all the legions into a confuſion, till they came in the end (no enemy appearing) to have a jealouſy one of another, and every man to demand the word of his next neighbour, with the ſame formality and ſtrictneſs as if the Jews had been in poſſeſſion of the camp. They lay under the conſternation of this panic terror, till Titus had learned out the whole matter, and made the truth of it public by proclamation over the whole camp.

The Jews all this while kept up their hearts againſt all other difficulties but that of the towers, which was in truth not to be diſputed or avoided. From thoſe turrets they were galled with all ſorts of machines, archers, ſlingers, &c. and no remedy. For it was impoſſible for them to carry up their platforms to the height of theſe towers; and then they were too ſtrong and too heavy to be overturned: And there was no burning of them neither, for they were all plated over with iron. So that all the Jews had to do was to get out of the reach of the Roman darts, arrows and ſtones, without making any oppoſition to the force of the rams, which, by degrees, and the ſhock of repeated ſtrokes, in the concluſion did the work. The Romans had one terrible machine, which the Jews called Nicon, or the Conqueror; and it was this ram that made the firſt breach. The beſieged were by this time ſo ſpent with watching and fighting,

ing, (having been upon duty all night) that betwixt levity and ill advice, they came to an agreement among themſelves to quit the firſt wall, having two other yet to truſt to. Upon this, they retired, and the Romans mounted the breach that Nicon had made, and after that opened the gates to the whole army, the Jews being all withdrawn to the ſecond wall. It was now the ſeventh of the month Artemiſius, when the Romans made themſelves maſters of the firſt wall: The greater part of it they deſtroyed, and ſo likewiſe the north quarter of the town, which Ceſtius had ravaged before.

Titus being now removed to a place they called the Aſſyrians camp, poſſeſſed himſelf of all betwixt that and the valley of Cedron, ſomewhat more than a bow-ſhot from the ſecond wall, reſolving from thence to begin his attack, which he went in hand with immediately. The Jews poſted themſelves orderly upon the wall, and made a gallant reſiſtance. John and his companions commanded in the fortreſs Antonia, and the north ſide of the temple from the ſepulchre of Alexander. Simon and his party maintained the paſſage from the monument of John the high-prieſt to the tower of Hippicos. The Jews made ſeveral deſperate ſallies, and came many times to a cloſe fight with the Romans hand to hand; but the Roman diſcipline was too hard for the unſkilful temerity of the Jews, and beat them back with loſs: Only upon the walls they had the better of them.

There was at this time a ſtrong body of the Jews drawn up before the walls, and they were come already within diſtance of exchanging blows and lances with the Romans. In this inſtant of time one of the Roman horſemen, (Longinus by name) ſpurred into the middle of the enemy's army, where he killed two of the beſt men they had, coming off to his party at laſt without a wound.

CHAP. X.

Caſtor, *a bold, a crafty, and a treacherous* Jew. *He deſires a Treaty, and* Titus *embraces the Motion.* Caſtor'*s perfidy.* Titus *enraged thereat.* Caſtor *makes his Eſcape through the very Flames.*

THE ram being now pointed againſt the middle of the tower on the north ſide of the city, Titus poured in ſuch ſhowers of arrows upon the defendants, that they all quitted their poſts, only one ſly, crafty Jew, whoſe name was Caſtor, and ten of his people with him, lay ſkulking behind the battlements. But when they had lain ſtill a while, they felt a ſhock that made the tower ſtagger under them. Upon this, they got up, and Caſtor in the language, poſture, and tone of a ſupplicant, addreſſed himſelf to Titus for quarter, and begged his pardon. Titus was ſo good-natured as to put a ſtop both to the battery and the archers, telling Caſtor that he was ready to hear him. Caſtor made anſwer that there was nothing he deſired ſo much as a treaty. With all my heart, ſays Titus; and if all your companions be of the ſame mind, I am ready to grant you your pardon. Upon this offer five of the ten pretended to join with Caſtor; the other five cried out, that ſo long as they might die free, they would never live ſlaves.

While this paſſed Caſtor was wounded with an arrow near his noſtrils, and preſently drawing it out, held it up to Titus, as an appeal to him for juſtice. This prince reſented the injury to ſuch a degree that he bad Joſeph (who was ſtanding next to him) go to Caſtor from him, and give him all aſſurances in his name of amity and fair quarter. Joſeph begged his excuſe, and not only declined going upon that errand himſelf, but diſſuaded his friends alſo that would have gone, telling them that this pretended ſubmiſſion was a treachery. But Eneas however (one of the deſerters to the Romans) was forward enough to go, and had no ſooner put himſelf in a poſture to receive the preſent, but Caſtor dropped a great ſtone down from the wall, which Eneas had much ado to avoid, and it wounded the man that ſtood next him. Titus to revenge himſelf upon Caſtor and his companions for the affront they had put upon him, betook himſelf to his batteries again with greater violence than before. When Caſtor and his people found the tower tottering and juſt ready to ſink under them, they put fire to it; and ſo made their eſcapes into a vault through the very flames.

Titus made himſelf maſter of this part of the wall within five days after the taking of the firſt: And now finding the way open to the ſecond wall, he drove out the Jews before him, and with a thouſand choice men entered the town, among the clothiers, braſiers, ſaleſmen, and all the croſs narrow paſſages up to the wall.

Now if Titus had immediately broken down the greater part of this wall, as by the laws of war he might have done, the victory would have coſt him little or nothing: But conſidering the miſerable neceſſities of the Jews on the one hand, if they ſtood it out, and the ſecurity of their retreat on the other hand, if they had a mind to be gone, Titus relented yet once again, in confidence that they would better bethink themſelves, and never imagining that they could be ſuch ungrateful monſters, as to betray a man that had taken ſo much care for their preſervation.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Titus *a Prince of Tenderneſs and Humanity. The Spight and Malice of the Factions. A ſharp Fight, and the* Jews *get the better of it.* Titus *recovers the Day. The* Romans *get the ſecond Wall, and loſe it again. The ſecond Wall holds out three Days; and* Titus *maſters it upon the fourth, demoliſhes the Northern Part of it, and places Garriſons in the Towers to the Southward.*

TITUS being now entered the town, would not ſuffer ſo much as one priſoner to be killed, or one houſe to be burned: And he was ſo fair to the faction themſelves too, that if they had a mind to fight it out, he left them at liberty ſo to do, provided only that they ſhould not force and oppreſs the people. He promiſed the inhabitants alſo at the ſame time to maintain them in their lawful poſſeſſions, and to give them back again what had been taken from them. Theſe propoſals were generally acceptable; ſome deſiring the city might be ſpared for their own ſakes, others that the temple might be ſpared for the city's. But this humanity and tenderneſs was all imputed by the ruffian part of the faction to the want of courage in the general. The Romans were no ſooner got into the town, but the Jews annoyed them all manner of ways, by blocking up the narrow paſſes, galling them from the houſes, and forcing the guards by ſallies from the walls to quit their towers and retire to the camp. Never ſuch a confuſion and outcry as between the ſoldiers within the town, in the middle of their enemies, and thoſe without the town for fear of their companions within. The Jews being both more in number, and better acquainted with the by-ways and ſecret paſſages than the Romans, they were too hard for them upon all encounters; and the breaches not being wide enough to march out many a-breaſt, they were ſo put to it in the crowd, that if Titus had not come in juſt as he did, ſcarce a man of them had got off. But upon ſetting a body of archers at the end of every ſtreet, and Titus poſting himſelf ſtill where there was moſt danger, with Domitius Sabinus for his ſecond, (a brave man) they held the Jews in play with darts and lances, till they brought off their men, under cover of that diverſion. Thus were the Romans, after gaining of the ſecond wall, beaten out again.

The Romans made another attempt to recover the wall again, which they had gotten and loſt; and for three days ſucceſſively, without intermiſſion, they plied the aſſault with one attack upon the back of another, and were as valiantly repulſed. But on the fourth day Titus gave ſo furious a charge, that they were not able to ſtand it any longer: And upon this puſh, he got poſſeſſion of the wall, demoliſhed the northern part of it, and immediately placed garriſons in all the towers to the ſouthward.

CHAP. XII.

Titus commands Money to be diſtributed to all his Soldiers. Deſtiny decrees the Innocent ſhould periſh with the Guilty, and the City with the Seditious. Titus *ſpends four Days in Victualling his Camp, and the fifth prepares for Action. The* Romans *are hindered in their labour by the* Jews.

TITUS's heart was now ſet upon ſtorming the third wall; but looking upon it as a work of time or difficulty, he bethought himſelf of trying what might be done by gentler methods towards the bringing of them to their duty and their wits again, in hope that between force and famine they might be prevailed upon to hearken to better counſels: For their booty and proviſion was well nigh ſpent, on the one hand; and Titus in as much eaſe and plenty as his heart could wiſh, on the other: Inſomuch, that upon a day of general muſter, Titus ordered his troops to be drawn up and paid in ſight of the enemy, the foot advancing with their ſwords drawn, and the led horſes ſo gloriouſly capariſoned that the whole field ſparkled with gold and ſilver. Nothing, in fine, could have been a more agreeable charming ſight to the Romans, or a more terrible one to the Jews, who were gotten in ſwarms together upon the old wall, on the north ſide of the town, beſide that the houſes were all crowded, and the whole city covered with people, gazing at the bravery of this pomp, which was ſuch, in ſhort, that it ſtruck a damp into the very boldeſt of the Jews, and would in all probability have brought them over to the Romans, if they had not been conſcious to themſelves of provocations and affronts never to be forgiven; beſide that it was certain death, on the other hand, to give over the diſpute. So that they rather choſe to die like men of honour by the chance of war, than tamely by a butchery. But the fates had ſo ordered it that the innocent were to fall with the guilty, and the city itſelf with the faction.

When Titus, after this, had paſſed away four days in victualling his camp, without any act of hoſtility, he divided his army upon the fifth day into two bodies, and finding no diſpoſition in the Jews to a peace, he fell to caſting up of works againſt the fortreſs Antonia, near John's monument, in hope of gaining the upper town from that quarter, and then making himſelf maſter of the temple from Antonia; for without taking the fort the city was not to be maintained. Againſt each of theſe two places he advanced two attacks, and poſted a legion at every mount to cover the workmen. They that wrought next the monument were galled by the Jews, and by Simon's people; and the other againſt Antonia were yet harder put to it by John's party and his bands of Zelotes, who had both the higher ground, and the advantage of their machines. They had three hundred croſs bows, and forty ſlings for ſtones, which very much annoyed the Romans, and put a check to the progreſs of their deſign.

CHAP. XIII.

Joſeph's *Love and Conſtancy towards his Country. The People fly with their Money. A wonderful Famine in the City. The Argument of ſtore of Meat. A miſerable kind of living, and a Spectacle of great Compaſſion. The Soldiers enter the Houſes, and take the Meat chewed out of the Citizens Mouths.*

TITUS reckoned the town as good as his own before hand; but however as he plied the ſiege on the one hand, he did not forget to make trial of perſuaſion and advice, as well as force, to bring the Jews to reaſon on the other. And conſidering that words in many caſes do more than arms, he made it firſt his own requeſt to the Jews to be kind to themſelves, only by putting a place into his hands that he could force at pleaſure; and then left the reſt to Joſeph, who took a walk about the town, and at laſt making a ſtand upon a riſing ground, within hearing of the enemy, and out of reach of their ſhot, he beſought them to have regard to their lives and liberties, their city, their temple, and their country, by ſubmitting themſelves to the Romans before they were all deſtroyed.

While Joſeph was thus reaſoning the matter with them, they returned him only bitter and contemptuous reproaches from the walls for his good will, and not without darts and ſtones to accompany their revilings. So that when he ſaw they were not to be wrought upon either by admonition or affliction, he betook himſelf to the hiſtory of former times, for precedents and arguments to his preſent purpoſe, and recounted the great deliverances that God had given to their anceſtors, when they were obedient to his will, and ſeveral inſtances of his puniſhing them when they had been refractory and diſobedient.

This diſcourſe of Joſeph's drew tears from his own eyes, but the factions were not one jot ſoftened with it: Neither did they think it ſafe to cloſe with the Romans, even if they had a mind to it. But, on the contrary, the common ſort were ſtaggered at it, and made it their buſineſs too how to ſave themſelves by flight. To this end, they ſold what they had that was valuable, though at eaſy rates, and ſwallowed the gold for fear of being robbed upon the way: By which means they ſupplied themſelves with neceſſaries when they got over to the Romans: Titus, in the mean time, leaving the ſtragglers at liberty to go whither they would, and this diſcharge was ſtill a greater encouragement to their eſcape, for they got clear of the city broils without being ſlaves to the Romans. But John and Simon, and their companions, clapped a ſtrict guard upon the paſſes, and took as much care to keep the citizens from going out, as the Romans from coming in: So that the leaſt ſuſpicion, or pretence of a ſuſpicion, was enough to take away any man's life that they thought fit to ſuſpect. And it was all one to the rich what they did: For he that had any thing to loſe was ſure to fall under a jealouſy, and that jealouſy was death.

The rage of the faction, and the pinch of the famine encreaſed daily, and when there was no corn any longer in ſight, they broke open houſes for it. If they found any upon the ſearch, the owners were ſeverely handled for denying it; or, if none, they were put to the torture to diſcover their ſtores. Nay, they drew inferences of guilt from the very bodies of the miſerable; and to be hail and ſound was made an argument of private ſtores and plenty. The conſumptive were diſpatched out of hand, though no need, one would think, of putting them to a violent death that were ready to ſtarve for want of bread. There were ſeveral of the better ſort that ſold all they had in the world for a buſhel of wheat; and others of the poorer, for the ſame proportion of barley: And then ſhutting themſelves up with their purchaſe, in ſecret hiding holes, ſome fell to work upon the corn without grinding, and ſome again ſtaid the baking of it, according as they were more or leſs preſſed by hunger or danger. There was no ſuch thing as the ceremony of covering, or marſhalling a table, but happy was he that could ſnatch a bit from the coals between raw and roaſted. Never was ſo miſerable a calamity, or ſo lamentable and horrid a ſpectacle; where the ſtrongeſt ſtill fared beſt, and the weaker had nothing more to do than to bemoan their misfortunes: Starving being certainly of all deaths the moſt deplorable, as it takes away all ſenſe of ſhame, tenderneſs and reſpect: Wives forced away the meat out of the mouths of their huſbands, children did the like by their parents, and what was yet more barbarous, mothers by their infants, taking away from them, as they lay languiſhing in their arms, the very laſt ſupport of life; and this could not be done ſo privately neither, but ſome body or other was ſtill at hand to take away that from them again which they had taken from others. Wherever they ſaw a houſe ſhut up, they concluded there was eating in that houſe, and preſently forcing the doors, they tore the meat ready chewed out of the the very throats of the people, juſt as they were about to ſwallow it, though to the hazard of choaking them. They had no mercy either for age or ſex, but beat the old men that offered to defend what proviſion they had got, and dragged the women by the hair for endeavouring either to keep or to conceal any thing: Neither did ſucking children eſcape any better, but were torn away from the breaſts, and daſhed againſt the ground: So that infancy and grey hairs had the ſame quarter. If any had prevented theſe thieves, and eaten their meat before they could get at them, they were more cruelly and tyrannouſly handled, as having committed a greater offence againſt them. They deviſed moſt barbarous and in human torments to extort food from others; for they thruſt ſticks, or ſuch like into the cavity of men's yards, and ſharp thorny rods into their ſundaments; and it is abominable to hear what the people endured to make them confeſs one loaf of bread, or one handful of corn which they had hidden.

Theſe miſcreants did not yet for all this feel either hunger or thirſt, for then their impieties had been more tolerable; but they did it only to exerciſe their cruelty, preparing ſix days food beforehand. Theſe were the calamities which the meaner ſort of people endured at the hands of the common ſoldiers, but the nobles and chief men of the city were led to their officers, accuſed them of intelligence with the Romans, and for ſome forged treaſon or other put to death. Thoſe that Simon robbed were ſent to John, and thoſe that John ſpoiled were ſent to Simon, drinking, as it were, one to another in the blood of the people, and dividing their dead carcaſſes between them; inſomuch as though they diſagreed in their deſire of rule and dominion, they conſpired together in miſchief and iniquity.

I am not able to recount all their iniquities; but, in ſhort, I think never any city endured the like, nor never any people ſince the memory of man were ſo cruel and barbarous; and that their impiety to ſtrangers might ſeem the leſs, they ſpoke evil of the nation of the Hebrews, and curſed them, and openly confeſſed themſelves to be ſlaves, people of divers countries, united together in wickedneſs, baſtards and abortives of their nation. They demoliſhed the city, and forced the Romans (though againſt their will) to accept of a diſmal victory, haſting the fire into the temple, as though it ſtaid from it too long. Neither were they at all affected, when they ſaw the higher part of the city on fire, though many among the Romans beheld it with ſorrow.

CHAP. XIV.

The Jews *miſerably tortured and crucified.* Titus *ſevere in his own Defence. The* Jews *hard and reſolute. The* Romans *raiſe four mighty Works. The* Jews *ſet Fire to the Bulwark.* Simon *attempts the other Mounts. A brave Action of three* Jews. *The* Romans *beaten from their Works. Death without Mercy for a* Roman *to quit his Poſt. A bloody Fight upon mounting the Engines.*

IT was the Jews practice to ſteal out in the night, and look abroad for proviſions: They durſt not deſert for fear of having their wives and children's throats cut that they leſt behind. Neither durſt they take their families along with them, for fear of diſcovery. Titus being aware of theſe difficulties, ordered out a detachment of horſe to way-lay the Jews in the vallies. Hunger had made them deſperate, and ſo out they went, and fell into the enemies ambuſhes. When they found themſelves hampered, they were then forced to fight upon neceſſity, for fear of ſome puniſhment worſe than death itſelf. In ſhort, they were maſtered, and after expoſing them to all manner of tortures, they were crucified in the ſight of the beſieged. But ſo far was the horror of this execution from ſoftening the faction, that it wrought a clear contrary effect. The friends and relations of the fugitives, and thoſe that had but the leaſt inclination to a peace, were dragged out to the walls to ſhew them what they were to truſt to that went over to the Romans; and bearing them down all the while, that the men they ſaw in chains were not priſoners of war, but deſerters, that ſued for mercy. This device kept a great many from filing off, till the truth came to be known.

Titus, upon this, cauſed ſeveral of his priſoners hands to be cut off, and ſo ſent them away to John and Simon in ſuch a plight, that they might neither look like deſerters, nor be taken for ſuch; adviſing them at the ſame time to put an end to the war, without forcing him upon the deſtruction of the city.

The Jews, in the mean time, caſting out a thouſand curſes from the walls, againſt both Veſpaſian and Titus, declared one and all their contempt of death, and how much their liberties were dearer to them than their lives, and that, provided they might plague the Romans, they cared not what became either of themſelves or of their country. And as for their temple, they looked upon the world to be much the more magnificent ſtructure of the two; or however they made no doubt but God would take care of his own houſe.

Antiochus Epiphanes was by this time come up, and a train of armed troops along with him; one company, among the reſt, of ſtout young fellows for his guard, all about the ſame age, accoutred and trained up after the Macedonian way, from whence they took the name of Macedonians. Of all the princes that were ever ſubjected to the Roman empire, the king of Camagena was undoubtedly the moſt proſperous and ſucceſsful, for the former part of his life, but in his latter days his fortune forſook him: He had a ſon of a martial enterpriſing ſpirit, of a robuſt body, and bold. This ſon of his was ſaying one day, that he wondered the Romans ſtood trifling before the walls at that rate, and did not rather puſh it to an attack. Titus anſwered him with a ſmile, that the way was open to any man that had a mind to it. The word was no ſooner out, but Antiochus led up his Macedonians to the aſſault, and gave proof both of his valour and conduct in the management of the action: But his followers however were almoſt all of them killed or wounded.

It was on the twelfth of the month Artemiſius that the Romans began the platforms formerly mentioned, and upon the nine and twentieth that they finiſhed them, after ſeventeen days hard labour; for there were four of them in all, and they were mighty works. There was one toward Antonia, that was raiſed by the fifth legion over-againſt the middle of the Struthian pool: There was another caſt up by the twelfth legion, within twenty cubits of the former: The tenth legion (which was more conſiderable than the other two) threw up another work to the north over againſt the pool called Amygdalon; and at thirty cubits diſtance from the laſt, was a fourth mount erected by the fifteenth legion, not far from the monument of John the high-prieſt.

Theſe works were no ſooner up and perfected, but John cauſed a mine to be wrought under that which looked toward Antonia, and ſeveral wooden props to be ſet up all along the trench, to keep the weight of the earth above from falling; daubing the wood-work with a bituminous matter that would take flame immediately. So that John had now no more to do, but to ſet fire to the pillars, which when the props were gone, brought down the whole bulwark with a moſt hideous noiſe. There was no fire to be ſeen at firſt, but only a ſmothering duſt and ſmoke, till the flame at laſt broke through all oppoſition, and ſhewed itſelf. This was ſo aſtoniſhing a ſurpriſe to the Romans, that it put them to their wits end to receive ſuch a baffle, when they made themſelves ſure of their point.

It was but two days after this that Simon and his people made an attempt upon the other mounts, where the Romans had already planted their rams, and began to batter. There was one Jepthæus of Garſis, a city of Galilee; Megaſſarus, a domeſtic of queen Mariamne's; and one of Adiabena, the ſon of Nabatæus, who from a misfortune he had was called Agiras, which ſignifies lame: Theſe three men, with torches in their hands, flew directly to the machines, and breaking through the enemy's troops, with no more concern than if they had been among their friends, ſet fire to them, and in deſpite of all oppoſition, with darts and arrows, they purſued their deſign till their engines were all in a flame. Theſe were reputed three of the braveſt men that appeared in that war.

Upon the mounting of the fire, the Romans diſpatched away a detachment from the camp to the relief of their companions, but the Jews, in the mean time, poured their ſhot upon them from the walls, and without any regard to their own lives or perſons, fought it out hand to hand with thoſe that were endeavouring to put a ſtop to the fire. The Romans did all they could to ſave their rams, the covers of them being conſumed already; and the Jews ventured into the very flames to hinder them, and would not let go their hold, though the iron work of them was burning hot. The fire paſſed from thence to the ramparts, and there was no help for it. Upon this, the Romans finding themſelves encompaſſed with flames, and no hope left them of ſaving the works, withdrew into their camp. The Jews had ſo many reinforcements out of the city, that the encreaſe of their number made them more and more preſſing and inconſiderate: Inſomuch, that in the heat of their ſucceſs, they advanced to the very camp itſelf, and attacked the guards. Now the office of theſe guards, according to the rule of the Roman diſcipline, was to do duty by turns, and relieve one another, and not a man of them, upon pain of death, to quit his poſt; they made a generous reſiſtance, and brought ſeveral of thoſe back again that had abandoned their ſtation, and with their engines put a ſtop to the excurſions of the Jews from the city, who made their ſallies without any guard of of defence for their own ſecurity, fighting all they met, at a venture, and caſting themſelves like madmen upon the very points of the enemy's pikes, and falling in pell-mell among them.

Titus, at his return from Antonia, where he had been to find out a commodious ground for advancing his attacks, ſurrounded the Jews, and charged them in the flank, while they, on the other ſide, maintained their ground with wonderful reſolution; but the Romans were ſo enraged, that if the Jews had not ſlipped away into the town juſt as they did, they had undoubtedly been all cut to pieces.

CHAP. XV.

Titus conſults a Council of Officers. He orders the running up of a Wall: The Courſe and Compaſs of it: And this Wall finiſhed in three Days.

WHILE things were in this poſture, Titus called a council of his great officers, to adviſe with what to do, who ſeverally gave their opinions, but that of Titus prevailed, which was to run a wall quite round the city. By this means all excurſions will be prevented, and the Jews either forced to deliver up the place in the depth of their deſpair, or weakened by the pinch of their neceſſities, into an incapacity of defending themſelves: Whereas otherwiſe the diſpuute will be endleſs.

Titus ordered his officers to go in hand immediately with the erecting of this wall, and to enter upon it with a regular diſtribution of the whole army into their proper ſtations. The word was no ſooner given, but the ſoldiery were all tranſported by a kind of divine impulſe into a generous emulation of out-doing one another: For after the meaſuring of the ground, and the dividing of the legions, the ſame ſpirit of competition ran through the whole body.

Titus began this wall at a place called the Aſſyrians camp, where he himſelf had his quarter. He carried it forward to the lower Cœnopolis, and ſo by the way of Cedron to Mount Olivet, which he encloſed on the ſouth as far as the rock Periſtereon, together with a neighbouring hill that overlooks the vale of Siloah. From thence he turned his point a little to the weſtward, and ſo on to the valley of the fountain. He took his way next to the ſepulchre of Ananus the high-prieſt, and ſo encloſing the mountain where Pompey had formerly encamped, he returned to the northward, and paſſed on to a village called Erebinthonicus, took in Herod's ſepulchre toward the eaſt, and there joined one end of the wall to the other where he began.

The compaſs of this wall was nine and thirty ſurlongs, thirteen forts built on the outſide of it, and every fort ten furlongs about. But the moſt incredible part of the ſtory was the finiſhing of an encloſure in three days, which might well have taken as many months. Upon the perfecting of this work, there were guards poſted in all their forts, that did duty every night under their arms. Titus went the firſt round himſelf, Tiberias Alexander the ſecond, and the commanders of the legions the third. The ſoldiers and the watch ſlept by turns, but ſome or other ſtill upon the guard in the caſtles all night.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The miſerable Diſtreſſes of a devouring Famine. The Romans *make Oſtentation of their Plenty, to enſlame the Envy of the* Jews. *Four Ramparts raiſed at* Antonia *larger than the former.*

THE ſhutting up of the Jews in the town put them to the uttermoſt degree of deſpair: For the famine was now ſo outrageous that it ſwept away whole families. When they were now no longer able to endure the putrid corruption of the dead bodies, order was given to have them all interred at the public charge: But for want of room to diſpoſe of them theſe impious monſters caſt them down headlong from the walls into the vallies, which was ſo horrid a ſpectacle that Titus, upon taking the round of the place, finding the ditches ſo peſtered and annoyed with rotten carcaſſes and peſtilential vapours, ſtretched out his hands to Heaven, in an appeal to Almighty God, that it was much againſt his will to have it ſo.

The Romans at the ſame time paſſed their days merrily and at eaſe, in an abundance of all ſorts of neceſſary proviſions out of Syria and the neighbouring provinces: Inſomuch that ſeveral of the Romans, out of an invidious oſtentation of their ſtores, came up to the very walls to irritate the wants on the one ſide, with expoſing the plenty on the other.

But all wrought nothing upon the inſenſible hearts of the ſeditious; inſomuch that Titus, in pure compaſſion to the remainder of a miſerable people, reſolved to go on with caſting up new works afreſh, and diſpatching them as faſt as he could. The only difficulty was the providing of wherewithal to carry it forward, for the wood near the city was all cut down already for the former works, ſo that they were now forced to fetch all their timbers for a ſecond ſupply at ninety furlongs diſtance from the place; and there were four ramparts erected at the fortreſs Antonia larger than the former.

Titus loſt no time, and having the faction at mercy, he gave them to underſtand as much. But they went on ſtill without any ſign of remorſe, and with as little regard to their own bodies and ſouls as if they had been the bodies and ſouls of other people: For the dead they tore to pieces like dogs, and choaked the ſick and languiſhing in priſons.

CHAP. XVII.

Judas *in a Plot to deſtroy* Simon. Simon *ſurprizes the Town.* Joſeph *wounded. and reported to be killed.* Titus *reſcues him, and he recovers.*

IT fell out after this that Judas, the ſon of Judas, an officer of Simon's, and a commander of one of the turrets, laying to heart the brutal oppreſſion of a miſerable people, and not forgetting to look to himſelf in the firſt place, he took an occaſion to diſcourſe half a ſcore of the truſtieſt friends he had, to deliver up the walls, and go over to the Romans.

When the ten men were come to an agreement, Judas betimes ſent the remainder of his people ſeveral ways, for a blind to his deſign, and about the third hour of the day called out to the Romans from the turret, and gave them to underſtand the reſolution they had taken: Some gave heed to it; others thought it not worth their while to maſter a place they might get without danger. By this time Titus had drawn ſome troops up to the wall; but Simon immediately ſurpriſed the town, and killing the guard in the very view of the Romans, tumbled the bodies down the wall. While Joſeph was walking up and down, and doing the Jews the beſt offices he could by encouragement and advice, he was knocked down with a ſtone from the battlements, whereupon the Jews made a deſperate ſally, and had carried him off priſoner, if Titus in that inſtant had not ſent a party to his reſcue. During this ſkirmiſh they got away Joſeph, before he was well come to himſelf again. The faction took it to be as they wiſhed it, that Joſeph was ſlain. The rumour paſſed for current through the city, and put the inhabitants into a diſmal conſternation for the loſs of their mediator and patron among the Romans. The tidings of Joſeph's death being brought to his mother in priſon, ſhe told her guards that ſhe heard as much, and that ſhe ſhould never ſee him more. But the danger of Joſeph's wound was quickly over; and upon returning to his poſt again, he gave them all to underſtand that they ſhould pay dearly for what they had done; But ſtill animating the people all along to their obedience.

In this extremity there were ſeveral deſerters went over to the Romans; but inſtead of avoiding one calamity within the town, they fell into a worſe without, and the ſurfeits they contracted in the camp were much more mortal than the famine they left at home: For being empty, and puffed up with a dropſical diſtemper, they could not come to their eating again but by little and little, without danger of burſting. And the moſt miſerable part of the ſtory is yet behind.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Jews *ſwallow their Gold. Two thouſand of their Bellies ript up in one Night.* Titus *tranſported at ſo horrid an Outrage.*

THERE was a fugitive ſurpriſed among the Syrians, in the very act of ſearching for gold, that had been ſwallowed, and paſſed through him. Now the faction put all people to the ſcrutiny, and there was ſuch plenty of gold in the town that twelve atticks at preſent was as much worth as five and twenty heretofore. The fame of this diſcovery was preſently all over the camp, and that the Jews that deſerted had concealed gold in their guts: Whereupon the Arabians and the Syrians ript up two thouſand of their bellies in one night for their treaſure.

Titus was ſo tranſported at the brutality of this action, that he had certainly ordered his horſe to put every man of them to death with darts that had a hand in it, if the number of the guilty had not been much greater than that of the ſlain. Hereupon he called his officers together, as well Romans as auxiliaries, and finding ſeveral of his own people concerned in the outrage, he entered into an angry expoſtulation with them upon the whole matter.

Now Titus could not altogether excuſe his own people, and was ſo tranſported at it, that he threatened death without mercy to any man that ſhould preſume to commit any of theſe outrages over again: Appointing the legions alſo at the ſame time to make a ſtrict ſearch after all ſuſpected perſons, and he himſelf would have the hearing of the cauſe. But what Ceſar ſo ſeverely prohibited in public, was nevertheleſs executed upon the Jewiſh deſerters in ſecret. Only their cuſtom was, upon any fugitives coming over, firſt to make ſure that none of the Romans ſhould be within ſight, and then cut up the Jews bellies for the execrable booty: And when they had done they found little more than vain hopes. This horrid practice however frighted the Jews out of their deſertions, and kept them from going over any longer to the Romans.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

John advances from Pillage to Sacrilege, and takes away many Preſents out of the Temple. The very Race of the Jews *rooted out. Six hundred thouſand dead Bodies carried out of the City. Ox-Dung and Dirt are the* Jews *Food.*

WHEN the pillage failed John advanced to ſacrilege, ſeizing to his own uſe ſeveral donatives and oblations, with divers neceſſary veſſels for the ſervice of God's worſhip, as cups, diſhes, tables, &c. to the very pieces that Auguſtus and the empreſs dedicated to the honour of the holy temple, which the Roman emperors had ever a great veneration and eſteem for, tho' a Jew at that time had prophaned it, end ſtript it of the very bounty of ſtrangers, encouraging his companions to take all manner of liberty with holy things: For it was but reaſon, he ſaid, that they that fought for the temple ſhould live by it. So that he made no ſcruple of diſtributing among the people the holy wine and oil that was reſerved in the inner part of the temple for ſacrifices: And as John made the diſtribution, the multitude took their parts of it, drinking and anointing without any difficulty. My heart is full, and I cannot forbear giving it vent. I am perſuaded that if the Romans had delayed the calling of theſe wicked people to an account, this city would either have been drowned, or ſwallowed up with an earthquake: Or have been deſtroyed with thunder or lightning, like Sodom; the Jews being much the wickeder people of the two: Inſomuch, that for their ſtubborneſs and iniquity, the whole race of them was rooted out.

It would be endleſs to run through the ſeveral inſtances of their miſery. Mannæus, the ſon of Lazarus, had the command of one of the city gates, and going over to Titus, he gave him this account: That from the time of Titus's encamping before the town, from the tenth of Xanthicus to the firſt of Panemus, (that is from the tenth of April to the firſt of July) there paſſed through that gate a hundred and fifteen thouſand and eighty dead bodies, beſide what were buried by their relations, that is to ſay, thrown out of the city, having no other way of burial. After this, upon the computation of divers men of quality that deſerted, there were ſix hundred thouſand poor people carried out of the gate, beſides others innumerable, that for want of friends to export their carcaſſes out of the city, were piled in heaps, and ſhut up in large houſes. Wheat was by this time valued at a talent a buſhel: And now ſince the walling up of the town ſo cloſe, that they were cut off from all proviſion, even to a ſingle ſpire of graſs, they were brought to that extremity that they were glad to rake vaults and ſinks for ſuſtenance, and to feed upon ox-dung and other naſtineſs, enough to turn a man's ſtomach only to look upon it. The bare ſtory of the calamity drew pity from their very enemies; but the faction in the city, that both ſaw and felt their ſufferings, were not ſo much as ſenſible that their own rebellious obſtinacy had been the cauſe of it. But they went on, under the fatality of a blind infatuation, that led them on hood-winked, to the irreparable ruin both of themſelves and of the city.

THE

WARS of the *JEWS*.

BOOK VI.

From the Year of the World 4034, to 4039.

CHAP. I.

The State of Jeruſalem. *From a civil War they advance to a foreign. A Paradiſe turned into a Deſart. The* Jews *attempt the firing of the* Roman *Engines, but fail.*

THE ſtate of Jeruſalem was every day worſe and worſe, and the faction ſtill more and more fierce and turbulent, as they grew more and more miſerable, the ſamine having now taken poſſeſſion of great and ſmall all alike. It was a ſad ſpectacle to ſee how the ſtreets were covered with dead bodies, the air infected, and the very paſſages choaked up with carcaſſes, which were trampled under foot like the ruins of a fought field, and without any conſideration either of terror or pity, or how ſoon it might be their own caſe. They began with cutting one another's throats, and advanced from a civil war to a foreign, as if divine providence had not made haſte enough to perfect their deſtruction. For they did not contend ſo much for any hope they had of victory, as in a tranſport of rage and deſpair.

The Romans, upon this pinch, were hard put to it for materials to finiſh their works, but yet, with cutting down all the woods within ninety furlongs of the city, they made a ſhift in one and twenty days to raiſe their platforms. But never ſo diſmal a change of things, from a paradiſe to a deſert, and inſtead of the moſt delicious country under the heavens, for curious gardens, plantations and houſes of pleaſure, not ſo much as a tree or a cottage left ſtanding, or any thing to be ſeen but the marks of deſolation and ruin.

Upon perfecting the mounts, the Jews and the Romans were both equally ſolicitous for the event. The Jews were either to deſtroy them once again, or to loſe the city, and one diſappointment more on the other hand would put the Romans out of condition to repair them; for there was no more wood to be gotten, and the ſoldiers were quite harraſſed out with the fatigue of the ſervice.

John and his people in the caſtle of Antonia, did all that was to be done, before the rams were mounted, to prevent the danger of a breach. But it was ſo much labour loſt, for the deſign they had of ſetting fire to the mount with flaming torches, came to nothing. The truth of it is, they did not behave themſelves like Jews, either for union or vigour, and ſo were forced upon a retreat.

CHAP. II.

Jeruſalem *aſſaulted.* The Jews *make a bold Defence.* The Romans *fall to mining.* Titus's *Opinion of a future State.* *A gallant Action of* Sabinus.

THE aſſault was given on the firſt of the month Panemus, and the Jews being now drawn off, the Romans advanced with their rams toward Antonia, in defiance of all they were able to do, by fire, ſword, ſtones, and all other ways of hoſtility whatſoever. Not but that the Jews depended much upon the ſtrength of their walls againſt the battery of the machines. But they did what they could however to keep the Romans at a diſtance, from fixing them. They continued the battery, and the wall ſtood hitherto firm; but the Romans fortifying themſelves under the defence of their bucklers againſt the ſhot and ſtones from above, they applied themſelves to digging and mining:

ning: And when, with an indefatigable labour, they had looſened four ſtones under the foundation of the work, they betook themſelves on both ſides to their reſt. In this interim, that part of the wall that John had undermined for the Deſtruction of the former works, fell down all on a ſudden. This unexpected accident was a ſurprize to both parties. The Jews, that had reaſon to be troubled at it, eſpecially when they might have foreſeen and prevented it, were yet in as good heart as if Antonia had been their own ſtill: And the joy of the Romans, on the other hand, for an accident that apeared ſo ſeaſonable, was as quickly daſhed upon the ſight of another wall, that John had carried up within the former; only the latter appeared to be the leſs defenſible place of the two, both as the ruin of the one facilitated the paſſage to the other, and as the work of the new wall could not yet be ſo firm and ſettled as that of Antonia. But there was no thought of ſcaling it, and coming off alive.

Titus was not now to learn the force of reaſoning and fair words, upon the minds of men of arms and honour; or how generous ſpirits may be wrought upon by plauſible inſinuations of artifice and addreſs, into, not only the neglect of danger, but the very contempt of death itſelf. With this thought in his head, he ſummoned the flower of his army together, and encouraged them to encounter the great difficulties before them, by putting them in mind of the well known courage of the Romans, by which they were become maſters of the univerſe, and therefore it would be ſullying their glory to be baffled by a parcel of deſperate Jews, when they had reduced them to the laſt extremity; that thoſe who die in war are immediately tranſlated to the heavens among the ſtars, but thoſe who die in bed, their ſouls are buried in darkneſs.

Theſe words of Titus caſt ſuch a damp upon the ſpirits of the army, that there was but one man in the field had the heart to anſwer the end of this diſcourſe. His name was Sabinus, a Syrian born, and a ſoldier of the guards, a man eminent both for courage and execution: One that had never ſeen him before would hardly have taken him for a military man, either by his make or by his faſhion: A little black fellow, but with a ſoul too large for his body. This man made his reverence, and addreſſed himſelf to Titus in words to this effect. "I do here make a tender of myſelf to Ceſar with all my heart, for the firſt man to give the aſſault. May Ceſar's fortune anſwer Sabinus's good will. Or if I ſhould miſcarry in the attempt, what I loſe one way, I get another, in the honour of laying down my life for my maſter, which makes it all one to me whether I live or die."

Upon theſe words, with his ſword drawn in his right hand, and his ſhield over his head in his left, he advanced toward the wall about the ſixth hour of the day, with a train of eleven men at his heels, that followed him purely in emulation of his virtue: Sabinus in this action encountered all the enemy's ſtones and ſhot, with a ſpirit more than human, and ſeveral of his followers were knocked down upon that attack: But this did not hinder Sabinus yet from preſſing forward upon the enemy's darts and arrows, till he had well nigh mounted the wall, and forced the Jews to abandon their ſtation, for fear of a reinforcement of greater numbers to overpower them. But when this hero was juſt upon the perfecting of his work, he was moſt unluckily overborn with the fall of a ſtone. The Jews looking behind them upon the noiſe, and finding Sabinus lying alone there, and in a manner ſenſeleſs, they all fell upon him with their darts. However, he defended himſelf upon his knees, with his buckler over his head, as long as he could, and revenged himſelf upon his enemies with his ſword, killing ſome, and wounding others, till in the end, being able to ſtrike no longer, he breathed his laſt under a ſhower of their darts.

The bravery of this man deſerved a more propitious fate, but he died yet as great as he lived. Three of his companions were cruſhed to death with ſtones from the top of the wall, and there were eight more carried off wounded to the camp. This action paſſed upon the third day of the month Panemus.

CHAP. III.

The Romans *find the Guards aſleep at* Antonia, *and cut their Throats. A terrible Fight upon it with a great Slaughter and Confuſion. A Battle of ten Hours; and the* Jews *get the better of it.*

TWO days after this, there were gotten together twenty of the guards of the platforms, the enſign of the fifth legion, two cavaliers, and a trumpet: And making a ſilent march over the ruins up to Antonia, in the dead of the night, without oppoſition, they found the advanced guards faſt aſleep, cut their throats, and ſo taking poſſeſſion of the wall, the trumpet ſounded. Upon this alarm the reſt awaked and fled. Titus immediately, upon this notice, put himſelf at the head of the choiceſt troops he had about him, and ſo took his way up to the ruins. The Jews were ſo ſtartled at this ſurpriſe, that ſome of them made for the inner temple, others toward the mine that John had wrought to ſupplant the Roman works: But the two factions of John and Simon giving all for loſt, if the Romans ſhould get the temple, there followed a fierce and an obſtinate combat upon it, before the very doors of the place, the one fighting for life, the other for victory. Lances and darts were of little or no uſe on either hand; but the controverſy was now decided by the ſword. The front of both armies was of neceſſity either to kill or to be killed, for there was no diſtance left between them for a retreat. The battle, in fine, laſted ten hours, that is to ſay, from the ninth hour over night to the ſeventh next morning. But the furious obſtinacy of the Jews carried it from the reſolution and conduct of the Romans; and it was well for them they did ſo, for their laſt adventure was at ſtake. The Romans, in the concluſion, contented themſelves for the preſent, that they had gotten Antonia, with only one part of their army; for the legions upon whom they chiefly depended were not as yet come up.

CHAP. IV.

A brave exploit of one Julian, *a Centurion; and as notable a Miſfortune. The* Romans *ſhut up in* Antonia. *The Names of the* Jews *that ſignalized themſelves upon this Occaſion.*

THERE was one Julian a native of Bithynia, and a centurion, a man well born, and the braveſt that ever I heard of in the whole war. This Julian, as he was ſtanding by Titus in Antonia, and the Romans at that time giving way to the Jews, he took his opportunity, and made a deſperate leap on a ſudden into the thickeſt of the enemy, and ſo gave them chace in his ſingle perſon up to the innermoſt corner of the temple. But having his ſhoes ſtudded with iron nails, after the faſhion of other ſoldiers, as he was running a courſe upon the pavement, he got a ſlip, and the Romans, upon the claſh of his arms, broke into an outcry, for fear he might have done himſelf ſome miſchief. The Jews at the ſame time fell upon him with ſwords and darts, while he fenced off ſeveral blows with his buckler, and ſtill as he tried to get up again he was born down with multitudes. And yet, ſuch was the proof of his arms, that even at his length upon the ground, they had ſome difficulty to diſpatch him. But what with loſs of blood and other weakneſs, and no mortal to ſuccour him, he gave up the ghoſt, leaving behind him a renowned memory, not only amongſt the Romans, but alſo amongſt his enemies.

The Jews at laſt carried off the dead body, and after another rout to the Romans, ſhut them up in Antonia. The Jews that ſignalized themſelves in this action were, Alexas and Gyphthæus, of John's party; and of Simon's faction, there were Malachias, and Judas the ſon of Merton, James the ſon of Sozas, captain of the Idumæans, and Simen and Judas the ſons of Jair.

Ceſar was very ſorrowful to ſee a man of ſo great fortitude ſlain in the ſight of ſuch a multitude, and that the place wherein he was hindered him from helping him, and that others that might have helped him durſt not for fear.

CHAP. V.

Titus *invites* John *out to a fair Battle.* John's *Ribaldry in Return. Several of the better Sort give their Companions the ſlip.* The Jews *give it out that the* Romans *put all the Deſerters to Death; but* Titus *proves the contrary.* Titus *has no Hand in the Abominations that are committed.*

TITUS, being now reſolved to tear up the foundation of Antonia, and to level the ways for the more commodious march of the army, he called for Joſeph, and (underſtanding that on that day, which was the ſeventeenth of the month Panemus, the ſolemnity of their daily ſacrifice could not be obſerved for want of a congregation, and that the people were much troubled at it) ſent him to John a ſecond time upon the ſame errand: That is to ſay, if John had a mind to fight, let him bring what numbers he pleaſed, and he ſhould have the liberty to put it to a battle; provided only that the city and the temple might not be expoſed in the common ruin: Or, if he had a deſire to revive the religious ſervices that had been for ſome time diſcontinued, he might appoint which of the Jews he pleaſed to officiate.

Joſeph mounting an eminence where he might be furtheſt heard, comunicated Ceſar's pleaſure tu the Jews in Hebrew, as loud as he could deliver it.

The people gave Joſeph a ſorrowful hearing, without ſo much as one word ſpeaking. But John, after ſeveral virulent outrages againſt Joſeph, ſuperadded this irony, that "there was no danger of Jeruſalem, if it "was the city of God."

"No doubt of it," ſays Joſeph, "you "have made a conſcience of keeping every "thing pure and holy, and of paying "your duty to that God from whom you "pretend to look for help. What would "you think of that man now, but as the "worſt of enemies, that ſhould rob you of "your daily bread? And yet at the ſame "time you make no difficulty at all of robbing Almighty God of his daily ſacrifices. "And what's your quarrel after this to the "Romans, but for ſtanding up in defence "of your own laws and worſhip, which you "yourſelf ſuppreſs. Never was there ſo "miſerable a turn of religion and ſtate! "Strangers and enemies to do the office of "your beſt friends: And the Jews themſelves, both by blood and education, cru"eller than the barbarians one to another. "But repentance is never out of ſeaſon, let "the caſe be never ſo deſperate, and let "your diſtreſs or offence be what it will, "my life for yours, the Romans ſhall par"don it."

But the more Joſeph expoſtulated, the more implacable were John and his confederates againſt the Romans, inſomuch that they laid wait to inveigle Joſeph into a ſnare. But his diſcourſe wrought very effectually upon ſeveral of the nobility. There were divers of the factions alſo, that finding the caſe deſperate, and giving all for loſt, would have gone over to the Romans, if they durſt have ſtirred for fear of their own guards. But others there were, that, taking their opportunity, gave their own companions the ſlip, in which number were the high-prieſts Joſeph and Jeſus, the three ſons of Iſmael that had his head cut off at Cyrene, four ſons of Matthias, and one ſon of another Matthias who made his eſcape to the Romans, after Simon the ſon of Gioras had put the father and three of his ſons to death. There were alſo a great number of perſons of condition that deſerted with the prieſts, who were graciouſly received by the emperor, but ſent away to Gophne for the preſent, with a promiſe of large poſſeſſions to be diſtributed among them at the end of the war. Titus gave them this aſſignment by themſelves, to avoid the uneaſineſs of a mixed converſation among people of different manners, laws and cuſtoms, and they were very thankful for the allotment.

When they were all withdrawn to their colony, and none of them ſeen any longer in the city, the faction ſtarted a ſpiteful report, that the Romans killed all the deſerters as faſt as they came over to them, with a deſign to fright others from leaving their companions. This invention ſucceeded once again, but Titus called them all back from Gophne, and ordered them to take the tour of the walls with Joſeph, and ſhew themſelves to the town, which brought over more proſelytes to the Romans than ever. This did but make the faction more and more outrageous againſt the fugitives, with their ſtones, darts, arrows, ſlings, and other engines. They broke alſo into the holy ſanctuary, with their arms ſtill warm and reeking with the blood of their countrymen, and advancing to ſuch a degree of extravagance, that the Romans paid a greater reverence to the Jewiſh rites and ceremonies, than the Jews did to their own.

There was not a man in Titus's army that had not a veneration for the temple itſelf, and for the God that was worſhipped there, and that did not heartily wiſh to ſee the faction repent while there was yet place left for mercy.

Titus was ſo ſenſibly touched with the caſe of theſe wretched people, that he made one trial more yet, how far John and his confederates might be wrought upon by reaſon; proteſting that they, and not he, were guilty of all the abominations committed in the temple.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Titus *forced upon the War. He forms his Party, and poſts himſelf upon Fort* Antonia *An Attack in the Night followed with a diſmal uproar and Confuſion. Day-light brings them into Order again. A drawn Battle at laſt. Several* Jewiſh *Heroes that fought bravely. Four Mounts erected.*

WHEN Titus found they had no regard either to the temple or to themſelves, he took up a reſolution, though much againſt his will, to carry on the war. But for his whole army, there was not room enough to draw it up, ſo that he detached thirty out of every company, with a tribune at the head of every thouſand, and Cerealis to command them all in chief. With this detachment they were to have fallen upon the enemy's guards about the ninth hour of the night, and Titus himſelf to have led on the attack: But upon a council of war, the officers were all of opinion for Titus rather to poſt himſelf upon the fort Antonia, where he might ſee and obſerve how his men acquitted themſelves, without running the riſk of any common danger in his own perſon.

Titus thereupon withdrew to a watch-tower in Antonia, where he might ſee and judge of the whole action. The matter was no ſooner ſettled, but order was given, and an hour appointed for the attack. The advance guards came preſently to blows, with a confuſion of clamours, and upon awaking their fellows brought them on in multitudes to ſecond them. The Romans ſtood the firſt ſhock, but the numbers that followed fell indifferently upon their own people, without knowing friend or foe aſunder; for between the noiſe of the uproar and the darkneſs of the night, they knew neither voices nor faces apart, but following the impulſe only of a blind rage and paſſion, the fell foul upon what came next in their way at a venture; but the Romans kept themſelves in orderly bodies, under the cover of their bucklers, and knew one another by the word or ſignal. Upon break of day, ſo ſoon as the light ſhewed them their miſtakes, they betook themſelves to a more regular way of combat, and fell to their darts and arrows, both ſides as freſh and vigorous as if they had done nothing all night. Now the Romans, who had Titus for their judge, fought one and all in a noble ſtrife and emulation who ſhould do beſt; while the Jews at the ſame time had their own lives and the temple at ſtake, with the tyrant John at the head of them, cajoling ſome with fair words, and treating others with menaces or blows. This fight was moſt of it hand to hand, but with various changes back and forward, for there was hardly any room either for flight or purſuit. The diſpute laſted from the ninth hour of the night to the fifth the next day, both ſides maintaining their ground, and coming, in the concluſion, to a drawn battle. There were ſeveral noble Romans that behaved themſelves like heroes; and e moſt remarkable captains of the Jews ere as follows: Of Simon's party there was Judas the ſon of Merton, and Simon the ſon of Joſias; Jacob the ſon of Soſa, and Simon the ſon of Cathlas, (Idumæans:) And then of John's diſciples, there were Gypthæus and Alexas; and of the Zelotes, there was Simon the ſon of Jair.

In the compaſs of ſeven days, the foundations of Antonia were all turned up to the bottom, and a broad way cut out for the legions to march up to the wall, where hey immediately fell to work upon four mounts; the firſt, over-againſt the corner f the inner temple that looks north and aſt; the ſecond, againſt the gallery, to the northward betwixt the two gates; the third, toward the weſt porch of the outward temple; and the fourth, towards the north porch. But it was an infinite charge and labour, the bringing of the materials a hundred furlongs from the place: Beſide the many ſurpriſes they met with by the way; for the Romans were over confident and and careleſs, and the Jews mad and raſh enough to venture upon any thing.

It was the practice of ſeveral of the Romans, when they went out foraging, to turn their horſes looſe to graze, and it was then a common thing for the Jews to ſally out and carry them off; but upon the putting of one ſoldier to death for the loſs of his horſe, it ſecured all the reſt, for the ſoldiers and their horſes never parted afterwards.

CHAP. VII.

A famous Action of one Pedanius. *The* Jews *fire the Temple-Galleries. A fantaſtical Challenge of one* Jonathan. Jonathan *kills* Pudens; *and* Priſcus *kills* Jonathan.

WHEN they had raiſed their platforms, and put themſelves in condition to mount their attacks againſt the temple, there came down the next day a abble of a faction that were ready to ſtarve n the city for want of pillage. This ſeditious crew, about the eleventh hour of the y, made an effort upon the Roman uards toward the mount of Olivet, in hope of either taking them at unawares, or finding them withdrawn. The Romans ſaw the ſtorm coming, and taking the alarm in time, drew out all the ſtrength they were able to make, and put a check to a moſt deſperate attempt they had projected upon the wall.

There goes a wonderful ſtory of one Pedanius, a Roman cavalier, which is thus related,

lated. The Jews happened to be routed once, and purſued by the beſiegers into the valley: This ſame Pedanius puſhing full ſpeed aſter them, overtook a corpulent young man and heavy armed, ſpurring for life. He took him off from his horſe by the leg, in the middle of his courſe, and carried him away a priſoner for a preſent to Ceſar. Titus was in high admiration at the ſtrength and addreſs of this man: But the priſoner was put to death.

The Jews finding themſelves every day weaker and weaker, the war hotter, and the contagion ready to ſeize the very temple itſelf, began with ſetting fire to that part of the gallery, that reaching from the north to the eaſt, faced Antonia; where they made a gap of near twenty cubits, and wrought the final deſtruction of the holy place with their own hands.

On the four and twentieth of the month above-mentioned, the Romans put the ſame gallery in a flame; and when the fire had gained fourteen cubits, the Jews took down the roof of it, and ſo went on ſtill cutting off all communication with Antonia: Not but that they might have hindered the burning of it if they would, as they ought to have done; but their way was to regulate the miſchief they did by their own convenience: And all this while there paſſed daily ſkirmiſhes and encounters every where about the temple.

There was at this time a contemptible figure of a man, that was a Jew, a dwarfiſh ill-looking fellow, and his name was Jonathan. He went out one day to the monument of John the high-prieſt, and there made a challenge to any man of the whole Roman army to meet him with his ſword in his hand. When this inſolent ſcoffing Jew had waited a long time for a champion, deſcanting upon the cowardice of the Romans, and no body came, there was a proud Roman cavalier, one Pudens, that out of an indignation for this affront, ſtood forth, and accepted the challenge; which in the end made ſport for the company. The contempt he had for the Jew made him raſh and careleſs; ſo that getting an unlucky ſtumble, Jonathan made his advantage of it, and killed him when he was down, trampling the dead body under his feet, and vapouring over it with his buckler in his left hand, and his bloody ſword in his right, clattering his arms together, and inſulting at the ſame time with foul language and ribaldry, both againſt his adverſary and the ſpectators of the Roman army. While Jonathan was in the height of his buffoonry and exultation, Priſcus, a Centurion, ſhot him through the heart with an arrow, which ſtruck him dead upon the body of his enemy. This put both Jews and Romans into an uproar, though upon different motives, and was looked upon as a juſt judgment upon Jonathan, for aſſuming that to his virtue which was only due to his fortune.

CHAP. VIII.

A War betwixt the Temple and the Mounts. The Jews *confound the* Romans *by a Stratagem. The Bravery of* Longus. *A ſtrange Eſcape of* Artorius.

THE Faction in the temple was now in open war with the ſoldiers upon the mounts, and on the twenty ſeventh of the month aforeſaid the Jews bethought themſelves of this ſtratagem: they filled the roof of the weſtern porch, betwixt the top of it and the timbers, with a quantity of dry wood, ſulphur, and bituminous matter, and then pretending to give way upon an attack, they ſuffered themſelves to be beaten out, as if they had not been able to maintain it. A company of raſh people followed them cloſe upon the purſuit, and ſet up ladders to make good what the others had quitted. Upon the Romans crowding into the porch, the Jews ſet fire to it, and all was immediately in a blaze, to the aſtoniſhment even of thoſe that were out of reach of it. Some plunged themſelves into wells and pits, others leaped headlong down the houſes, ſome running one way, ſome another; ſome ſmothered in the Flame, and others caſting themſelves upon their ſwords, to prevent one death by another. As for thoſe that made a ſhift to eſcape the fury of the flames, they were beſet by the Jews, and after a ſtout reſiſtance every man of them put to the ſword.

There fell a world of brave men in this terrible adventure, but none greater than one Longus, a Roman, and in the vigour of his youth. The Jews found him a daring and a dangerous man, and had no way to cut him off unleſs they could get him down to them, upon honour that he ſhould return ſafe again without any violence to his perſon. His brother Cornelius taking notice of this, called out to him on the other hand, adjuring him not to do any thing that either his country or himſelf ſhould have reaſon to be aſhamed of. Longus, upon this, drew his ſword, and in the ſight of both parties killed himſelf.

There was alſo one Artorius that delivered himſelf from the fire by an artificial addreſs. He was reduced to an extremity; and ſeeing one Lucius, his fellow ſoldier and comrade, within call: “Catch me in thy “arms,” ſays he, “and break my fall, and “I'll make thee my heir.” Artorius took his leap, and the other diſpoſing himſelf to receive him, the weight of the one deſtroyed the other, daſhing him to pieces upon the place, Artorius eſcaping with his life.

The porch was burnt as far as the tower that John erected in his war with Simon, upon the pillars that led to it; and the Jews, after the burning of the Romans, as above, broke down the reſt. On the day following the Romans put fire alſo to the north porch, and ſo carried it before them to that on the eaſt, that overlooks the valley of Cedron, from a precipice that turns a body's brain to look down it.

CHAP. IX.

The extreme Miſery that attends Famine.

THIS was the face of things about the temple; the city well nigh depopulated with a devouring famine, and the miſery of it not to be numbered or expreſſed. It was enough to create a war in a family to have but any jealouſy of meat in it, and enough to break the tendereſt friendſhips in nature. Thoſe that were evidently ſtarved to death could not yet be believed at the laſt gaſp, that they died in want: But they would ſearch the very boſoms of the dead for bread, when they had no longer any breath in their bodies. If they miſſed what they looked for, their deſpairs hurried them up and down raging like ſo many drunken men, ranſacking the ſame houſes at every nook and corner of them over and over again, nothing coming amiſs to them, which the fouleſt of brutes would boggle at: Girdles, ſhoe leather, beaſts ſkins, &c. Nay, a handful of old hay was ſold for four attics. But why do I trouble myſelf with illuſtrations of this dreadful judgment by things inanimate, having at hand ſuch an inſtance for matter of fact as was never known, either among Greeks or Barbarians! And the ſtory is not to be heard or reported without horror. I could be well enough content to paſs over this relation, leſt poſterity ſhould think I lie; but I have ſo many witneſſes to the truth of it, that I ſhould be wanting to my country in ſuch a partiality to the dead, as to ſuppreſs it.

CHAP. X.

A Mother dreſſes and eats the Fleſh of her own Son. The Seditious challenge the Meat which the deſolate Mother had dreſſed. The Calamity recounted to the Romans. Ceſar *declares himſelf innocent of the whole Matter.*

THERE was a certain woman beyond Jordan, whoſe name was Mary. She was the daughter of Eleazar, of the village Vetezobra, that is to ſay, the Houſe of Hyſſop; rich and well born. She fled, in company with ſeveral others, and took ſanctuary in Jeruſalem, where they had the fortune to be beſieged. The tyrants ſtripped this lady of all ſhe brought publickly along with her that was precious, and for any thing elſe that was concealed, either goods or proviſions, her houſe was daily broken open and rifled by the ſoldiers. Upon this uſage the woman fell foul upon the faction with the bittereſt and the moſt outrageous language, but could not prevail with any of theſe monſters yet, either in pity or rage, to put her to death. When ſhe found herſelf brought to this extremity, that ſhe had no way left her in nature to keep body and ſoul together, ſhe delivered herſelf up to fury and neceſſity, and pitched upon the moſt unnatural reſolution that ever was heard of.

She had a child ſucking at her breaſt, which ſhe ſnatched up, and looking tenderly upon it, "What," ſays ſhe, "ſhall I ſay now to thee, thou moſt unfortunate infant, to be brought into the world under a complication of three ſuch dreadful judgments as war, famine, and rebellion! Which of the three ſhall I reſerve thee for? The Romans will give thee thy life perhaps, but not thy liberty. Now famine will prevent ſlavery: But for our preſent tyrants, thou wilt find them incomparably worſe than the other two. What canſt thou do better now, than to ſupply the want of a meal's meat to thy ſtarving mother, and hag out the party with the horror of the fact; and then finally crown the hiſtory of the Jews with the only execrable abomination that is yet wanting to the perfecting of their miſery?" After theſe words ſhe killed her child, and boiled it; the one half of it ſhe eat, the other half ſhe ſet by out of the way, and kept covered. The faction had it preſently in the wind; and upon the ſmell of the inhuman cookery, they came immediately to the woman's houſe, with menaces of death without mercy, if ſhe did not forthwith bring them out her proviſions. The woman told them that this was all ſhe had, and ſo ſhewed them the remainder of her child. They ſtood like ſtatues upon the very ſight of it, fell to trembling, and ran ſtark mad. "Look ye," ſays the woman,

“ this is really my ſon, and this diſh is of my dreſſing: I have eaten the one half myſelf, and pray do you eat the other. You will not pretend, I hope, to be nicer than a woman, or tenderer than a mother: But if you make a conſcience of the oblation, I have eaten part of it already, and you may leave the reſt where you found it.” Upon this they went their way, in a quaking terror, and with ſome difficulty left the reſt of this deteſtable food with the unhappy mother, the only thing they ever boggled at.

The noiſe of this bloody execution was preſently all over the city, and ſuch an abhorrence for it in general, as if every ſingle man had a part in the crime. The dread of the famine made men weary of their lives, and the living envied the dead that were taken away before the extravagance came to this height. The ſtory was quickly gotten from the Jews to the Romans, where ſome pitied the people, others hated them for it, and ſome again did not credit it.

Titus acquitted himſelf as in the preſence of God, that he had done all he could to make the Jews eaſy and happy in their lives, liberties, and fortunes: But if they had rather have war than peace, or famine than plenty, nay, if nothing elſe would ſerve their turn, but the firing of that very temple with their hands, which Titus did all that he could to preſerve, their own children were meat good enough for ſuch parents: And he was reſolved to bury their iniquities in their ruin, and not to leave a city ſtanding under the ſun, where mothers devoured their own children, and the fathers yet the more impious of the two, for keeping up the war, after ſo many demonſtrations of God's diſpleaſure againſt it.

Titus, after this, reflecting upon the incorrigible hardneſs and obſtinacy of the faction, gave them all for loſt; for if any thing in nature would have wrought upon them, the calamities they had ſuffered already might poſſibly have reclaimed them.

CHAP. XI.

The Temple was burned by the Romans *on the ſame Day of the Month on which it was before burned by the King of* Babylon.

WHEN two of the legions had finiſhed their platforms, Titus on the eighth of the month Lous ordered his rams to be planted againſt the weſtern gallery of the outward temple, having played the beſt piece of battery he had for ſix whole days without intermiſſion, but to no purpoſe, for the work was proof againſt the engines.

gines. There were others at the ſame time ſapping the foundations on the north ſide; and when they found that with an incredible labour they could only looſen ſome of the outward ſtones, without moving any of the reſt, for the porch ſtood yet firm, they perceived at laſt that there was no good to be done by digging and mining, or by the help of levers and bars: So that the Romans betook themſelves to their ſcaling ladders.

The Jews could not hinder them from planting their ladders, but they made a brave reſiſtance, where there was any place for it, encountering thoſe that got up, hand to hand, before they could put themſelves upon their guard; caſting others down head-long, as they were mounting: Cutting off ſome as they were advancing with relief; and ſometimes overturning ladders, men and all together. So that the Romans loſs upon this encounter was very conſiderable, eſpecially in the diſputes they had for the defending or recovering of their colours, as one of the niceſt points of honour among ſwordmen. But, in the concluſion, the Jews kept the enſigns that they took, and killed the enſign-bearers, which terrified the reſt, and forced them to a retreat. Now to give the beſiegers their due at laſt, there fell not a man of them but died like a Roman. Thoſe of the faction that had done bravely in former encounters, did ſo ſtill; and ſo did Eleazar, the nephew of tyrant Simon: But Titus finding by this time, that, in ſparing a ſtrange temple, he did but ſacrifice his own men, he gave order to his people forthwith to ſet fire to the gates, which were ſoon in a blaze; the ſilver-work over them melted, and the timbers all in a flame; inſomuch that the fire was gotten to the next galleries. This was ſuch a ſurpriſe to the Jews, to find themſelves wrapt up in flames, that they ſtood gaping one upon another in an aſtoniſhment, and had neither heart nor ſtrength left them, and the fire got ground all that day, and the night following, till by little and little it burnt down the galleries.

Titus gave order the next day for the quenching of the fire, and the levelling of the ways for the march of his army. After this he called a council of his general officers: That is to ſay, Tiberius Alexander, his lieutenant general; Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion; Lorgius Lepidus, of the tenth; Titus Trigius, of the fifteenth: And there were with theſe, Æternius Fronto, the captain of the two Alexandrian legions; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, the governour of Judæa: With colonels, and other officers, to adviſe withal what meaſures to take in the buſineſs of the temple. Some were for ſaving it, and others for deſtroying it: "But," ſays Titus, "if the Jews will be obſtinate, and turn a temple into a citadel, ſhall I revenge the ſtubbornneſs of a rebellious people upon ſtocks and ſtones, and lay the moſt glorious fabric of the univerſe in aſhes for their ſake? It would be an affront to the dignity of Rome itſelf, to think of depriving the empire of ſo illuſtrious an ornament." Fronto, Alexander, and Cerealis came over to his opinion, and ſo the council was diſmiſſed: with orders to the army to reſt and refreſh themſelves, to be the fitter for action: Several choice battalions being commanded out in the mean time to look after the fire, and cut out ways over the ruins. The Jews being now haraſſed off their legs and courage, were quiet enough for this day: But the day following, when they had gathered ſtrength, and taken heart again, they made a deſperate ſally about the ſecond hour of the day through the eaſtern gate, upon the guards of the outward temple. The Romans ſtood the firſt ſhock like a wall againſt them, under the power of their bucklers, with a mighty reſolution: But that would not have laſted long againſt ſuch an odds of fierceneſs and numbers, if Ceſar, with a ſelect body of horſe (who ſaw the action from Antonia) had not come ſeaſonably up to their relief, before they gave ground. The Jews ſhrunk upon this charge; and the Romans breaking in upon the front, the reſt betook themſelves to flight: And then the Romans drawing off in their courſe, the Jews rallied and came on again. At this rate they took their turns interchangeably, till about the fifth hour of the day, when the Jews were forced into the temple, and ſhut up there. Titus, upon this, withdrew to Antonia, with a reſolution to attack the temple with his whole army the next morning. But God in his providence had from all eternity doomed it to the fire; and in courſe of time, the fatal day was now at hand, the tenth of the month Lous, and the very ſame day whereupon it was formerly burnt by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon. This was a conflagration which the Jews brought upon themſelves; for Titus had no ſooner left them in quiet, but the rebels made a ſally upon Ceſar's guards as they were at work, by his orders, to extinguiſh the fire, who put the Jews to the rout upon it, and had the purſuit of them to the temple.

CHAP. XII.

A Soldier ſets Fire to the Temple, under pretext of a divine Impulſe. Titus *does all he can to ſtop it, but to no Purpoſe. A dreadful Maſſacre, and Confuſion.*

THERE was at this time a certain ſoldier, that took upon him to act by the inſpiration of a divine impulſe. He mounted the ſhoulders of one of his comrades, and then caſt a flaming brand into the golden window that looks toward the apartments on the north ſide of the temple. The place took fire immediately, which raiſed ſuch a hideous outcry among the Jews, that they haſtened all that was poſſible to their relief. The news of this conflagration being brought to Titus, juſt as he was laying himſelf down in his tent to take a little reſt, he leapt up, and immediately taking his chariot, paſſed away with it to the temple, his great officers following him, and the legions after them. Ceſar did all that was to be done with words and ſigns, towards the ſtopping of it, but it was all in vain, and they were every jot as blind to the ſigns and motions of his hand, as they were deaf to what he ſaid: Neither were the ſoldiers governed by menaces or commands, but only followed the dictates of rage and paſſion: Some were trampled upon, and ſqueezed to death in crowds, others choaked in the ſultry ruins of the galleries over the porches, and the ſame thing, whether they overcame, or were overcome. The common ſoldiers in the temple pretended, in excuſe of their diſobedience, that they could not hear their emperor's orders, and they that followed, gave the word forward to throw fire. The rebels, in fine, had no way in the world to prevent it; and which way ſoever they turned themſelves, they ſaw nothing but blood and deſtruction. As for the poor people, the ſickly, and the unarmed, they put them to the ſword whereever they found them: Mountains of dead bodies piled up about the altar, and ſtreams of blood flowing down the ſtairs, with numbers of miſerable creatures weltering in their own gore.

When Titus ſaw there was no reſtraining the fury of his ſoldiers, and that the fire gained every day more and more upon him, he took ſome of his chief officers along with him into the inward temple, where he found the glory and magnificence of the place even beyond the very fame of it; but Titus obſerving that the fire had not as yet taken the ſanctuary, and that it might not be yet too late to ſave the holy place, he ſtarted up, and earneſtly beſought his ſoldiers to do their uttermoſt to put a ſtop to the fire, giving it in charge alſo to Liberalis, a centurion of his guards, to preſs the doing of it, and to cudgel thoſe that refuſed; but neither fear or reſpect was ſufficient to keep them within the compaſs of their duty. While Ceſar was ſo very intent upon ſaving the temple, one of the ſoldiers at the ſame time ſet fire to ſome of the door-poſts, whereupon Titus and his captains were forced to withdraw out of diſtance of preventing the miſchief: So that the temple was deſtroyed at laſt, in deſpite of whatever Titus could do to hinder it.

It is a moſt remarkable revolution alſo, that this ſecond conflagration ſhould ſo exactly anſwer the very day and month of the former under Nebuchadnezzar. We reckon from the beginning of the firſt temple by Solomon, to the deſtruction of this in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, eleven hundred and thirty years, ſeven months and fifteen days: And from that of Haggai, in the ſecond of Cyrus, we account ſix hundred and thirty nine years, and forty five days.

CHAP. XIII.

A Cruelty that ſpares neither Age, Sex, nor Quality. Several Prieſts engaged in the Quarrel. The Temple conſumed to Aſhes, and all that was in it. Six thouſand People deſtroyed in the Porch.

WHEN the temple was now in a flame, the ſoldiers took all that came to hand, and killed all they met, to the degree of a moſt prodigious ſlaughter and pillage, without any reſpect either to age or ſex; but young and old, ſacred and prophane, prieſts and laics, they all went together, and men of all ſorts and qualities were equally involved in the common calamities of the war, and whether they reſiſted or ſubmitted they fared all alike: But in the end a band of ruffians beat back the Romans, and having forced their way into the outward temple, made their eſcape into the city, and the reſt of the multitude got into the outward porch.

There were a great many prieſts engaged in this quarrel with the Romans, that made uſe of their temple ſpits inſtead of darts, and of their ſeats with lead in them, that did them the office of ſtones: But when they ſaw that this would do no good, and that the fire found them out ſtill wherever they were, they covered themſelves for a while under a thick wall of a matter of eight cubits over. Two of the principal men of this number, (Meirus the ſon of Belgas, and Joſeph the ſon of Dalæus) that might have ſaved themſelves by going over to the Romans, choſe rather to ſtand or fall with their companions, and ſo plunging themſelves into the flames, ran the ſame fate with the temple.

When the Romans found the temple itſelf laid in aſhes, they did not think it worth their while to trouble their heads about any of the reſt of the buildings, and ſo put fire to all at once, as the gates and galleries, &c. ſave only one on the eaſt ſide, and another on the ſouth; and theſe likewiſe, not long aſter, followed the fortune of the reſt. They burned alſo the treaſury and the wardrobe, with Jewels, money, and money's worth in it, and rich habits to an incredible value. In one word, this place was the repoſitory of all the Jews had that was precious.

There were now gotten together into the porch that was yet ſtanding, in women, children, and a mixed multitude that fled from the rabble, to the number of near ſix thouſand perſons. But before Ceſar could give any order or direction in the caſe, the ſoldiers, in an extravagant brutal fury, ſet the place on fire, and plied it ſo cloſe, that between thoſe that were burned to death, and others that caſt themſelves headlong down the ruins to ſave themſelves, there was not one ſoul came off alive.

The occaſion of this miſchief was a certain impoſtor, who took upon him to deliver a meſſage from Almighty God that day to the people, and to this effect. He commanded them in the name of God to go immediately up to the temple, with an aſſurance that they ſhould there receive an infallible proof of his divine ſavour and protection. This was a common practice of the faction to pretend revelations to keep the credulous multitude firm againſt all dangers, and to ſecure them from deſerting. Men eaſily believe, and are credulous in adverſity; ſo that if any deceitful perſon promiſe delivery out of calamity, he that ſuffereth miſery becomes full of hope thereupon.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Strange Signs and Tokens that appeared before the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem. *A Comet in the Figure of a Sword. A ſtrange Light about the Altar. A Cow brings forth a Lamb. A braſen Gate opens of itſelf. Chariots and armed Men ſeen in the Air. Foreboding Exclamations from a poor Country Creature. He is firſt puniſhed for it, and then diſcharged as a Madman. In the Concluſion, he foretels his own Deſtruction.*

HOW eaſily were theſe ſuperſtitious wretches ſeduced into a belief of falſe oracles, counterfeits, and impoſtors! But when they were at any time premoniſhed from the lips of truth itſelf, by prodigies, and other monitory prognoſticks of their approaching ruin, they had neither eyes, ears, nor underſtanding, to make a right uſe or application of them: As for example.

What ſhall we ſay to the comet that hung over Jeruſalem for one whole year together, in the figure of a ſword?

What ſhall we think again of that wonderful light that was ſeen about the altar, a little before the revolt, on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, upon the celebration of the paſchal feaſt, and continued for the ſpace of half an hour as bright as day.

At the ſame feſtival, there was another prodigy, of a cow delivered of a lamb in the middle of the temple, as they were leading her up to the altar for a ſacrifice.

The eaſtern gate of the inner temple was made of ſolid braſs, and ſo very heavy that it was as much as twenty men could do every night to ſhut it, beſides that it was faſtened with iron-bolts and bars, mortiſed into a huge threſhold of entire ſtone. This gate, about the ſixth hour of the night, opened of itſelf; and upon early notice given of it to the proper officer, he came immediately up to look after it, and had much ado to make it faſt again. Some ignorant people took this for a good omen, but the wiſer ſort believed that the opening of the gate foretold deſolation to the city.

Upon the feaſt of pentecoſt, as the prieſts were going to officiate in the Inner temple, according to cuſtom, they heard at firſt a kind of a confuſed murmur, and after that a voice calling out earneſtly in articulate words, "Let us be gone, let us be "gone."

A matter of four years before the war, when the city was in a profound peace, and flowing in plenty, there was one Jeſus the ſon of Ananus, a plain country fellow, who coming to the feaſt of tabernacles, broke out on a ſudden into this exclamation: "A “voice from the eaſt, a voice from the weſt; a voice from the four quarters of the world; a voice to Jeruſalem, and a voice to the temple; a voice to new-married men and women, and a voice to this whole nation.” This was his cry day and night, from place to place, through every ſtreet of the city. Some great men in the government took ſuch offence at it, that they ordered the man to be taken up and ſeverely whipped. He took the puniſhment without returning ſo much as one word, but ſtill went on calling and denouncing as before. The magiſtrates began now to ſuſpect ſomewhat of a divine impulſe in what he ſaid. He was carried upon this to Albinus the governor of Judæa, who cauſed him to be laſhed to the very bones, which he took without either tears or ſupplication; only in a mournful voice he followed every ſtroke with a “Woe, woe to Jeruſalem!” Albinus fell then to aſking him what he was, whence he came, where he was born, and what he meant by that way of proceeding? But he gave him no anſwer, and Albinus diſcharged him at laſt as a madman. From that time to the beginning of the war, he was never known to viſit or ſpeak to any of the citizens, or to make uſe of any other than that doleful form of words, “Woe, Woe to Jeruſalem!” He never gave an ill word to thoſe that daily ſcourged him, or a good one even to thoſe that fed him: But his anſwer was to all people alike, an ominous preſage. He was obſerved to be ſtill more clamorous upon feſtivals than upon other days; and at this rate he went on for ſeven years and five months, neither his voice nor his ſtrength failing him, till the ſiege of Jeruſalem verified his predictions. After this he took the tour of the wall once again, crying out (with a ſtronger voice than ordinary) “Woe, woe to this city, this temple, and this people!” Concluding at laſt with “Woe, woe be to me myſelf!” And in this inſtant he was taken off with a ſtone from an engine, in the middle of all his forebodings.

If any one diligently conſiders all theſe things, he will find that God hath a care of mankind, and doth foreſhew betimes what is moſt expedient for them, and that they through their own madneſs, voluntarily periſh in their wickedneſs. For the Jews, when the caſtle Antonia was taken, made the temple four ſquare; notwithſtanding that it was written in the holy ſcripture, that the city and temple ſhould be taken, when the temple was made four ſquare. But that which chiefly incited them to this war, was a doubtful prophecy likewiſe found in the holy ſcriptures: That at the ſame time one in their dominions ſhould be monarch of the whole world; and many wiſe men were deceived in their interpretation, making account that he ſhould be one of their own nation; but indeed thereby was foretold Veſpaſian's empire. But men cannot prevent deſtiny, though they foreſee it.

CHAP. XV.

Titus *proclaimed Emperor. Certain Prieſts ordered to be put to Death. The Faction deſires a Treaty, and* Titus *agrees to it.* Titus *offers them Terms, which they refuſe, uuder Pretence of an Oath to the contrary.* Titus *orders upon this that no* Jew *ſhall have either Protection or Quarter. The* Romans *fall on with Fire and Sword; but* Titus *continues tender to the laſt.*

THE rebels being now fled into the city, the temple and every thing about it ſtill in a blaze, the Romans lodged their enſigns againſt the eaſtern gate, where they offered ſacrifice, and with great ſhouts and acclamations proclaimed Titus emperor. They got ſo prodigious a booty, that gold in Syria was brought down to half its price.

There was a child among the prieſts upon the wall, that begged of the Roman guards only a ſup of drink to quench his thirſt, which they freely gave him, upon promiſes of good faith on both ſides. The child went down and drank, and then filled a flaggon that he carried along with him, and made ſuch haſte back with it to his friends, that the guards could not overtake him. The Romans charged the boy with breach of articles; but he pleaded for himſelf, that he covenanted only for liberty to fetch the water, not to continue with them when he had it, and conſequently had broken no conditions. They found the fraud ſo innocent, that they were well enough content to be cozened.

When the prieſts had ſtaid five days longer upon the wall, they were forced to come down, and deliver up themſelves by the extreme neceſſity of an outrageous hunger. The guards took them to Titus, where they caſt themſelves at his feet for mercy. But his anſwer was, “ they ſhould “ have thought of that ſooner; for now the “ temple was gone, it was but reaſonable “ the prieſts ſhould go too, and that they “ and their temple ſhould be inſeparable.” Upon this Titus ordered the prieſts to be put to death.

The heads of the faction finding themſelves preſſed on all hands, and ſo ſurrounded that it was impoſſible to come off, they propoſed a conference with Ceſar, who, out of his natural generoſity and goodneſs, inclined to entertain it, partly out of a deſire to ſave the town, and partly at the inſtance of his friends, in hope that the rebels might be brought to better terms for the future. Titus made a ſtand at the weſt ſide of the inner temple, near the gates that lead into the inner gallery, and there was a bridge of communication between the temple and the upper town, which at this time parted the Romans and the Jews. Titus delivered his mind to them by an interpreter,

ter, to the effect ſollowing, viz. He upbraided them with being the authors of their country's ruin; aſked them what they had further to rely upon; that the Romans had indulged them even beyond their own expectations, which they had made uſe of to do the more miſchief to their benefactors; that he had begged of them to prevent a war before a blow was ſtruck; and that if even now they would lay down their arms and ſurrender themſelves, he was content to give them their lives.

The faction returned him this anſwer, "That they could not deliver themſelves "up, upon any promiſe or aſſurance he "could give them, becauſe they were un"der an oath to the contrary: But that "they were ready to be gone, if he pleaſed, "with their wives and children into the "deſart, and leave the town to the Ro"mans." Titus took it ſo very heinouſly to ſee priſoners giving law, and impoſing conditions on the conquerers, that he preſently cauſed proclamation to be made, "That no Jew ſhould preſume for the "future to make any further application "to Titus, or expect either protection or "quarter: But that they might now defend "themſelves by arms as well as they could, "for Ceſar was reſolved to govern himſelf "by the rules of war:" So the ſoldiers had liberty given them to fall on with fire and ſword, and make their beſt of the ſpoil of the city. There was nothing done that day, but the next morning they ſet fire to the regiſter-office, the caſtle, the council-chamber, and a place called Ophlas: And ſo the fire went on to queen Helen's palace in the middle of the mount, carrying all before it, together with dead bodies, whereof the houſes and ſtreets were crowding full.

On the ſame day, the ſons and brethren of king Izates, with ſeveral other perſons of honour, joined in a petition to Ceſar for their lives; who granted the petition, though very much incenſed againſt the party. But they were all ordered to priſon, and the ſons and near relations of Izates carried afterwards bound to Rome for hoſtages.

CHAP. XVI.

The Faction moves to the Palace Royal, where they cut off eight thouſand four hundred Perſons, and ſeize all the Treaſure. A nice Point of Roman *Honour.* Joſeph *gives good Advice to little Purpoſe.*

THE rebels ſteered their courſe next to the king's houſe, a ſtrong and a ſafe place, with a great treaſure laid up in it. The Jews beat the Romans out of the houſes killed to the number of eight thouſand four hundred perſons there, and carried off all the money. Upon this encounter, there were two Roman ſoldiers taken alive, a horſeman and a footman: The latter was killed, and dragged along the ſtreets quite thorough the town, as if it had been to revenge the whole nation upon that ſingle body. The horſeman, upon a pretence that he had ſomewhat of moment to communicate, was carried to Simon: And having nothing to ſay when he came there, order was given to Ardalas, one of Simon's officers, to have him put to death. So he was preſently taken out with his hands bound behind him, and a ſwathing-band over his eyes, to have his head cut off within ſight of the Romans; but as the executioner was drawing his ſword to do his office, the priſoner ſtarted away, and made his eſcape over to the Romans. Titus would not ſuffer him to be put to death, only for giving the enemy the ſlip; but looked upon it as ſuch an indignity to have a Roman ſoldier taken alive, that he was diſarmed and caſhiered upon it; which to a man of honour is worſe than death.

It being the Romans fortune the next day to rout the Jews out of the lower city, they put all in a blaze as far as Siloah; and had the pleaſure of ſeeing what havock the conflagration made, but the booty was gone: for the ruffians had diſpoſed of that already into the upper town.

While things were at this paſs, Joſeph did all that was to be done to ſave the miſerable remains of a ruined and a deſolated city, dividing himſelf in his applications betwixt invectives againſt the impious inhumanities of the one ſide, and ſeaſonable encouragements and good counſels to the other: But it was all to no purpoſe.

In this diſtraction, they ſcattered themſelves all over the city, hunting and watching up and down in the ruins, vaults, and elſewhere for deſerters. They took a great many of them, and they killed all they took; for they were too weak to run for it, and their dead they caſt to the dogs: But of all deaths, famine was the moſt frightful and ghaſtly. There were ſeveral that went over to the Romans, without either the hope or deſire of any other mercy from them, than what they promiſed themſelves in the exchange of one death for another: And this was the caſe with the ſeditious alſo upon the ſame account. The ſtreets were covered with dead bodies from one end of this city to the other, which were either murdered or ſtarved.

The laſt hope of the tyrannical faction, was in the receſſes of ſinks and privies, upon a vain fancy that they might lie concealed there till all ſhould be over, and the Romans gone; and that then they might make their eſcape; not conſidering that holes and hiding places are no proof againſt the all-ſeeing eye of juſtice. The Jews that were poſſeſſed of theſe ſubterraneous retreats, did more miſchief than the Romans by the fire; killing and robbing all they could meet that came for ſanctuary to thoſe caverns: And let their food be ever ſo coarſe or foul, ſuch was their neceſſity, that it became a cauſe of quarrel; inſomuch that I verily believe, if the ſiege had continued, the living would have been inhuman enough to eat the fleſh of the dead.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The upper Town not to be taken without new Mounts. Titus *ſets the Project afoot. The* Idumæans *offer him their Service by their Deputies; and beg his Pardon.* Titus *grants them their Requeſt, but* Simon *immediately puts the Deputies to Death. Whole Families ſold like Herds of Beaſts in a Market.* Titus *ſets forty thouſand Men at Liberty that came over to him.*

THE upper town was ſeated upon ſuch crags and precipices, that Titus found it utterly impoſſible to gain it without new mounts; ſo that upon the twentieth of the month Lous, he went in hand with the project. Carriage was extremely dear and troubleſome, for the materials were all cut down for the former works, within a hundred furlongs of the town. The four legions threw up a mount on the weſt ſide of the town, over-againſt the palace royal: The auxiliaries and the reſt caſt up another toward the gallery and the bridge; and a fort that Simon built in his war with John, known by the name of Simon's tower. At the ſame time the Idumæan officers laid their heads together how to get over to the Romans, and ſent five deputies with a tender of their ſervice to Titus, and a ſubmiſſive petition for mercy in the name of the reſt. Titus, upon an opinion that Simon and John would never ſtand it out, after ſuch a deſertion, ſent three deputies back with a promiſe of their lives. This plot, it ſeems, had taken air, and Simon cauſed the five deputies immediately to be put to death, and their leaders impriſoned, reckoning James the ſon of Soſas for the chief. And the reſt of the Idumæans were kept yet under a ſtricter guard; and all too little to hinder them from running over. There were many of them cut off, it is true, but more that fled and eſcaped, and were all received by the Romans, Titus's courteſy being ſuch, that he remembered not his former orders to the contrary. And now the ſoldiers abſtained from murders, and minded only the getting of wealth; the common people they ſold, with their wives and children, like beaſts, in a market, and at very eaſy rates too, there coming but few to buy them. Titus having publiſhed that none ſhould fly unto him without their families, yet now received thoſe alſo that came alone, appointing ſome to enquire who had deſerved puniſhment, and to inflict it on them. There were vaſt numbers of them ſold, and upward of forty thouſand ſet at liberty by the emperor, to go whither they pleaſed.

There was at the ſame time one Jeſus, a prieſt, the ſon of Thebuth, who compounded with Ceſar for his life, upon condition to deliver up to him ſome of the donatives,

tives, veſſels, and other ornaments belonging to the holy temple. So he went out, and gave him over the wall two candleſticks like thoſe in the temple, ſome tables, cups and goblets, all ſolid and pure gold: He gave him alſo ſeveral veils, ſacerdotal habits, precious ſtones, and a great number of ſacrificing veſſels.

There was alſo taken one Phineas, the keeper of the holy treaſure, who produced a great many prieſts habits and girdles, purple and ſcarlet ſtuffs, that were orderly folded up for uſe. There was alſo a proportion of cinnamon, caſſia, gums and perfumes for daily incenſe: Beſides ſeveral ſorts of holy ornaments and private goods.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Mounts are finiſhed: And the Romans *advance with their Machines. Some ſhift for themſelves: And others ſtand their Ground.* Simon *and* John *in Horror and Deſperation with frightful Stories and falſe Alarms. They give up three Forts that could never have been taken but by ſtarving, which did the whole Work. The* Romans *carry all before them. A pious Ejaculation of* Titus's. *He erects a Monument to his good Fortune.* Titus *gives Orders about his Priſoners.*

THE works being now finiſhed, on the ſeventh of the month Gorpiæus, or Sepetember, (having been eighteen days in doing) the Romans advanced their machines; and that part of the faction that deſpaired of holding out quitted the walls, and withdrew to the caſtle, others into privy houſes and vaults, but the more reſolute ſtopped, and made head againſt thoſe that were to manage the battery: So ſoon as ever they took notice of any flaw in the wall, or that any of the turrets gave way to the engines, the defendents ſhifted immediately away as faſt as they could: Inſomuch that Simon and John themſelves were ſeized with a panic terror; and fled, even before the Romans were come within diſtance of doing them any hurt. They made an attempt indeed upon the wall of circumvallation that the Romans raiſed about the town. In ſhort, they attacked it, and made a breach in it, with a reſolution to fall upon the guards and make an eſcape: But perceived, when they looked to be ſeconded, that their friends had all forſaken them. In a fantaſtical variety of frightful things and thoughts, every man framed a ſtory according to his imagination. One brings news that the whole wall to the weſtward was overthrown; others, that the Romans were juſt at the foot of it; ſome, that they were entered, and ſuch and ſuch of them ſeen in poſſeſſion of the towers.

The tyrants ruined themſelves by quitting thoſe holds of their own accord, that could never have been taken but by famine, and this after the Jews had ſpent ſo much time to no purpoſe upon pieces of leſs value. By this means the Romans became maſters of three impregnable forts by fortune, that could never have been taken any other way; for the three famous towers formerly mentioned were proof againſt all battery.

Upon Simon and John's quitting theſe towers, they haſtened away to the vale of Siloa, where they took breath a while; and after ſome recollection and refreſhment, they gave an aſſault to the new wall there, but ſo faint and weak, that the guards beat them off; for betwixt fatigue, deſpondency, dread and miſery, their ſtrength failed them, and they were then ſcattered ſeveral ways into ſinks and gutters.

The Romans being now poſſeſſed of the walls, planted their colours upon the towers with outcries and ſhouts of joy, to find the end of the war ſo much eaſier than the beginning.

The ſoldiers were now broke looſe all over the town, killing all that fell in their way without diſtinction, and burning entire houſes, and whatever was in them, in one common flame. In ſeveral places, where they entered to ſearch for pillage, they found whole families dead and the houſes crammed with hunger-ſtarved carcaſſes; ſo that upon the horror of ſo hideous a ſpectacle, they came out again empty-handed: But the compaſſion they had for the dead, made them not one jot tenderer to the living; for they ſtabbed every man they met, till the narrow paſſes and alleys were choaked up with carcaſſes: So that the channels of the city ran blood, as if it had been to quench the fire. In the evening they gave over killing, and at night fell afreſh to burning.

While Titus was now taking a view of the ruins of this glorious city, he let fall this expreſſion: "Well!" ſays he, "if "God had not fought both for us and with "us, we could never have been maſters of "theſe forts. It was God, in fine, that aſ"ſiſted us, and God that fought againſt the "Jews, for this was not an undertaking to "be compaſſed with hands or machines." When Titus had ſaid this, and a great deal more upon the ſame ſubject, it was his next care to ſet all the priſoners at liberty that the tyrants had left in the towers; and afterwards, upon the raſing and demoliſhing of the city, to preſerve thoſe turrets as a monument to the honour of his good fortune, without whoſe aſſiſtance he could never have done what he did.

The ſoldiers being now quite ſpent with doing execution, and having a great deal more of that work yet to do, Titus ordered his men to hold their hands, ſaving only to thoſe that they found armed, or in a poſture of reſiſtance, and to give quarter to all the reſt. But the ſoldiers went beyond their commiſſion, and put the aged and the ſickly to the ſword promiſcuoſly with their companions; and for thoſe that were ſtrong and ſerviceable, they ſhut them up in the temple, in the women's quarter, Ceſar appointing Fronto, one of his friends and freemen, to inform himſelf of the people, and to do by them as they deſerved. As for the ruffians, and the ſeditious, that impeached one another, he had them all put to death: But for men of comely and graceful perſons, and in the prime of their youth, he reſerved them for the triumph, ſending away all of above ſeventeen of the remainder of them, in chains into Egypt, to be employed in ſervile offices and drudgery, beſide thoſe that were diſtributed up and down the provinces for the uſe of the theatres, in the quality of ſwordmen or gladiators; and all under ſeventeen expoſed to ſale.

In the mean time, while the priſoners

were under Frento's charge, there were eleven thouſand of them ſtarved to death, between the churliſhneſs of the keepers that would give them no meat, and the ſqueamiſhneſs of their own ſtomachs that would not let them ſwallow any. But in truth, the mouths were too many for the proviſion.

CHAP. XIX.

The Number of the Dead, and of the Priſoners in this War. John *and* Simon *taken: The one kept for the Triumph: The other a priſoner for Life. The City a Heap of Aſhes, and the Walls thrown down.*

THE number of priſoners in this war was ninety ſeven thouſand. The number of the dead was eleven hundred thouſand, the greater part of them Jews by nation, though not natives of Judæa; for it was only a general meeting of them at Jeruſalem, gathered together from all quarters to celebrate the feaſt of the paſſover, who were there ſurpriſed into a war. There was ſo prodigious a multitude, and they ſo ſtraitened for lodgings, that the crowd firrſt brought the plague into the town, and then quickly made way for a famine. Not but that the city was abundantly capable yet of entertaining that vaſt body of people.

This mighty concourſe of people from abroad before the ſiege, was afterwards, by the righteous providence of God, cooped up in the city, as in a priſon; and the number of the ſlain in that ſiege was the heavieſt Judgment of the kind that ever was heard of. Some were killed openly, others kept in cuſtody by the Romans, who ſearched the very ſepulchres and vaults for them, and put all they found alive to the ſword. There were upward of two thouſand, that had either laid violent hands on themſelves, or killed one another by conſent; beſide thoſe that periſhed by famine. The putrid coruption of the dead bodies ſent out a vapour enough to poiſon as many as came within the reach of it. Some were not able to endure it, and went out of the way; others had their hearts ſo ſet upon booty, that they rifled the very carcaſſes, and trampled upon the dead bodies as they lay ſoaking in their corruption. But avarice ſticks at nothing. They brought out ſeveral priſoners alſo that the two tyrants had laid in chains there; for they kept up their cruelty to the laſt: But God's juſtice overtook them both in the end; for John and his brethren in the vaults were now driven by the diſtreſs of an inſupportable hunger, to beg that mercy of the Romans, that they had ſo often deſpiſed: And Simon, after a long ſtruggle with an inſuperable neceſſity, delivered up himſelf; the latter being reſerved for the Triumph, and John made a priſoner for life. The Romans, after this, burnt the remainder of the city, and threw down the walls.

CHAP. XX.

Jeruſalem *taken and deſtroyed.* Melchiſedeck *the firſt Founder of it. The City laid all in Rubbiſh.*

THUS was Jeruſalem taken, and utterly deſtroyed, in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, and on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus; having been five times taken before, i. e. by Azochæus, king of Egypt; Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; Pompey; and Herod, with Soſius; who did all preſerve the city after it was taken. But Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, laid it waſte, [*] thirteen hundred ſixty years, eight months and ſix days after the building of it.

The firſt founder of it was a Canaanitiſh prince, called Melchiſedeck, which in the Hebrew language ſignifies a juſt king; for ſuch he was in an eminent manner. [†] He firſt dedicated this city to God, erected a temple in it, and officiated in the quality of a prieſt, giving it the name of Jeruſalem, which before was called Solyma.

When David the king of the Jews came afterwards to drive out the Canaanites, he planted his own people there: And in four hundred and [‡] ſeventy ſeven years and three months after this, it was laid waſte by the Babylonians.

From the reign of David there, to the deſtruction of the city by Titus, it was eleven hundred and ſeventy nine years; and two thouſand one hundred and ſeventy ſeven from the foundation of it. But neither antiquity, wealth, fame, nor the honour of religion itſelf, was any ſecurity againſt the appointments of fate.

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[*] 1460 Years, &c. in the Lat. Verſion.

[†] In the following Lines you have almoſt as many Errors as Words, ſays the Learned *Bochart* in his *Geogr. Sacr.* l. 2 c. 4. Part 2. Be pleaſed to conſult him, and *Maſius* upon *Joſhuah*, cap. x. and *Cunæus de Rep. Hebr.* l. 3.

[‡] Lat. Sixty four, &c.

This was, in fine, the iſſue of the ſiege: And when the ſoldiers had neither rapine, nor bloodſhed for their ſpleen to work upon, Titus ordered them to lay the city and temple level with the ground, and to leave nothing ſtanding, but the three famous turrets, Phaſael, Hippicos, and Mariamne, that overtop'd all the reſt, and a piece of a wall to the weſtward of the town, where he deſigned a garriſon; the towers to remain as ſo many monuments to poſterity of the Romans power and conduct in the taking of them. This order was punctually executed, and all the reſt laid ſo flat, that the place looked as if it had never been inhabited.

CHAP. XXI.

Titus *provides for the Honour and Reward of thoſe that behaved themſelves bravely in the War. He treats his Officers with Bounties and Preſents, according to their Deſerts: And offers a thankſgiving Sacrifice for his Victory.*

CESAR having now taken up a reſolution to leave the tenth legion in garriſon in Jeruſalem, with ſome ſquadrons and battalions of horſe and foot; and having diſcharged all the parts of a vigilant and a careful general, he came now to bethink himſelf of encouraging and rewarding thoſe that had ſignalized themſelves in his ſervice.

Titus immediately, upon this, called for an account from ſome of the officers that had the commiſſion in charge, to know which of the ſoldiers had done any thing extraordinary in the war. They were produced one and one by name, highly commended, and Titus as much concerned for their good as for his own. He crowned them with coronets of gold, dreſſed them up with gold-chains, gave them lances pointed with gold, and ſilver medals, and advanced every man in his own quality and ſtation. He gave them minted money in gold and ſilver out of the booty, with robes and other things of value. As ſoon as this diſtribution was over, to every man according to his merit, Ceſar, accompanied with the vows, prayers and acclamations of the whole army, deſcended from his tribunal to offer ſacrifices and give thanks for his victory. There was a vaſt multitude of oxen there at hand about the altars, which were ſacrificed and diſtributed to the army, Ceſar himſelf feaſting his officers for three days. The troops after this were ſent away to their reſpective quarters, and Jeruſalem committed to the guard of the tenth legion, without ſending it back to Euphrates, whence it came.

Titus had not as yet forgotten the affront the Jews put upon the Romans under Ceſtius;

ſtius; and ſo he ſent away the twelfth legion that had been formerly at Raphanæa, to Melitene, that lies along the Euphrates, upon the borders of Cappadocia and Armenia; keeping the fifth and fifteenth legions to himſelf as a competent guard to convoy him into Egypt. From hence he took his paſſage to Ceſarea upon the coaſt, but being winter he durſt not venture into Italy: So that he laid up his booty and treaſure there for the preſent, and took care for the ſecuring of his priſoners.

CHAP. XXII.

While Titus *lay before* Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian *viſits ſeveral Sea-ports.* Simon *the Son of* Gioras *taken Priſoner. The Manner of taking him. He propounds to himſelf to make his Eſcape through a Vault, but the Project would not do.* Terentius Rufus *ſeizes him, and puts him in Chains. The Birth-Days of* Domitian *and* Veſpaſian *celebrated with great Pomp.*

DURING the ſiege of Jeruſalem by Titus, Veſpaſian embarked on board a merchant-ſhip for Rhodes, where he took a galley, and ſo paſſed out of Ionia into Greece, viſiting all the towns in his way, where he was moſt magnificently received: From thence to Corcyra, and ſo to Japygia; and thence he continued his journey by land. Titus was now come back from Ceſarea upon the ſea-coaſt to that called Ceſarea Philippi, where he made a conſiderable ſtay, entertaining himſelf with all manner of ſpectacles, ſuch as combats between men and beaſts, man and man, troop and troop; which coſt him the lives of a great many of his ſlaves.

In this juncture Simon the ſon of Gioras happened to be taken, and the manner of it was this: Simon, upon the ſiege of Jeruſalem, was forced into the upper town, and the Romans breaking into the city put him to his wits end how to ſhift for himſelf, and his contrivance was this. He called a council of miners, ſtone-cutters, ſmiths, &c. got a proviſion of tools and materials for his purpoſe, ſo many weeks proviſions, and ſo let themſelves down altogether into a dark and ſecret vault. When they had made their way as far as they could, and found the paſſage too narrow to receive them, they fell to digging and mining, in hope to work a thoroughfare, and ſo make an eſcape. But before they could advance any thing to ſpeak of, their victuals fell ſhort, and the plot failed, though they managed their ſtores the beſt they could too. Simon had no way now left him, but to try if he could fright the Romans out of their ſenſes, and ſo dreſſed himſelf up in a white garment buckled about him, and a purple cloak thrown over it. In this figure he preſented himſelf out of the ground from under the ruins of the late temple, to the amazement of the ſoldiers and others that firſt ſaw the apparition; but upon coming nearer they took the courage to aſk him who he was, and Simon refuſing to tell them called to ſpeak with the captain of the guard. Terentius Rufus, who had the command, was immediately brought, who ſifting the truth out of him, put him preſently in chains, and gave Ceſar afterwards an account of the whole ſtory. Thus was this bloody tyrant brought to juſtice, and delivered into the hands of his enemies by his own act.

Upon Ceſar's coming back to Ceſarea by the ſea-ſide, and the preſenting of Simon to him in chains, Titus ordered him to be kept for his triumph at Rome. When he had been there a while, he ſet a day apart for celebrating his brother Domitian's birth-day with great ſolemnity: And in this ſolemnity he brought forth divers Jews, whoſe puniſhment he had on purpoſe deferred till this time; the number of all that periſhed there with fighting againſt beaſts, and amongſt themſelves, and by fire, amounted to more than two thouſand five hundred men: Yet the Romans thought all theſe puniſhments too light and eaſie for them. After this Titus went to Berytus, which is a city of Phœnicia, and a Roman colony; and here alſo he made a long abode, and celebrated the birth of the emperor his father, with far greater ſolemnity than the other, and cauſing many captives to periſh, as before.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Jews *diſperſed every where, eſpecially in* Syria *and* Antioch. Antiochus, *the Son of a* Jew, *the cauſe of their Miſery in* Antioch. *He ſets up the Pagan Worſhip, and ſuppreſſes the Obſervance of the Sabbath.*

THE Jews in Antioch had now a very hard time of it, the city being ſpitefully bent againſt them, as well upon the account of new matter, as for miſdemeanours of former date.

The Jews are a people diſperſed over the face of the whole earth, particularly among the Syrians, as they are neighbours; and more eſpecially in Antioch, where they have enjoyed great privileges ever ſince the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. The ſucceſſors of this Antiochus cauſed reſtitution to be made to the Jews, of all the braſen veſſels that had been taken away, and to be dedicated to the ſervice of their ſynagogue at Antioch, allowing them the ſame freedom of the city with the Greeks; and they were likewiſe treated by the following kings after the ſame manner.

Upon the breaking out of the war, the Jews made themſelves extremely odious. As for inſtance: There was one Antiochus, the ſon of one of the moſt eminent Jews they had in Antioch. This Antiochus, coming into the theatre upon a publick meeting, openly charged his father, and certain other foreign Jews, with a deſign to fire the city in the night. This tranſported the multitude into ſo outrageous an uproar, that they called immediately for fire, and burnt thoſe that were accuſed in the middle of the theatre. The rabble were preſently for doing the ſame execution upon all the reſt, and ſecuring their country before it was too late. Antiochus kept up the croſs humour all he could; and as an Argument of the affection he had for the pagan worſhip, he did not only ſacrifice after the pagan manner himſelf, but forced others to do ſo too. Upon this difficulty the Antiochians complied, but the Jews moſt of them ſtood out, and were put to death. Antiochus began next upon the ſubject of the ſabbath, with forcing them to work indifferently upon that day, as well as upon others; ſo that the feſtival was in danger of being quite abrogated.

This perſecution of the Jews at Antioch was followed upon the heel with another, which was this. The ſquare market, with ſeveral offices for publick regiſtries and records, and other ſtately buildings, happening all to take fire, Antiochus laid it upon the Jews, and the Antiochians were apt enough to believe it; and taking it for granted that it was ſo, they fell upon them with ſuch fury, that Collega, the vice-governour to Ceſennius Pætus, had much ado to keep the people quiet, only till Ceſar might be duly informed of the whole affair. Now Collega, upon a ſtrict examination of the matter, made it out as clear as the ſun, that the Jews accuſed by Antiochus were every man of them innocent: And this villainy, in fine, was found to be the work of a few profligate ſpendthriſts, that had no better way to ſecure themſelves from their creditors, than by deſtroying the evidences. But the Jews were not yet without aching hearts for fear of what might be the iſſue even of a falſe accuſation.

CHAP. XXIV.

Titus *overjoyed at his Father's Arrival in Italy.* Veſpaſian *treated with infinite Veneration and Reſpect.*

AFTER Titus had received news from his father, that he was arrived in Italy, and that all the cites where he came welcomed him very joyfully, and that eſpecialy Rome had entertained him with great pomp and triumph, he was eaſed of the care he had before, and very joyful for his father's welfare and good fortune. For all the people of Italy reverenced Veſpaſian, though abſent, as if he had been preſent with them, deſiring to ſee his arrival, whoſe coming they ſo heartily wiſhed for. The nobility, ſeeing him ſo beloved of all men, could no longer wait his coming, but went and met him at ſome diſtance from the city, and accompanied him; and no man ſtayed his coming, but in whole multitudes went to meet him, they were ſo deſirous to ſee him; ſo that more went to meet him than ſtaid at home.

When news was brought that he approached near the city, and how friendly and courteouſly he entertained all men, the people with their wives and children ſtaid in the way he came, to ſalute him: and whereſoever he came they ſhouted with joyful applauſes and acclamations, calling him their conſerver and benefactor, and he who alone was worthy to be the Roman emperor: The whole city was as if it had been a temple, all hung with garlands, and full of ſweet odours and perfumes; and the multitude of the people ſuch, that he could ſcarce get into the palace. He offered ſacrifice to his houſhold gods for his ſafe return; and all the people were feaſted by their tribes, kindred and neighbours, and made vows to their gods, that Veſpaſian might long continue their emperor, and his ſon after him, and that the empire might never depart from his lineage. The city of Rome having thus received Veſpaſian, it was ſoon after bleſſed with all happineſs and proſperity.

CHAP. XXV.

Germany revolts. The Occaſion of it. Caſſius *and* Civilis *the Ringleaders of a Faction.* Petilius Cerealis *breaks the Neck of the Sedition.* Domitian *puts an End to it without Blood. The* German *Rebellion followed with an Incurſion of* Scythians. Rubrius Gallus *puts them all to the Rout.*

SOME time before Veſpaſian went to Alexandria; and whilſt Titus beſieged the city of Jeruſalem, a great part of Germany was revolted, with whom the French that bordered upon them were confederated, renouncing their allegiance, in hope to free themſelves from the yoke and government of the Romans. The firſt motive that cauſed the Germans to revolt, and to war againſt the Romans, was their temerity and raſh nature, prone to fight, having but very little hope of ſucceſs, together with the hatred of the Romans, who they knew alone could by force bring them into ſubjection; and they were chiefly thereunto encouraged by the preſent opportunity. For ſeeing the empire greatly afflicted with civil wars, by reaſon of the often changing of emperors, and knowing that all the world under their dominion was now in ſuſpence, they thought that by reaſon of their troubles and civil wars, fit opportunity was offered them to recover their freedom; and they were hereunto perſuaded by Caſſius and Civilis, two of the moſt potent amongſt them, who long before deſired alteration, and now finding opportunity, ſhewed what minds they bore. Whereupon taking courage, they made trial what the common people thought of this point, and the greateſt part of them maniſeſtly condeſcended hereunto, and perhaps the reſt were not unwilling. At this time, as it were by God's providence, Veſpaſian ſent letters to Petilius Cerealis, (who before had been governor of Germany) and declared him conſul, commanding him to go into Britain, and take the rule of the country. He forthwith obeyed Veſpaſian's command; and hearing that the Germans had revolted, he went againſt them, they having now levied an army, and gave them a great overthrow, killing many of them, and forcing them to return to their obedience to the Romans. Notwithſtanding, if he had not come thither, not long after they had aſſuredly been puniſhed for their offence. For ſo ſoon as news of their rebellion was brought to Rome, Ceſar Domitianus, Veſpaſian's ſon (who, although very young, underſtood matters of war beyond his age) hearing of it, and being led by the courage which was hereditary to him, undertook the expedition to go and conquer them: The Barbarians terrified with the report of his coming, ſubmitted to him, thereby gaining this, that without bloodſhed they were brought under ſubjection as before. And all things in Gallia being well diſpoſed of, ſo that it was not eaſy for them, although they would, to rebel any more, Domitian returned again to Rome, having gained great credit to his age and country.

At the ſame time alſo the Scythians rebelled, and aſſembling in great multitudes, paſſed over the river Iſter, and with great violence and cruelty, coming unexpected, ſlew many Roman garriſons, whom they found in ſtrong holds: And Fonteius Agrippa, lieutenant-general, who had been conſul, meeting them, gave them battle, and was ſlain: which done, they went all over the countries adjoining, waſting, robbing and ſpoiling them. When Veſpaſian heard thereof, and how Mæſia was all waſted, he ſent Rubrius Gallus to chaſtiſe them, who having ſlain many of them in fight, forced the reſt to retire into their own country. This general having thus ended that war, provided to prevent them if hereafter they attempted the like; for he built far ſtronger forts than were before, ſo that the enemy could paſs no way out of their own country, by which means the wars in Mæſia were quickly ended.

CHAP. XXVI.

Titus *marches in Triumph. The Sabbatical River; the Courſe of it; and why ſo called.* Antioch *tranſported with Joy at the coming of* Titus. *The People preſs to have the* Jews *baniſhed out of that City, but* Titus *did not much heed it: The Senate preſſes it over again, when* Titus *gives them a final refuſal, and goes his Way for* Egypt. Titus *grieved at Heart to ſee the ſad Condition of* Jeruſalem. *A vaſt Treaſure buried in the Ruins of it.* Simon *and* John, *and ſeven hundred graceful Perſons more, ſet apart for the Honour of the Triumph. The Solemnity ended in the Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus. *The Death of* Simon Gioras.

TITUS, in his return from Berytus, treated all the towns, as he paſſed through Syria, with moſt magnificent ſpectacles, carrying his captives along with him, for the honour of his arms, and the ornament of his triumph.

This prince took notice of a certain river in his journey, betwixt Arce and Raphane, two cities in the kingdom of Agrippa, that had ſomewhat in it very remarkable. While this river flows, it has a full ſtream and a ſtrong current: But on a ſudden the ſprings fail, and for ſix days it leaves the channel dry to the very bottom. On the ſeventh day, as if there had been no change, it fills again, and obſerves the ſame courſe as before. Hence it hath taken the name of the ſabbatical river, alluding to the ſeventh day's feſtival of the Jews.

When the people of Antioch underſtood that Titus was coming that way, they were ſo tranſported that men, women, and children, poſted away thirty furlongs out of the town to meet him. As he drew near they made him a lane to receive him, and ſo with all poſſible demonſtration of affection and reſpect they conducted him to the city, ſtill intermingling, with their ſhouts and acclamations, earneſt prayers and importunities, to baniſh all the Jews out of the city. Titus made no ſtay in Antioch, but went immediately to Teugma, toward Euphrates, where he was attended with an embaſſy from Volegeſus the king of Parthia, and the compliment of a golden crown, to joy him of his victory over the Jews. Titus accepted the preſent, treated the ambaſſadors, and went back again to Antioch. He was no ſooner upon the place, but the magiſtracy invited him with great earneſtneſs to the theatre, which he very graciouſly complied with, and there found a mighty concourſe of the citizens waiting for his coming. The firſt thing they did was to ply him over and over with freſh inſtances for the expelling of the Jews; to which Titus, with his ordinary preſence of mind, gave them this anſwer: That their own country was deſtroyed, and that no other would receive them. When they ſaw this would not do, they tried him with another requeſt, which was, that the pillars of braſs, with the inſcriptions upon them of the Jews privileges, might be either removed or defaced. Titus would not intereſt himſelf in this neither, but left the Jews at Antioch in the ſame ſtate as he found them, and ſo went his way for Egypt.

As he was upon his journey, and ſaw the miſerable, deſolated condition of Jeruſalem, he could not but paſſionately deplore the deſtruction of ſo famous a city, and curſe the authors of the ſedition that occaſioned it.

The city was infinitely rich, and a vaſt treaſure buried in the ruins of it, as gold and ſilver, and other precious goods to an ineſtimable value, that the owners had hid out of the way for fear of the enemy: Some the Romans found out, but the greateſt diſcovery was made by the priſoners. Titus, being all this while upon his journey into Egypt, made what haſte he could over that forlorn, waſted country, to Alexandria, and ſo to embark from thence to Italy, ſending back the two legions that came along with him to their old quarters: That is to ſay, the fifth to Myſia, and the tenth into Hungary. But for Simon and John, the heads of the priſoners, and a matter of ſeven hundred more of them, all proper handſome men, theſe were to be tranſported into Italy, for the grace and glory of his triumph.

His paſſage to Rome was as fair and as proſperous as he could wiſh, and the people treated him with the ſame offices of honour and reſpect as they had done his father: Beſide that Veſpaſian himſelf had the goodneſs to go out with the reſt in perſon, and receive his ſon upon the way, which the people looked upon as an earneſt of greater bleſſings, to ſee the father and his two ſons brought together by ſo auſpicious a providence.

Some few days after this, the ſenate having reſolved upon two ſeveral triumphs apart, one for the father, the other for the ſon, in honour of their illuſtrious atchievements, Veſpaſian and Titus, this decree notwithſtanding, declared themſelves for contracting both triumphs into one. Upon the day of the ſolemnity there was not a creature in that populous city that did not put in for a ſpectator: Inſomuch that when they were all placed, there was hardly paſſage for the emperors. The ſplendor and magnificence ſhewn on this occaſion was beyond imagination. Whatever was curious, whatever was rich and valuable in any country that had been conquered by the Romans, were collected together to grace this day's triumph: But the moſt conſiderable pieces were the golden table and the golden candleſtick that were taken out of the temple of Jeruſalem, the former weighing ſeveral talents, and the other not applied to the uſe it was intended for. There was a kind of a pillar that came out of the foot of it, and out of that pillar, as from the ſtem of a tree, ſeven branches, and every branch having at the top the reſemblance of a lamp; the number ſeven intimating the veneration the Jews have for their ſeventh day. After this, came the Jews law, which was the laſt trophy of their conqueſts that the Romans expoſed. This was followed by certain images of victory wrought out of ivory and gold. And laſt of all, to bring up the rear, came Veſpaſian himſelf, with Titus in the next place, and Domitian along with them on horſeback, well mounted, and well becoming the dignity of his ſtation. So they marched together into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and there finiſhed the triumph.

Being now come to Jupiter's temple, they made ſome little ſtay there; it being according to antient practice ſo to do upon the like occaſion; till news ſhould be brought them that their enemies general was dead. This general was Simon Gioras (one of the priſoners that was led in triumph) who was drawn thro' the market-place with a rope about his neck, and put to death by thoſe that drew him, according to the Roman law and practice in the caſe of ſuch malefactors. Word being brought that Gioras was now dead, the whole field rang with ſhouts and acclamations, and ſo they betook themſelves to their vows and ſacrifices; and when the ſolemn part was over, the princes returned to the palace, where they made a great feaſt, as others did alſo for themſelves at their own houſes: For this day was ſacred amongſt the Romans, in joy of the victory over their enemies, and an end of civil calamity, and the beginning of good fortune and hope, which they had in their new princes.

When theſe triumphs were over, and the empire ſettled, Veſpaſian erected a temple that he dedicated to peace. It was as rich as hands and expence could make it, and the diſpatch of it, in ſo ſhort a time, was little leſs than a miracle.

In this temple he depoſited the golden table and the candleſtick, as the rarities he valued moſt. And for the Jews law, and the purples belonging to the ſanctuary, they were lodged with great care and reverence in the palace.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Plants Rue and Baaras. A ſtrange Variety of Springs and Fountains. Baſſus *beſieges* Machærus. *A bold and memorable Adventure of* Eleazar, *who is ſtript and unmercifully whipt.* Baſſus *diſcharges the Garriſon, and ſets* Eleazar *at Liberty.*

WHEN Lucilius Baſſus had his commiſſion from Ceſar for lieutenant-general of Judæa, he took upon him the command of the army from Cerealis Petilianus, and made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Herodion by compoſition. After this, he drew his troops together that lay ſcattered up and down, propounding, with the help of the tenth legion, to reduce Machærus, as a thing abſolutely neceſſary to be done; for the ſtrength of that place would be a dangerous encouragement to a rebellion.

There was in this place a plant they call rue; of ſo wonderful a growth, that it was as tall and as well ſpread as any fig-tree. It had been there, they ſay, ever ſince the days of Herod, and might have continued longer, if the Jews had not rooted it up upon taking the place.

In the valley (on the north-ſide of Machærus) called Baaras, there grows alſo a plant of the ſame name. It is in appearance of a flame colour; and toward the evening it caſts a light like the beams of the ſun. The root is not eaſily plucked up; but it draws back if any body offers at it; and the only way to fix it, is to ſprinkle it with the urin of a woman, or a little menſtruous blood. And when this is done, it is certain death to touch it, without a piece of the root in your hand; though they talk of another way alſo of doing it without danger, which is this. They dig round about the root till it is laid almoſt bare, and then tie a dog to the remaining part of it. The dog's maſter that tied him there, goes his way, and the dog following him, draweth the root after, and dies immediately, as if it were to redeem his maſter. When it has been once delivered, this root may be handled as ſecurely as any other plant; but it has one quality after all, that does more than countervail this difficulty. For the ſpirits that we call devils, are only the ſouls of wicked men, that have gotten poſſeſſion of living bodies, and would undoubtedly deſtroy them if they were not prevented: Now this plant is a ſure remedy againſt theſe obſeſſions, and the very touching of the patient with it, cures him.

In the ſame place there is a wonderful diverſity of ſprings and fountains of very different qualities and taſtes, as hot, bitter, ſweet, &c. And there are alſo cold ſprings intermingled with one another in the lower ground: But that which is moſt wonderful, is a ſhallow cave there at hand, with a rocky ſtone over it, and the figure of two breaſts, like two fountains, coming out of it, the one diſcharging hot waters, and the other cold; and they make both together a moſt agreeable bath, which cures many diſeaſes, and eſpecially thoſe of the nerves. There are mines alſo of ſulphur and allum.

Baſſus, upon a full view of Machærus, came to a reſolution of laying ſiege to the place. During the ſiege there happened a ſurpriſing accident, which put the Jews upon an abſolute neceſſity of giving up the caſtle.

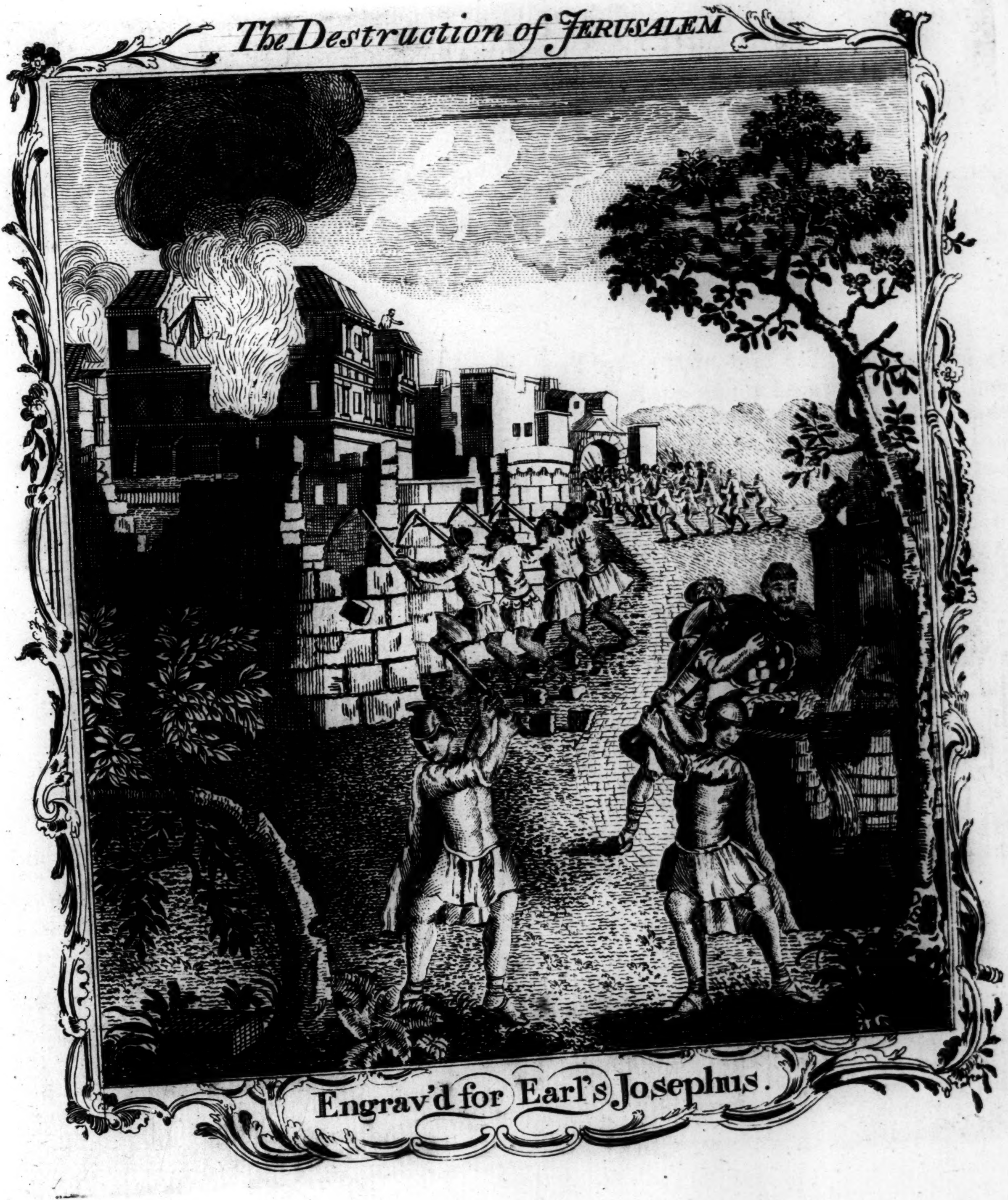
There was in the place a daring young man, whoſe name was Eleazar, who made ſeveral vigorous ſallies, and did all that was poſſible, both by his council and example, to obſtruct the progreſs of the Romans, and to put a check to their undertakings. There paſſed a ſkirmiſh one day, and when the action was over, and both parties withdrawn, Eleazar, in a vain-glorious contempt of danger, or of any man that ſhould dare to attack him, made a ſtop without the gate, and fell into a careleſs diſcourſe with ſome of the defendants upon the walls. This being within view of the Roman camp, and one Rufus, an Egyptian, and a ſoldier, ſpying the opportunity, ran in upon him at unawares, ſeized him and carried him off, arms and all, into the enemy's quarter. Baſſus preſently ordered him to be ſtripped and publickly whipped, at his length upon the ground in ſight of the city.

The Jews were ſo confounded at the calamity of this young man, that the whole multitude broke out into tears and exclamations in pity of his diſtreſs. When Baſſus found the generality of the people ſo paſſionately concerned for the misfortune of one man, he computed with himſelf, that, if he could but enflame their compaſſion, he might gain his point, and work them to a compoſition of giving up the place to ſave Eleazar's life. This fancy ſucceeded to his wiſh; for upon the ſetting up of a croſs, as if Eleazar were to be forthwith crucified, the timber was no ſooner planted, but the garriſon broke out into an outcry with one voice, that their affliction was altogether intolerable. Eleazar begged of them, upon this, to conſider both his caſe, who was now to die a wretched death, and their own; and not to contend any longer with the courage and fortune of the Romans, ſince the whole world had already ſubmitted itſelf to their empire.

This ſubmiſion and ſupplication of Eleazar's, together with the powerful interceſſions of his friends and relations in the caſtle, ſoftened the defendants into ſuch a tenderneſs, that they ſent deputies immediately to the Romans, with propoſals to deliver up the caſtle, upon condition of diſcharging Eleazar, and leaving the garriſon at liberty to go whither they would. Baſſus made no difficulty of the terms: But the people of the lower town taking it ill, that an agreement ſhould be made without their privity, reſolved among themſelves to ſlip away that night by ſtealth. Upon the opening of the gates, Baſſus had notice of it from the caſtle, but the braveſt however of thoſe that went firſt, got off; and the reſt of the men, to the number of ſeventeen hundred were put to the ſword, and the women and children made ſlaves: Not but that Baſſus yet made good his articles in the diſmiſſing of the garriſon, and ſetting Eleazar free.

CHAP.

The Destruction of JERUSALEM



Engrav'd for Earl's Josephus.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

Baſſus ſurprizes the Jews in the Foreſt of Jardes. Three Thouſand of them cut off. A Poll-Tax upon the Jews.

AS ſoon as this was over, Baſſus made all the haſte he could with his army to the foreſt of Jardes, upon intelligence that great numbers of Jews, who had made their eſcape from the ſiege of Jeruſalem and Machærus, were gathered together there; and when he came upon the place, he found it to be true; ſo that the firſt thing he did was to beſet the whole wood with his horſe, where he kept his guard ſo ſtrict, that not a Jew could break through. He employed his foot at the ſame time to cut down the trees and buſhes of the thickets where the Jews had taken ſanctuary; inſomuch, that they had now no poſſibility left them to ſave themſelves, unleſs they could cut out their way through the enemy's troops, and ſo get off. This being the laſt experiment they had to truſt to, they drew all into a body, and with an impetuous clamour made one deſperate puſh upon thoſe that ſurrounded them, and were as bravely received. The combat was hot and obſtinate; but in the concluſion the Romans carried the day, with the loſs only of twelve killed, and not many wounded; whereas of three thouſand Jews not ſo much as one man came off.

The emperor at the ſame time wrote to his officer, Liberius Maximus, to make ſale of all the Jews lands; for he would not trouble himſelf with rebuilding any other cities, but take them all to his own uſe; leaving only eight hundred ſoldiers in Emmaus, ſome ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, and impoſing a tax upon every Jew by the poll, of two drachmas a year, to be paid in to the capitol, as formerly to the temple.

CHAP. XXIX.

A Garriſon of the Sicarii *in* Maſſada, *under* Eleazar. Silva *beſieges it. The Situation of* Maſſada. *The Deſcription of it. The State and Condition of* Maſſada, *both by Art and Nature. Stored with all Manner of Proviſions.* Herod *intended it for a Retreat in Caſe of Need.* Silva *advances with his Battery. He gains the Rock* Leuce.

SILVA the Roman general was now upon his march to beſiege Maſſada, where there was a garriſon of the Sicarii under the command of Eleazar, who was the head of that party. He made ſure of the country about it, without much difficulty; ſettled his garriſons, as he ſaw convenient; and ran up a wall about the caſtle to prevent excurſions or eſcapes, and to ſecure his guards. Only proviſions were extremely ſcarce, for they were brought a great way, and with much trouble to the Jews, whoſe buſineſs it was to ſupply them; beſide the bringing of water another way too, for there was no fountain near the place.

Matters being thus ordered, Silva diſpoſed himſelf to the ſiege, which was like to be a work of time and labour, as will appear by the ſituation of the caſtle. It ſtands upon a large high rock, with deep and craggy precipices round about it: and there is no diſcerning the bottom from above, by reaſon of other rocks that interpoſe and cover it. The acceſs is ſo very difficult, that even the beaſts themſelves cannot climb it, ſaving only by two paſſages; one to the eaſtward from the lake Aſphaltitis, which is very nice and dangerous; the other from the weſt, which is the more practicable of the two. They call one of them by the name of the ſnake, from the ſeveral windings and turnings in the aſcent, for the rocks in many places double upon themſelves, and run in and out ſo, that people are fain to go back and forward to paſs them. And the paſſages are ſo narrow likewiſe, that there's no walking upon them but by ſtanding upon one foot while you advance the other; beſide that one ſlip or a falſe ſtep is certain death, for it drops you into a precipice that gives a man a horror but to think of it. They reckon thirty furlongs of this way from the bottom to the top of the mountain, which brings you into a plain, where Jonathan the high-prieſt erected a caſtle, and called it Maſſada, he himſelf being the firſt founder of it.

Herod the great ſpared afterwards no coſt or care to adorn and fortify it. He carried a wall about it of ſeven ſtadia in compaſs, all of curious white ſtone, twelve cubits high, and eight over. He built likewiſe twenty ſeven turrets, each of fifty cubits in height, and theſe towers entertained a communication with all the buildings on the inſide of the wall. The plain above was ſo well conditioned, and ſo fruitful a ſoil, that Herod ordered it to be ſet apart for tillage, to the end that whoever ſhould take ſanctuary in that caſtle, he might be ſure not to want neceſſaries. He cauſed alſo a royal and a ſtately palace to be built for himſelf within the compaſs of the caſtle, the entrance fronting weſtward, and bending a little to the north. The walls of it were very high and ſtrong, with four towers in the four corners, each of ſixty cubits high. The apartments, galleries and baths, were, for variety, ornament and contrivance, very rich and glorious, and all ſupported with pillars, each of one entire ſtone, and ſo maſterly put together that nothing could be more ſubſtantial. The walls and the pavement were all chequer'd with party-coloured ſtone. To every quarter about this palace, the plain above, and before the turrets, there were a great many large ciſterns hewn out of the rock for the preſerving of water; ſo that theſe veſſels abundantly ſupply the want of fountains. There was a way alſo cut under ground from the palace up to the caſtle, which was not to be diſcovered from without; but for the weſtern paſs, there was a tower ſet up in the narroweſt part of it, a matter of a thouſand cubits from the caſtle, that quite blocked it up. Not but that the attempt would have been difficult enough, even without any oppoſition: But this is to ſhew the ſtate and condition of the place, both by art and nature.

This caſtle was not only provided againſt force and ſtratagem, but againſt the very dint of famine too: For there was corn in it, wine, oil, all ſorts of pulſe, dates, &c. for many years, which was all found in it when Eleazar with his Sicarii ſurpriſed it; and it was all as freſh and ſound (though a hundred years depoſited) as if it had been but newly laid up: Perhaps the purity of the air at that height, abſtracted from groſs and feculent vapours, might be the reaſon of it.

There was alſo a magazine of all ſorts of arms for ten thouſand men, ſtored there by the king's order.

There goes a tradition, that Herod finding himſelf upon a pinch under two difficulties, provided this caſtle for his retreat in caſe of need: The one was for fear the people ſhould depoſe him, and ſet the Aſmonæan family upon the throne again; the other was a matter of a more dangerous conſequence. Cleopatra the queen of Egypt had a deſign, it ſeems, upon the life of Herod, and ſhe made no ſecret of it neither, but owned the thing, and had ſeveral diſcourſes with Antony about it, preſſing him that Herod might be diſpatched out of the way; and ſhe herſelf made queen of the Jews in his ſtead. It was a wonder that the paſſion Antony had for Cleopatra could deny her any thing; but Herod however, upon this apprehenſion, put Maſſada into ſuch a condition that there was hardly any thought of taking it; and the Romans could never be abſolute maſters of the Jews without it.

The Jews being now cloſe walled up in Maſſada, Silva advanced with his machines, there being but one place that he could fill up to raiſe a mount upon; For beyond that tower that blocks up the way upon the weſt to the palace and caſtle, there was a large long rock called Leuce, larger than that the caſtle ſtood upon, but not ſo high by three hundred cubits as Maſſada. The general had no ſooner gained this rock, but he ſet his ſoldiers at work to advance a mount upon it, and they wrought ſo hard, that they carried it up to the height of two hundred cubits, which not being as yet ſtrong enough to ſupport the engines, they raiſed a kind of platform upon it, wrought with great ſtones, fifty cubits high, and as much over. But beſide theſe ordinary machines, they had others alſo of the invention of Veſpaſian, but improved afterwards by Titus. They erected farther upon this platform, a tower of ſixty cubits, all fortified with iron.

The Romans from this turret galled the defendants with their ſtones and arrows to ſuch a degree, that they durſt not ſhew their heads upon the walls. Silva, in the mean time, kept battering the wall with a moſt prodigious ram, which by little and little made ſome ſmall impreſſion upon it. But the Sicarii quickly ſupplied that defect by clapping up another wall behind it that feared no machines; for the matter of it being ſoft and yielding, it deadened the ſtroke: And the manner of the ſtructure was this. They took two rows of large timbers, and mortiſed them one into another. They were both of a ſize, and, together with a ſpace left between them, juſt anſwered the thickneſs of the wall. This ſpace they filled with a kind of clayiſh earth, and nailed up boards acroſs the frame, to keep the earth from falling down: So that it ſtood as firm as the wall of a houſe, and the more it was battered the ſtronger it was, as if it had been rammed and conſolidated into a better ſtate of defence.

CHAP. XXX.

Silva's Batteries being defeated, he tries Fire, and ſets all in a Flame. The whole Body is of the ſame Opinion with Eleazar, *and joins in a Reſolution not to outlive their Laws and Liberties. The Execution and the Method of it. The* Romans *advance next Morning to the Aſſault, and find only a Pile of dead Bodies to receive them.*

WHEN Silva found his engines defeated, he ordered his ſoldiers to try what might be done by brands-ends and fire-works, towards the deſtroying of their defences. Their new wall being moſt of it timber-work and hollow, took fire immediately, and burſt out into a mighty flame, which began with the wind in the north, and beat ſo terribly upon the Romans, that they almoſt deſpaired of ſaving their machines. But the wind luckily chopping about all on a ſudden into the ſouth, drove ſo furiouſly upon the wall, that it ſet all in a flame from top to bottom. The Romans were ſo ſenſible of God's appearing in their favour, that they returned chearfully to their camp, with a full reſolution to make an attack upon the enemy the next morning by peep of day, and to keep ſtrong watches in the mean while that they might not get off in the night.

But Eleazar had no thought of ſtarting himſelf, or of ſuffering any of his people ſo to do. The wall however being conſumed to the ground, and no hope or poſſibility left of ſafety or relief, the only brave thing they had before them was to conſider how they might deliver their wives and children from the ignominious outrages they might expect from the Romans, whenever they came to be maſters of the place. Eleazar concluded, upon the balancing of this queſtion, that a glorious death was infinitely to be preferred to a life of infamy; and that the moſt generous reſolution they could take in the world, would be not to out-live their liberties. This being his own opinion, he called together the moſt courageous of his friends and companions; and did what he could, by reaſon and exhortation, to diſcourſe them into the ſame mind; and his diſcourſe had ſuch effect upon them, that every man contended who ſhould be foremoſt in the deſtruction of themſelves and their families. They took their leave of their wives and children in their arms, with a kiſs and a ſtab; weeping over them at the ſame time, and no more concerned than if the work had been done by other people's hands.

When they had gone thus far, they found the grief for what they had done already intolerable; and being conſcious to themſelves that they could not ſurvive thoſe they had killed without a manifeſt injury to the dead, they immediately piled up all their goods together in a heap and burned them; and then chuſing ten men, by lot, out of their number, to do execution upon all the reſt, they ranged themſelves as near as they could to the dead bodies of their friends, gave them a parting embrace, and chearfully preſented their throats to thoſe that were to do the inhuman office. So ſoon as the ten had diſcharged their part, they caſt lots among themſelves which of the remaining ſhould diſpatch the other nine, with a condition that the ſurviving tenth man ſhould kill himſelf upon the bodies of the reſt. The nine died with the ſame conſtancy as the others: The laſt man overloooking the bodies, and finding that they were all quite dead, ſet fire to the palace, and ſo caſt himſelf upon his ſword among his friends.

In this manner they periſhed, with a belief that they left not one perſon alive to fall into the Romans hands, but it appeared afterwards that there was one ancient woman, and another, a kinſwoman of Eleazar's, (a perſon of admirable qualities) with five ſmall children, that lay cloſe all this while in an aqueduct, and eſcaped the maſſacre. The number of the ſlain was nine hundred and ſixty, reckoning women and children into the account. This action fell out upon the fifteenth of the month Xanthicus.

The Romans by break of day next morning, with their ladders and bridges, made ready for an aſſault; but no enemy appearing, nor any noiſe to be heard but the crackling of flames, the Romans could not tell what to make of theſe circumſtances, and of ſo dead a ſilence; ſo that they preſently gave a yell, like a ſhout upon the playing of a battery, to try if they could be anſwered. The clamour alarmed the women in their hiding-holes, ſo that out they came upon it, and told the Romans the truth of the whole ſtory, which was ſo incredible however, that they could not believe it: But betaking themſelves to the quenching of the fire, and ſo following their way up to the palace, they found ſuch a carnage of dead bodies, that without inſulting and rejoicing as enemies, they broke out into admiration at the generous greatneſs of the Jews minds, the ſteadineſs of their counſels, and the obſtinate agreement of ſuch a number of men in the contempt of death.

CHAP. XXXI.

The turbulent and ſeditious Humour of the Sicarii. *The* Jews *impute all their misfortunes to that Sort People. They will rather ſuffer Death than own* Ceſar *for their Maſter.*

AFTER the taking of Maſſada, Silva the Roman general ſettled a garriſon there, and ſo marched away with his army to Ceſarea, leaving the country in perfect peace and quiet behind him. Now the Jews of Judæa were ſo abſolutely broken and ſubdued by the burden and continuance of the war, that there was not an enemy to be heard of in all that quarter; but there were thoſe alſo that felt of it as far as Alexandria in Egypt, where ſeveral of them were put to death.

There were divers of the faction of the Sicarii that fled to Alexandria for ſanctuary, who were continually tampering the citizens into a hankering after innovations, and ſtarting invidious queſtions about liberty and paſſive obedience. They looked upon the Romans, they ſaid, to be no better than themſelves, and no other Lord would they own than the Lord of Heaven and Earth. And thoſe that contradicted them, ſome they murdered, others they debauched from their allegiance, or endeavoured to do it. To put a ſtop to theſe practices, the leading men amongſt them ſummoned a general meeting of the Jews, and there arraigned the folly and temerity of the Sicarii, and expoſed them to the people as the cauſe of all their misfortunes, cautioning the Jews not to involve themſelves with the Sicarii, but rather to provide for their own ſafety, by delivering up thoſe cut-throats to the Romans.

This gave them ſuch a proſpect of the hazard they were in, that they fell violently upon the Sicarii, and took ſix hundred of them immediately. The reſt fled to Egypt, Thebes, and thereabouts, where they were taken ſoon after, and brought back again, behaving themſelves to admiration, for the inſuperable hardineſs of their reſolution. What a variety of exquiſite torments did they endure, rather than acknowledge Ceſar for their maſter! And not one ſoul that would ſo much as deliberate upon the doing of it: But they ſtood all as firm, as if their ſouls had not been concerned in what their bodies endured. And even the boys and the children ſtood the ſame ſtreſs with the reſt; and when they had ſuffered all that malice could inflict upon them, not ſo much as one ſoul of them would own Ceſar to ſave his life.

CHAP. XXXII.

Onias *moves* Ptolemy *to give the* Jews *Leave to build a Temple, and to enjoy the Exerciſe of their Worſhip.* Ptolemy *gives Leave accordingly, and aſſigns a Spot of Ground for it. This Temple was erected, and afterwards ſhut up.*

LUPUS being at that time governor of Alexandria, gave Ceſar early advice of this commotion, who was ſo well acquainted with the turbulent humour of the Jews, that he thought he could not be too cautious of their meetings and cabals, for fear of making factions and parties, and therefore ordered Lupus to demoliſh the Jews temple in the city of Onion in Egypt, which was built and ſo named upon this occaſion: Onias the ſon of Simon, one of the high-prieſts, being driven out of Jeruſalem, in the time of the war betwixt Antiochus the king of Syria, and the Jews, withdrew to Alexandria, where he was very kindly received by Ptolemy the king of Egypt, partly as an enemy to Antiochus, and partly upon a condition agreed between them, which was this. Onias undertook to bring the Jews over into Ptolemy's intereſt, if he would only give the Jews leave to erect a temple ſomewhere or other in Egypt, where they might meet and worſhip God according to the laws and religion of their country.

Ptolemy was well enough pleaſed with the propoſal, and ſo aſſigned the Jews a ſpot of ground for their purpoſe, nine ſcore furlongs from Memphis, in the tract of Heliopolis: Onias built a caſtle there, and after that a temple, though not comparable, 'tis true, to that at Jeruſalem, but it had juſt ſuch another tower, made of vaſt ſtones, and ſixty cubits in height.

In purſuance of the emperor's orders, Lupus went directly thither, took away with him ſeveral preſents and oblations that he found there, and ſo ſhut it up. But Paulinus, who ſucceeded to the government after the death of Lupus, not only ſtripped the temple of what he found there, without leaving one piece behind him, but threatened the prieſts bloodily too in caſe of any concealment; nor would he receive any man whatſoever upon account of religion, but ſhut the doors againſt them, without leaving ſo much as the leaſt appearance of divine worſhip there. It was now three hundred and thirty three years from the building of this temple to the ſhutting of it up.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Jonathan, *an Enthuſiaſt Weaver, draws a Party after him. They are taken and brought Priſoners to* Catullus, *only* Jonathan *ſhifts out of the Way: But being afterwards taken he comes to a better underſtanding with* Catullus. Jonathan *ſets up for a falſe Witneſs.* Joſeph *the Author of this Hiſtory is made a Priſoner.* Veſpaſian *pronounces* Joſeph *innocent, and ſentences* Jonathan *to be whipt and burnt alive.* Catullus *ends his Days in torments.*

THE audacious inſolence of the Sicarii ſpread like a contagion every where about Cyrene. As for example: There was one Jonathan, a weaver, that made his eſcape thither. He was a kind of an enthuſiaſt, and a wicked man, that drew a world of ſimple people after him into woods and deſarts, under a pretext of ſhewing them prodigies and viſions; and the impoſture paſſed for current with the common ſort. But the ſtory coming to the ears of ſome eminent Jews at Cyrene, they preſently traced it out, and gave timely notice of it to Catullus the governor of the Pentapolitan Libya. The governor way-laid them with horſe and foot: A great part of them were killed, and the reſt taken alive, and carried priſoners to Catullus.

Jonathan made his eſcape; but after a long and ſtrict ſearch, he was at laſt found, and carried to Catullus; where he found out a way to divert the ſtorm from himſelf, and to furniſh the governor with an acceptable ocaſion of turning it another way: by bringing the wealthieſt Jews of the place into the plot, as the heads and promoters of the conſpiracy. Theſe accuſations, how falſe ſoever, were welcome to Catullus: And to make the villainy yet more execrable, he had not only the faculty of believing againſt truth and reaſon, but inſtructed the very Sicarii themſelves in the art of calumny, inſomuch that he expreſſly directed the falſe witneſſes to accuſe one Alexander a Jew, to whom he had a long time declared himſelf a profeſſed enemy, and his wiſe Berenice was alſo enſnared upon the ſame evidence. Theſe were the firſt that ſuffered, and after them a train of three thouſand more were put to death at once, whoſe only crime was, that they were people of wealth and credit. And this he thought he might ſafely do, tho' he took their money to himſelf, ſo long as their eſtates were confiſcated to the empire.

And then for fear of being detected by Jews of credit elſewhere, he dealt with Jonathan and ſome other priſoners, to make choice of the moſt eminent men they had for honour and integrity in Rome and Alexandria, and to exhibit new matter againſt them. Joſeph himſelf, the author of this hiſtory, was one of the number. Now Catullus coming to Rome, and bringing Jonathan and the reſt of the priſoners in chains along with him, he made no doubt but the ſcrutiny was all over, and the fact given for granted, as he had repreſented and concerted it. But the event of this contrivance did not anſwer his expectation; for Veſpaſian being a little ſuſpicious upon the main, reſolved to ſift it out, and finding upon examination the iniquity of the proceeding, he pronounced, at the inſtance of Titus, Joſeph and his companions innocent: But at the ſame time he ſentenced Jonathan to be whipt and burnt alive, which was accordingly executed.

As for Catullus, ſuch was the lenity of the two princes, that they proceeded no further againſt him at preſent: But, in a ſhort time after this, he was ſeized with an incurable complication of diſeaſes, of which he died in the moſt excruciating torments.

We are now come to the end of our hiſtory, wherein we have proceeded with all faith and candour, for the ſatiſfaction of thoſe that deſire to be truly informed in the particulars of the war betwixt the Romans and the Jews.

The End of the Wars *of the* Jews, *Written by* Flavius Joſephus.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

In ANSWER to

APION,

Touching the ANTIQUITY of the *RACE* of the *JEWS.*

BOOK I.

I HAVE ſaid enough already, in my Jewiſh Antiquities, to put it out of all doubt, that the Jews are a very ancient people, and a nation indebted only to themſelves for their original; beſide that they have kept up their claim from the beginning to this very day. This is no more than what I have made undeniably appear in a juſt hiſtory of five thouſand years, drawn from the authority of holy writ itſelf: And all this too little yet, either to ſecure the author of that piece from calumny and reproach, or the whole ſtory at length from the vanity of a fable. For, ſay they, if the race of the Jews were ſo illuſtrious as Joſephus makes it, how comes it that none of the Greek hiſtorians of the beſt credit ever took any notice of it? In anſwer to which I muſt obſerve, that I ſee little or nothing among the Greeks that is not novel, and of yeſterday, either in their buildings, arts, or laws; and, in fine, the very uſe of hiſtory is but of late date among them : Whereas, by their own confeſſion, the Egyptians, Chaldæans, and Phœnicians, (to ſay nothing of ourſelves) have from time to time recorded and tranſmitted down to poſterity the memorials of paſt ages, in monumental pillars and inſcriptions, according to the advice and direction of the wiſeſt men they had, for the perpetual memory of all public tranſactions of moment, and to the end that nothing might be loſt.

The antiquity the Greeks boaſt of looks no farther backward than to the Phœnicians, and they value themſelves upon the reputation of having had Cadmus for their firſt maſter : But ſo far are they from being able to produce, either in their temples or public regiſtries, any one authentic memorial of theſe times, that when it came afterward to be a queſtion, whether the uſe of theſe letters were ſo much as known at the time of the Trojan war, it was carried in the negative, that there were no ſuch characters then in being. It is moſt certain that there is no Greek manuſcript extant that dates before the poem of Homer ; and it is likewiſe as certain, that the Trojan war was over before that poem was written. Nay, and it will not be allowed neither that Homer ever committed this piece to his writing at all, but it paſſed up and down like a kind of a ballad-ſong that the people had got by rote, till in the end copies were taken of it from dictates by word of mouth, which was the true reaſon of ſo many contradictions and miſtakes in the tranſcripts.

Scarce any of the Greek hiſtorians agree in the recital of the ſame facts, which may be imputed to the failing of the Greeks, in not laying a timely foundation of hiſtory in records and memorials, to conſerve the memory of all great actions. Now this way of keeping public regiſters hath been neglected, not only in other parts of Greece, but it was never heard of even in Athens itſelf, where the people paſs by the name of earth-born, with a reſpect to their original, and value themſelves above all others, both for antiquity and letters. Draco's Penal Laws are univerſally allowed an antecedence to all other of their writing, though bearing date but a little before the tyrant Piſiſtratus. And what ſhall we ſay now to the Arcadians that ſet up for a priority of pretenſion too, and yet came later to the uſe of letters than any of the reſt ?

The Egyptians and the Babylonians are known to have been very diligent and exact of old, in the marking of their accounts and annals. This way of regiſtering among the Egyptians was the prieſts province, who took a great deal of care and pains in the diſcharge of that duty. The Chaldæans did the ſame thing with the Babylonians ; and the Phœnicians, intermingling with the Greeks, inſtructed them alſo in the uſe of letters for the government of life, and the upholding of public traditions. Our forefathers provided at leaſt as well for the ſecuring of this order and regulation, if not better, than any that went before them, in charging the high-prieſts and the prophets with this commiſſion. And we have kept up the practice with great integrity to this very day ; for there was not only care taken from the beginning to make choice of men of exemplary piety and virtue for this function, (over and above that they were ſet apart alſo for the ſervice of the altar) but a proviſion was likewiſe made for preſerving the ſacerdotal race untainted with any profane or adulterate mixture ; for no man is qualified for the office of a prieſt, whoſe mother was not of a prieſtly extraction.

And this holds not only in Judæa, but wherever our people are diſperſed over the face of the whole earth, as in Egypt and Babylon, and all over the world, in fine, where our prieſts make it a point of conſcience only to intermarry with their own tribes. In this caſe they ſend from the father to Jeruſalem, the name of the woman they have a mind to marry, with a draught of her pedigree, well and ſufficiently atteſted. But in time of war, (which many times falls out) as for inſtance in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey the Great, and

Quintilius Varus, and particularly within our own memory; in this caſe the ſurviving prieſts reform and ſupply the old regiſters, compoſe new ones, and put the women that are left to the ſcrutiny of a ſtrict examination. The prieſts marry no captives, for fear of contracting a foreign mixture: And there can be no clearer proof of their integrity, than that the names of all our prieſts, in an uninterrupted ſucceſſion, from father to ſon, have now ſtood upon record throughout a tract of two thouſand years. If any one man among them falſifies or prevaricates, he is preſently forbidden the holy altar and depoſed from the exerciſe of his function. As for thoſe unaccountable antiquities among the prophets, we look upon them as divine revelation rather than hiſtory; But for others that write the ſtory of their own time, the number of them is not very great, neither are they very repugnant one to another.

I reckon only upon two and twenty books that we are bound to believe, and theſe two and twenty books compriſe the hiſtory of the world from the beginning of it to this day. Five books of theſe two and twenty treat of the creation of the world and the generation of mankind, and ſo to the death of Moſes, in a ſeries of little leſs than three thouſand years.

From the death of Moſes to the reign of Artaxerxes, the ſon of Xerxes, and the king of Perſia, every one of our prophets wrote the hiſtory of the age he lived in, comprehending the whole in thirteen books; the other four books containing holy hymns and and moral precepts. There is alſo a courſe of hiſtory from Artaxerxes to this inſtant, which we look upon with great veneration, but incomparably ſhort of what we aſcribe to the other, for want of the prophets to make it ſtill more authentic and ſacred. As for the other works, we give as much credit to them as we would do to our own eyes, having been thus long in the world without any attempt upon them, either to add or to diminiſh; nay, or but ſo much as to transform or to diſguiſe them. But we ſet a value upon theſe writings, as divine; we call them ſo, and we are trained up from the very cradle to meditate, to obſerve, and to maintain them as ſuch, and finally to ſuffer death chearfully in their defence rather than forſake them.

As for my Antiquites, I have, in the quality of a prieſt, and in the way of my profeſſion, extracted them out of the holy ſcripture, and digeſted them into a methodical order. But in the hiſtory of the war I was an actor in ſome caſes, a ſpectator in others; and, upon the whole matter, a ſtranger to nothing that was either done or ſaid. How ſhameleſs an impudence is it now for theſe people to contend with me for the truth? Nay, putting the caſe as they pretend, and that they have indeed had the ſight of Titus's and Veſpaſian's journals, what does this ſignify to the invalidating of my hiſtory, in a point where the Roman generals were abſolute ſtrangers to the matter?

I come now to a ſort of people that will have the Jews to be no better than upſtarts, becauſe the Greeks, they ſay, make no mention of us. I ſhall then cite my authorities out of our own books, and lay open the unreaſonable malice of all our ſpiteful adverſaries.

As to the place of our habitation or abode, we live in a midland-country; and for the matter of trade and ramble, we never trouble our heads upon either of thoſe two accounts. Our cities lie remote from the ſea, the ſoil fruitful, and well dreſſed and cultivated. Our greateſt care is for the maintenance and education of our children, and to have them trained up to piety, and in obedience to the laws of our country; and this is it we reckon upon as the main buſineſs of our lives. After all this, we have a peculiar way of living to ourſelves, which gives us to underſtand that in times paſt we had no communication with the Greeks, as the Egyptians and Phœnicians had; and ſo had others alſo, by a common tie of navigation, trade and commerce, for the advancing of their fortunes. Neither did our predeceſſors make inroads upon their neighbours, as other people have done, for the enlarging of their eſtates; though they wanted neither numbers nor courage to be dangerous and troubleſome.

To begin now with the Egyptians, (who are not looked upon to be any great friends of ours) there is one Manetho, an Egyptian by birth, and well ſkilled in the Greek, as appears by a Greek hiſtory he extracted out of the holy ſcriptures about the Jewiſh religion. This Manetho falls foul upon Herodotus in many places, for belying the Egyptians through the ignorance of their ways and cuſtoms; and in the ſecond book of his hiſtory he delivers himſelf as follows.

"We had a king whoſe name was Timæus, and in his reign we fell, beyond all imagination, under God's heavy diſpleaſure. There came flowing in upon us a rugged, robuſt people, out of the eaſt, that made an inroad into the province, and there encamping, took it by force, and carried all before them without ſo much as a ſtroke, putting our princes in chains, cruelly laying our cities in aſhes, demoliſhing our temples, and miſerably oppreſſing our inhabitants; ſome cut to pieces, and others, with their wives and children, ſent away into bondage. After all this, they ſet up a king from among themſelves, whoſe name was Salatis.

"Salatis died in the nineteenth year of his reign, and one Bæon ſucceeded him, who governed forty four years. After him came Apachnas, and reigned ſix and thirty years and ſeven months. Apochis came next, and ruled ſixty years and one month; Janias, fifty years and one month; and laſt of all came Aſſis, who ruled forty nine years and two months. Theſe ſix were the firſt kings, and perpetually in war to exterminate the Egyptians root and branch. The people were called Hycſos, that is to ſay King-Shepherds; for Hyc, in the holy tongue, is as much as King, and Sos, according to the vulgar, is a Shepherd: So that Hycſos is taken as a compound. Some will have it that theſe people were Arabians. According to ſome other copies, Hyc does not ſignify King-Shepherd, but Shepherd-Captive; for Hyc and Hac, with an aſpiration, ſounds in Egyptian as much as Captive; and it ſeems to me the more reaſonable interpretation of the two, as it ſuits better with the ancient hiſtory.

"We have it upon the credit of the ſame author, that when theſe (call them what you will) Kings or Shepherds, and their train, had kept the government of Egypt in their own hands for the ſpace of five hundred and eleven years, the king of Thebes, and the remainder of Egypt, that was not ſubjected, made a violent and an obſtinate war upon the Shepherds and routed them, under the command of king Alisfragmuthoſis: And when the greateſt part of them were driven out of Egypt, the reſt withdrew into a place called Avaris, of ten thouſand acres in content; and this the Shepherds (according to Manetho) incloſed with a ſtrong ſubſtantial wall, that ſecured them all neceſſaries within themſelves. He ſays further, that Themoſis, the ſon of Alisfragmuthoſis, laid ſiege to it with four hundred and eight thouſand men; but when he found that the place was not to be carried by aſſault, they came to conditions, upon articles to depart Egypt, and a ſafe convoy to go wither they would. Upon theſe terms they marched out with their goods and families, to the number of two hundred and forty thouſands ſouls, by the way of the wilderneſs into Syria; and for fear of the Aſſyrians, who were then maſters of Aſia, they retired into a country that is now known by the name of Judæa, where they erected a city large enough to receive this vaſt multitude, and called it Jeruſalem."

Let us ſee now what account the Phœnicians have given the world of this matter. There are among the Tyrians publick records of great antiquity; and they are ſo carefully preſerved too, that nothing eſcapes the regiſtry that is worth remembring. They make mention, among ſeveral other conſiderable paſſages concerning ourſelves, of king Solomon's erecting a temple at Jeruſalem, a hundred and forty three years and eight months before their predeceſſors built Carthage; deſcribing alſo the model of the temple.

Hiram, the king of Tyre, had ſo great a friendſhip and eſteem for David, that he loved his ſon Solomon the better, even for the father's ſake: and as an inſtance of the value he had for him, made him a preſent of a hundred and twenty talents of gold toward the ornament of the fabric, and furniſhed him with the choiceſt wood from Mount Libanus, for the roof and wainſcot. Neither was Solomon wanting, on the other hand, in a magnificent return; as among other acknowledgments, he made him a preſent of Zabulon in Naphthali. But the love of wiſdom was the chief inducement to that tenderneſs of friendſhip between them. They exchanged problems and difficult caſes one with another, to be unriddled; and Solomon was the better qualified of the two for that faculty. There are extant among the Tyrians, to this very day, divers copies of the letters that paſſed between them; and for confirmation of what I ſay, I ſhall appeal to Dius, an hiſtorian among the Phœnicians, of an unqueſtionable credit, and in his own words.

" Hiram the ſon of Abibal ſucceeded his
" father in the government. He repaired
" and improved divers cities in the eaſtern
" parts of his dominion, enlarged Tyre,
" and by the help of a dam joined it to the
" temple of the Olympian Jupiter, ſtand-
" ing in an iſland, and beautified with ma-
" ny rich donatives. After this he went up
" to Mount Libanus to cut down wood for
" temples."

We have a report that Solomon the king of Jeruſalem, and Hiram, interchanged certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition that he that failed of the ſolution ſhould incur a forfeiture; and that Hiram, finding the queſtion too hard for him, paid the penalty. But one Abdemonus, a Tyrian, after this reſolved the ſaid queſtion, and propoſed new ones for Solomon to interpret, upon the penalty of paying ſo much to Hiram.

Can any thing be clearer now, or more pertinent to our purpoſe, than the teſtimony of the Phœnicians? For our anceſtors were undoubtedly come into Judæa before they built a temple in it; and that temple was not built neither, till they had made themſelves maſters of the country by the ſword.

We ſhall ſee now how far the Chaldæans agree with the reſt, in the juſtification of our hiſtory; and begin with Beroſus, a Chaldæan by extraction, and an author of eminent credit with all lovers of letters, for the learned pieces of aſtronomy, and the Chaldæan philoſophy, that he wrote in the Greek tongue. This Beroſus, after the manner of the moſt ancient hiſtorians, treats of the deluge, and the deſtruction of mankind, juſt as Moſes reports it: And of the ark alſo, and how the firſt father of our race was preſerved in it afloat upon the mountains of Armenia. He runs thorough the genealogy likewiſe of the ſons of Noah, their names and their ages, and ſo carries on the train, from Noah himſelf to Nabulaſſar, the king of the Babylonians and Chaldæans, with an account of this king's exploits. He tells how he ſent his ſon Nebuchodonoſor with a mighty army into Egypt and Judæa, where finding the people in rebellion, he broke in upon them, and when he had conquered them, and ſet fire to their temple at Jeruſalem, he went his way, and carried off our whole nation in captivity to Babylon. After this confuſion, the city lay deſolate for ſeventy years, till the days of Cyrus king of Perſia. He ſays likewiſe that the Babylonians were in poſſeſſion of Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia and Arabia; and the king much a greater prince than any of his predeceſſors.

As to what concerns the temple of Jeruſalem, we have the authority of Beroſus for it, that it was laid in aſhes by the Babylonians, and that Cyrus, who had at that time the abſolute dominion of Aſia, began afterwards to rebuild it. We ſhall now ſubjoin to the foregoing authorities ſomewhat out of the Phœnician hiſtories; for proofs can never be too many, provided they agree in chronology: And the computation ſtands thus.

Nebuchodonoſor laid a ſiege of thirteen years to Tyre in the reign of king Ithobal. Baal came after him, and reigned ten years: And then they erected judges in the places of kings; as there was Ecnibalus the ſon of Baſlech, that governed two months; Chelbis the ſon of Abdæus, ten months; the high-prieſt Abbar, three months; Mytgonus and Geraſtus Batus the ſons of Abdelimus, ſix years; and Balatorus among the reſt, one year: Upon whoſe death they ſent for Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years: And upon his death they took his brother Iram, who governed twenty years, in whoſe time it was that Cyrus made himſelf maſter of the Perſian Empire. Now all this put together amounts to fifty four years and three months. It was in the ſeventh year of Nebuchodonoſor's reign, that he began the ſiege; and in the fourteenth of king Iram, that Cyrus had the empire: So that what the Chaldæans and the Tyrians deliver concerning our temple, does but farther verify our own writings upon that ſubject. We ſhall next appeal to Greek authors in our own juſtification.

There was one Pythagoras, a Samian; an eminent philoſopher, and the moſt celebrated man of his time for piety and wiſdom. This Pythagoras was not only well ſeen in our laws, but in many caſes a ſtrict obſerver of them, as moſt manifeſtly appears: Not from any thing that he ever wrote, but from what others knew, and reported concerning him. As Hermippus, for one, a very exact and careful hiſtorian. He tells a ſtory in the firſt book of his Pythagoras, of one Calliphon of Croton, a particular confident of Pythagoras. This Calliphon died, he ſays, and his ſoul would never let Pythagoras reſt night or day, for precepts and inſtructions. It gave him in charge not to paſs forward at any time where his aſs had ſtumbled, to drink only clear fountain-water, and to ſpeak ill of no man. And then he goes on, that this was in imitation of the Jews and the Thracians; with an application to himſelf. And it was truly ſaid; for this man incorporated divers cuſtoms of of the Jews into his philoſophy.

Our people were likewiſe ſo well known in places of note in times long ſince paſt, that ſeveral cities do, to this day, retain our rites and faſhions, and others reckon them worth the imitation, as appears by Theophraſtus in his book of laws, where he ſpeaks of the Tyrian laws againſt ſwearing by any ſtrange God, naming the Corban among the prohibited oaths; that is to ſay, in Hebrew, the gift of God: And it is only to be found among the Jews.

Herodotus Halicarnaſſus was no ſtranger to our nation neither, for he makes ſome mention of us in his ſecond book, where ſpeaking of the people of Colchos, he has this paſſage. "As to the matter of circumciſion, I find only the Colchians, the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, to have uſed it of old: But the Phœnicians and the Syrians in Paleſtine own the uſe of it from the Egyptians. The Syrians that border upon the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macronians, are reputed to have taken it up of late from the Colchians. There are no others that are circumciſed: And they proceed after the manner of the Egyptians. But for the Egyptians and Ethiopians, I cannot ſay which had it of the other."

Now this author is poſitive that the Syriens of Palæſtine are circumciſed: Whereas there are no people circumciſed in Paleſtine but the Jews. Now ſpeaking this upon knowledge, it muſt neceſſarily be intended of the other.

And then there's Chærilus, an ancient poet, in an account he gives of the ſeveral nations that fought under Xerxes, the king of Perſia, againſt the Greeks, he makes mention of our people after all the reſt.

Neither were the Jews barely known to the Greeks, or only to the common ſort of of them; but likewiſe to their wiſe men and philoſophers of the firſt rank; and that with marks too of a ſingular friendſhip and eſteem.

Hecatæus the Abderite, a good man both for learning and buſineſs, being trained up with Alexander the Great, and living with Ptolemy king of Egypt, the ſon of Lagus, wrote an entire tract expreſly upon the ſubject of the Jews.

I am now to diſprove all the reproaches and ſcandals that have been caſt upon us, and to expoſe the authors of them upon the credit of their own witneſſes.

The Egyptians being known to be our enemies, there was no better way to gratify thoſe people, than to diſguiſe and falſify the the ſtory, both of our forefathers coming into Egypt, and that of their going out again. When Manethon was upon his Egyptian hiſtory, he paſſed a ſolemn proteſtation that he would faithfully extract it out of the holy ſcriptures; and ſo he prefaces his diſcourſe with a ſtory of our anceſtors carrying an army into Egypt, and ſubduing the country; but that being driven out again ſoon after, they ſettled themſelves in a province that is now called Judæa, built a city by the name of Jeruſalem, and erected a temple. Thus far he follows antiquity: But when he comes afterward to give himſelf a looſe, and to deliver vulgar rumours and traditions, (as he calls them) the fables he raiſes of us are altogether incredible, for he makes no more of us than a rabble of Egyptian lepers, and other infected perſons promiſcuouſly jumbled together, that were driven out of Egypt for their uncleanneſs. He fancies them a king too, by the fictitious name of Amenophis; but was ſo conſcious of the impoſture, that he durſt not venture upon calculating the preciſe time of his reign, as he does in other caſes, for the connection would betray him. Under this cover he tacks ſeveral idle tales to his hiſtory, wherein he had almoſt forgotten his own reckoning, that is to ſay, that it was five hundred and eighteen years ſince the Shepherds went out of Egypt toward Jeruſalem; for it was in the reign of Themoſis that they departed. From Themoſis to the two brothers Sethon and Hermæus, the government continued in a ſucceſſion for three hundred ninety three years. "Sethon," he ſays, "was " otherwiſe called Egyptus, and Hermæus " was called Danaus, whom Sethon ſupplanted, and then kept the government " fifty nine years. His eldeſt ſon Rhampſes ſucceeded him, and reigned ſixty ſix " years." Now after owning the departure of our predeceſſors out of Egypt ſo many years before, he caſts the mock king Amenophis into the royal liſt, and makes him a prince of divine ſpeculations, like Orus, he ſays, one of his predeceſſors; and ſays further, that he had a mind to ſee the gods, wherein one Amenophis the ſon of Papius, and a prieſt of their way, ſo far gratified him, that he told him his deſire ſhould be granted, upon condition that the kingdom might be cleared of all lepers and other unclean perſons.

We ſhall proceed now to examine what Manetho ſays concerning Moſes.

" The Egyptians themſelves are all " agreed upon it, that Moſes was a man of " ſingular integrity and wiſdom; and they " ſtood out at nothing, though ever ſo falſe " and infamous, to make an Egyptian of " him, (that is to ſay, their countryman) " and one of the prieſts of Heliopolis, who " was expelled, with ſeveral others, for a " leper." Now we find in the chronology, that Moſes lived five hundred and eighteen years before this conjuncture, and conducted our forefathers out of Egypt into the country where we now inhabit: So that there needs no further proof that he was no leper, than what ariſes from his own words; i. e. That no lepers ſhould be admitted into any towns or villages, but live apart in a diſtinct habitation by themſelves, and that whoever touched a leper, or lodged under the ſame roof with him, ſhould be reputed unclean; and whoever ſhould come to be cured of that diſeaſe, and reſtored to his former ſtate, he ſhould paſs ſome certain purifications, waſh himſelf with fountain-water, ſhave all his hair off, and offer ſuch and ſuch ſacrifices, before he ſhould be received into the holy city. Now if Moſes had been afflicted with this diſtemper himſelf, he would never have been ſo ſevere upon others for it.

And this ſtrictneſs of his was not only in the caſe of lepers, but no man was qualified for the prieſthood, that had the leaſt maim upon him, or any other corporal defect; as it was deprivation alſo when it happened to be the caſe of a prieſt. Can any man think now, that if Moſes had been a leper, he would have made ſuch laws againſt himſelf, and ſo much to his own ſhame and loſs? As to the change of the name at laſt, from Oſarſiph to Moſes, what affinity does there appear betwixt the one and the other? Where's the agreement betwixt them? Moy, in Egyptian, is Water; and Moyſes is as much as preſerved out of the Water; and that's the whole myſtery.

I ſhall advance now to Chæremon, another Egyptian hiſtorian, who ſuppoſes the ſame names and perſons of Amenophis and his ſon Rameſſes, with Manetho. He ſays, that the goddeſs Iſis appeared to Amenophis in a viſion, and chid him ſeverely for ſuffering her temple to be ruined in the war. And he ſays that Phritiphantes, a holy ſcribe, ſuggeſted it to the king, that if he would clear Egypt of all people labouring under foul and malignant diſtempers, he ſhould never be troubled again with thoſe nightly apparitions. Upon this, there was a call made of impotent and infirm wretches, and two hundred and fifty thouſand of them baniſhed the place under the command of Moſes and Joſeph, two of the number, and holy men; Moſes in Egyptian being called Tiſithes, and Joſeph, Peteſeph. He ſays that they found at Peluſium three hundred and eighty thouſand men, that Amenophis had left there, refuſing them a paſſage into Egypt. They ſtruck a league, and joined in an expedition againſt the Egyptians: But Amenophis would not ſtand it, and ſo withdrew into Ethiopia, leaving his wife big behind him. She ſhifted up and down in caves and holes, till at length ſhe was delivered of a male-child that ſhe called Meſſenes, who growing up to man's eſtate, drove about two hundred thouſand of the Jews into Syria, and brought back his father Amenophis out of Ethiopia.

There needs no more now to overthrow the credit of theſe writers, than to confront them. There is no reconciling of truth and error, and no dividing of truth againſt itſelf. But when men fly to fables and impoſtures, they write fancy rather than hiſtory. Manetho imputes the baniſhment of the lepers to Amenophis's curioſity to ſee the gods; Chæremon to the viſion of Iſis. The former makes the prieſt Amenophis the adviſer to the purging of the king's dominions of the ſick people: The other ſays it was Phritiphantes. Chæremon will have it, that being driven out of Egypt, they made uſe of three hundred and eighty thouſand men at Peluſium, that Amenophis had left there; and with that body of men invaded Egypt, and frighted Amenophis away into Ethiopia. This he tells us, but (which is wonderful) not one word who theſe men were, whence this vaſt army came, whether Egyptians or foreigners, or why Amenophis would not receive them. And then there's Chæremon's dream of Iſis and the lepers. He ſays again, that Moſes and Joſeph were expelled together; whereas Joſeph was dead four ages before Moſes's time, computing the whole at about a hundred and ſeventy years. But it would be time loſt to confute thoſe that confute themſelves; and there is no conviction ſo ſtrong as that which comes out of their mouths.

I come now to Lyſimachus, a profeſſed falſifier, as well as the reſt; but, for the faculty of an extravagant invention, ſo much beyond them all, that he out-does them all with the malice of the fiction. He ſays that "in the reign of Bocchoris king "of Egypt the Jews were ſo leprous, ſcabby, and over-run with foul diſtempers, that they preſſed into the temple to beg for charities. There died great numbers of them of contagious diſeaſes, upon which there followed a famine in Egypt. Bocchoris, in this diſtreſs, ſent to conſult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon about this dearth; and the anſwer was this, that he ſhould purify the temples by ſending away all unclean and impious perſons out of them into the deſert, and drowning thoſe that were ulcerated and leprous, for the ſun itſelf had a horror for ſo abominable a ſight; and this being done, the earth ſhould bring forth fruit again, and nature return to her courſe. Bocchoris preſently upon this calls his prieſts and his diviners about him, and by their advice orders the ſick people to be ſorted together and delivered up to the ſoldiers; the lepers and ſcorbutics to be lapped up in lead, and caſt into the ſea, and the others to be carried into the wilderneſs, and there expoſed to be ſtarved. The night now coming on, theſe poor people began to think what to do with themſelves: So they made fires, ſet watches and guards, and the next night kept a faſt, to reconcile themſelves to the gods whom they had offended. On the day following, there was one called Moſes,” he ſays, “that adviſed them to decamp, and march on all together till they met with better accommodation, with a charge to do no good offices upon the way, nor ſo much as to give any man good counſel that ſhould deſire it; and likewiſe to break down all temples and altars they found in the way. Theſe propoſals were no ſooner approved and the reſolution taken, but the multitude preſently put themſelves upon the march over the wilderneſs; and, after many hardſhips, came at laſt into a country that was both dreſſed and peopled. They treated the inhabitants cruelly to the higeſt degree, burnt and pillaged their temples, and came in the end to a place that they now call Judæa, and built a city there by the name of Hieroſyla, (according to the occaſion) being as much as to ſay, the ſpoil of holy things: But coming afterwards into power and reputation, they were aſhamed of their own name, and changed Hieroſyla into Hieroſolyma, and called themſelves after their city.”

We have here a third king quite different from the two former kings of Manetho and Chæremon, who, without one word of the dream and the Egyptian prophet, went to aſk counſel of the oracle about the lepers and other unclean perſons. He ſays, that the Jews gathered together in multitudes about the temples. Does he mean the lepers by the Jews? As if the Jews only were tainted with that diſeaſe, for he ſeems ſo to reſtrain it, calling them the people of the Jews. But why does he not tell us alſo whether he means natives or ſtrangers? If Egyptians, why does he not tell us whence they came? And then again, if there were ſo many of them drowned, and the reſt thrown out into deſerts, how came there to be ſo many left, and how came they likewiſe to paſs the wilderneſs, poſſeſs the country, erect a city, and to build the moſt glorious temple in the world?

How comes he now again to give us only the bare name of our lawgiver, without any thing of his country, his perſon, or his family? And how he came to make ſuch extravagant laws in his paſſage, to the diſhonour both of gods and men? Either theſe were Egyptians, or not. If the former, they would hardly caſt off their country's laws on a ſudden: Or if they came from elſewhere, they had undoubtedly certain meaſures and cuſtoms of their own, that they could not eaſily part with it. It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that if they had joined in an oath of confederacy againſt thoſe that drove them out, they might have had a plauſible colour for it: But for a company of miſerable, friendleſs wretches, as they own themſelves, to engage in a mortal feud and defiance againſt all mankind, what greater folly could there be in the world, bating only the fiction of ſo ridiculous a ſtory! And yet the conceit of the name, with an alluſion to the city, and afterwards changing it, makes the foolery all of a piece. But how came the name now, which was at that time, as he ſays, ſo great a ſcandal to the city, to be accounted afterwards ſo great an honour to the inhabitants? This angry author was ſo intent, I ſuppoſe, upon ſpite and miſchief, that he took Hieroſolyma for the ſame thing in Hebrew that it is in the Greek. But what need many words for the expoſing of an impoſture, that has the confidence to contradict and diſprove itſelf?

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

In ANSWER to

APION,

Touching the ANTIQUITY of the

RACE of the *JEWS.*

BOOK II.

HAVING already given ſufficient proof of the Antiquity of our nation, I ſhall now turn my diſcourſe more particularly to my adverſaries, and to Apion the grammarian in the firſt place.

As to his manner of writing, it is ſo dark and intricate, that there's hardly any gueſſing what he would be at, in the confuſion, contradictions, and inconſiſtence of his ſtories. One while he miſtakes the hiſtory of our forefathers departing out of Egypt, the ſame way that others have: Another while he falls foul upon the Alexandrian Jews, and then laſhes out into outrages againſt the rites and ceremonies of our holy temple and worſhip.

Now as to the two points, of our forefathers coming originally out of Egypt, and of their being driven out again for any foul diſeaſe or infectious diſtemper, I have ſaid more than needed to the clearing of thoſe imputations: So that I ſhall only ſum up what Apion hath added over and above, and particularly in the third book of his Egyptian hiſtory. "Moſes," ſays he, "was born at Heliopolis, as I have heard from the oldeſt men upon the place, of my time. The people formerly had their religious meetings in the open air, till Moſes, that was well ſkilled in the worſhip of his country, brought their congregations out of the fields into private houſes in the city, enjoining the people to addreſs their prayers ſtill towards the ſun. Now with reſpect to the ſituation of the place, there were, inſtead of obeliſks, certain pillars advanced upon the figures of baſins, with engravings upon them, and the ſhadow falling upon theſe baſins, (for all was open above) ſtill as the ſun moved, the ſhadow moved along with it."

As for Moſes, he gives no account either of any ſuch form preſcribed, or made uſe of, at the firſt erecting of the tabernacle, or that he ever ordered poſterity to do any thing like it; neither was Solomon (afterward the founder of the Jeruſalem Temple) ever aware of any ſuch fantaſtical curioſity as Apion ſpeaks of.

As to the authorities he cites, of the old men that told him Moſes was an Heliopolitan, he was too young, it ſeems, to know it himſelf, and therefore conſulted ſome of his cotemporaries, which, he ſays, were well acquainted with him. Was there ever ſo rank or ſo ridiculous a contrivance! Apion could not find out what countryman either Homer or Pythagoras was, though the latter but of yeſterday in compariſon. How comes he then to be ſo poſitive in the caſe of Moſes that lived ſo many ages before them, and all this upon the credit of what he had heard old men ſay?

And theſe hiſtorians are no leſs divided about the time of Moſes's leading the lepers, the lame and the blind out of Egypt. But Apion pitched the time preciſely upon the firſt year of the ſeventh Olympiad, the very year, he ſays, of the building of Carthage. Now we find in the Phœnician hiſtory, that Hiram lived at leaſt a hundred and fifty years before the building of Carthage, and that he had a particular friendſhip and veneration for Solomon, the founder of the temple at Jeruſalem, and contributed materials in abundance toward the perfecting of that work. But Solomon, in fine, laid the foundations of the temple ſix hundred and twelve years after the Jews went out of Egypt.

As to the number of the exiles, Apion agrees in the ſame falſe account with Lyſimachus, of a hundred and ten thouſand. But then the original he gives of the word Sabbath is childiſh even to admiration. "When the Jews," ſays he, "had been ſix days upon the way, they were ſeized with ulcers, and inflammations about the groin, and for this reaſon they reſted the ſeventh day. And being now ſafely arrived in the country called at preſent Judæa, they gave the day the name of the Sabbath, from the Egyptian Sabbatoſis, which is as much as to ſay, the diſeaſe of the groin, as aforeſaid." Was there ever ſo ſenſeleſs and ſo odious a rabble of fooleries patched together, and impoſed upon the world under the face and countenance of a hiſtory? A hundred and ten thouſand men all labouring under the ſame diſtemper! And if they were blind likewiſe, lame and languiſhing, as Apion elſewhere reports them, how was it poſſible for ſuch an infirm multitude of men to hold out but ſo much as one day's journey in the deſart!

And is it not an admirable fancy of Apion's, the bringing of a hundred and ten thouſand ſick and weak men, ſafe and ſound, every ſoul of them, to Judæa in ſix days! And then what a ſtory does he tell you of Moſes's advancing up to mount Sinai, between Egypt and Arabia, and lying cloſe there for forty days, till coming down in the end, he delivered the law to the Jews. I would fain know now how it is poſſible for ſuch a body of men to march over ſo vaſt a deſart in ſix days, or to ſubſiſt forty days in a place that affords neither bread nor water.

His trifling with the grammatical reaſon of the word Sabbath, is frivolous to the laſt degree of impertinence and folly; for there is a mighty difference between the two words Sabbo and Sabbatum: By the latter we underſtand the Jews day of reſt; and the other he expounds himſelf, to be only the name of the Egyptian diſeaſe.

And he is as much out again in his wonderment at the Jews calling themſelves Alexandrians, for it ſpeaks him very little ſkilled, either in common ſenſe or in practice. Do we not know that all colonies take their names from the firſt founders? And we ſhall not need to look out for foreign inſtances, having ſo many nearer home. The Jews of Antioch we call Antiochians, our foreſathers being made free of that city by king Seleucus; and ſo the Jews of Epheſus are called Epheſians, and thoſe of Ionia, Ionians: To which right they ſtand entitled by the ſucceſſive privileges of of former grants. And this is a grace that the ſtate of Rome hath vouchſafed, not only to particular perſons, but to whole provinces and nations. How came the ancient Iberians, the Tuſcans and the Sabines, to be called Romans elſe?

In the erecting of this city, Alexander made uſe of the aſſiſtance and ſervice of the Jews, not for want of men, but in the teſtimony and approbation of their faith and integrity, and with a reſolution to do them farther honour and reſpect. Alexander, ſays Hecatæus, had ſuch a tenderneſs for the modeſty and loyalty of the Jews, that, beſide other ſignal bounties, he gave them the province of Samaria, tax-free.

After Alexander, came Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, who had every jot as good an opinion of the Alexandrian Jews as his predeceſſor, and into their hands he committed the truſt of all the forts and ſtrong holds in Egypt. And for his better ſecurity he planted Cyrene, and other cities of Libya, with theſe people.

Ptolemy Philadelphus ſucceeded Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus; he did not only ſet all the Jewiſh priſoners at liberty that he had in his country, but remitted them ſeveral duties, and other ſums of money: And, which was more than all the reſt, he contracted a paſſionate inclination to be inſtructed in our laws and cuſtoms, and in the holy myſteries of the ſacred ſcriptures, inſomuch that he preſſed earneſtly for interpreters to be ſent him, in order to his better information.

The third Ptolemy (called Euergetes) having made himſelf maſter of Syria by force, paid no ſolemnity of acknowledgments for his victory to the Egyptian gods; but ſacrificed, and gave God thanks in the temple at Jeruſalem after the manner of the Jews.

Ptolemy Philometor and queen Cleopatra committed the charge of the whole government to Onias and Doſitheus, who were both Jews. Apion meanly derogates from the action; whereas he ſhould rather have thanked them for preſerving that Alexandria, whereof he very falſely pretended himſelf to be a citizen: for when Egypt was up in a rebellion, and upon the very brink of being irrecoverably loſt, theſe two Jews ſet all right again. Soon after this Onias entered the place, ſays Apion, with a ſmall army, in the preſence of Thermus the Roman Ambaſſador: And this is all he ſays of the exploit, though it cannot be denied to have been a brave and a generous action.

Upon the death of this Ptolemy Philometor, Ptolemy Phyſcon the ſon marched out of Cyrene, with a deſign to force Cleopatra and the king's ſons out of Egypt, and uſurp the kingdom to himſelf. Upon this ground it was that Onias made war upon Phyſcon, in defence of Cleopatra. But there never was a more remarkable inſtance of God's power and juſtice than upon this occaſion. For when Ptolemy was ready to join battle with Onias, he cauſed all the Jews in Alexandria, men, women and children, to be ſtripped and bound, and ſo thrown naked to the elephants to be trampled to death; and the beaſts were made drunk too, to inflame their fury: But the elephants quitted the Jews, and turning their rage another way, they deſtroyed a great many of Ptolemy's beſt friends. In this inſtant of time, there appeared to him a hideous figure, with a menacing precaution to him to leave perſecuting the Jews; and the favourite miſtreſs of all his concubines (ſome called her Ithaca, others Hirene) joining in the ſame office of mediation, the interceſſion wrought ſo effectually upon him, that he not only granted the requeſt, but heartily repented himſelf of all the cruelties that he had either actually committed or intended. This is a truth ſo notorius, that the Jews of Alexandria keep to this day an anniverſary feſtival in memory of their deliverance. And yet ſuch is the ſpiteful malevolence of Apion, that enemy of mankind, that he takes upon him to reproach the Jews for joining in this war againſt Phyſcon, as an impious action, whereas he ſhould rather have extolled it as a laudable piece of juſtice.

And what can we do better now for our own juſtification, than to appeal to Ceſar himſelf, the publick decrees of the ſenate of Rome, and the teſtimonials of Auguſtus Ceſar? Which will bear us witneſs of the faith and true allegiance we have ever paid to the empire, and particularly in the war againſt the Egyptians.

But then, ſays Apion, if the Jews be citizens of Alexandria, how comes it that they do not worſhip the ſame gods, and embrace the ſame religion with the reſt of their fellow-citizens? Now to anſwer you in your own way, how come you, that are all Egyptians, to claſh and ſquabble one with another about diverſity of opinions in the matter of worſhip? Shall we pronounce you preſently to be no Egyptians for this? Or ſhall we doubt, on the other hand, whether you are, in truth, men or no, for taking ſo much pains to breed up beaſts, even contrary to nature, and then for worſhipping them when you have done? Whereas our people live in union and agreement. Now if you yourſelves are ſo divided among yourſelves, what wonder is it if the Alexandrian Jews, that came thither from abroad, ſtick to their old laws ſtill, how differing ſoever from yours?

But Apion will have it again, that all the broils and commotions in the ſtate there were long of theſe diſagreements in matters of religon betwixt the Alexandrian Jews and ancient inhabitants. Now if this imputation holds good againſt the Alexandrian Jews, why not as well againſt all other Jews elſewhere too? For whereſoever we are diſperſed, we are nevertheleſs all of a piece. So that he that looks narrowly into theſe turbulent revolutions, will find them to be only ſuch as Apion himſelf that were the occaſion of them: For ſo long as the Greeks and Macedonians were in this city, the Jews had the free exerciſe of their religion, and the people lived all quietly and happily together. But as the Egyptians more and more increaſed, ſo the times in propotion grew more and more troubleſome. But the Jews all this time continued the ſame, thro'-out all changes; while the other, having neither the conſtancy of the Macedonians, nor the prudence of the Greeks, ſtirred up all theſe broils, and being, over and above, poiſoned with the ill habits and practices of the Egyptians, and irritated by the averſion they had for the Jews. Theſe were the people, I ſay, that gave the riſe to all confuſions: So that we are only charged for the errors and miſcarriages of our very accuſers. Apion is likewiſe pleaſed to vilify us as ſtrangers, tho' qualified to all purpoſes with the rights of freemen; and yet our adverſaries at the ſame time ſet up for citizens, without the leaſt colour of a pretence or title to that privilege. We do not read that any prince in the hiſtory of former times, or that any of the late emperors ever granted letters of freedom to the Egyptians. But the firſt that introduced us to a right to that claim, was Alexander the Great, and the grant hath been ſince enlarged with additions by other kings; and ſince that again, continued and confirmed to us by the Romans.

Apion takes occaſion to lay great blame upon us alſo, for not ſetting up images and ſtatues in honour of the emperors, as if they could not have taken notice of this themſelves, without his intermeddling on their behalf. Now inſtead of arraigning us, he ſhould rather have celebrated the generous courteſy of the Romans, in allowing their ſubjects the freedom of their own religion, without extorting from them ſuch honours as they could not pay them with a good conſcience; ſo that they contented themſelves with thoſe reſpects which might be honeſtly rendered them.

"In this holy place," ſays Apion, "the "Jews had the golden head of an aſs of very great value, which head the Jews worſhipped, and it was a deity anſwerable to "their religion. The image," he ſays, "was depoſited in the treaſury, and there "ſound, and carried away by Antiochus "Epiphanes, upon the rifling of that ſacred "place." Now my anſwer to Apion is this, That ſuppoſiing the ſtory to have been a truth, it would not yet look well out of the mouth of an Egyptian to reproach us with it; for an aſs is not one jot more ſcandalous than a goat or a weaſel, or ſeveral other beaſts that the Egyptians adore.

As for Antiochus, his pillaging of the temple was a faithleſs and a perfidious action. He did not maſter it as a fair enemy, but as a treacherous friend, and a traitor to his allies. He wanted money, and thus he ſupplied his neceſſities, like a common thief, by robbery: But, in ſhort, we have many grave hiſtorians to bear us witneſs, that there was nothing found, as he pretends, upon the rifling of it, to make the party or the cauſe ridiculous.

Apion ſays farther, that "Antiochus, up"on entering the temple, ſound a man in "bed there, with a table before him ſet out "with all the delicacies that either ſea or "land afforded. This man was ſo ſurpriſed "at the encounter, that looking upon Antiochus as his good angel, and one that "came to reſcue him, he threw himſelf at "his feet, and in a poſture of adoration im"plored his aſſiſtance. The king bad him "ſpeak freely, and tell him what he was, "how he came thither, what he did there, "and finally, what was the meaning of "that treat there upon the table. The "poor man, upon this, burſt out preſently "into a paſſion, and with tears gave him "this anſwer.

"I am, ſays he, a Greek, and as I was "was wandering up and down this country "for a livelihood, I was taken up at unawares by ſome outlandiſh people, who "brought me to this place, and ſhut me up "here, with order not to let any creature "come at me. I was at firſt well enough "pleaſed with an entertainment ſo much "beyond my expectation: But ſounding "ſome of my keepers to know what might "be the meaning of this way of proceeding, "the anſwer they gave me was this: That "the Jews had a law or cuſtom among "themſelves once a year, upon a certain "day fixed, to ſeize upon a Grecian ſtranger; and when they had kept him a "fattening for one whole year, to take him "out into a wood, and offer him up for a "ſacrifice, according to the ſolemnity of "their own forms, taking a taſte of his "blood, with a horrid oath at the ſame "time, to live and die mortal enemies to "the Greeks; after which they caſt the re"mainder of this miſerable carcaſe into a "ditch. The Greek told Antiochus like"wiſe, that his time was out within a few "days, adjuring him by the veneration he "had for the Grecian gods, to deliver him "from that inhuman treachery of the "Jews."

Now there is not any man that ever ſaw this temple of ours, but can witneſs the care that was taken by inviolable laws and proviſions, to order every thing in purity and perfection. It was divided into four partitions, and a guard appointed for each of them apart. The firſt diviſion was open to all comers, ſtrangers and all, without any reſerve, only women excepted in their monthly courſes. Jews and their wives (that is to ſay, clean and purified) were addmitted into the ſecond, and male Jews, purified in like manner, into the third. The fourth was only for the prieſts in their ſacerdotal habits; and none but the high-prieſt in his pontifical robes, peculiar to his dignity, to enter the holy ſanctuary: Nay, ſo ſtrict and punctual were they in all the niceties of form and decorum, that the very prieſts themſelves could not have admittance but at ſuch certain hours.

Upon the opening of the temple in the morning, the prieſts that were to officiate attended and entered, and ſo at noon, upon the ſhutting of it up again. There was in the temple an altar, a table, a cenſer, and a candleſtick, according to the direction of the law, neither was it allowed to carry into it any other veſſel. There was no eating or feaſting, nor any thing at all done in myſtery, but in the face of the whole congregation; and all things in ſuch method too, that though there were four tribes of prieſts, and every tribe upwards of five thouſand perſons, they took their turns yet of attendance upon their ſet and certain days, and ſo ſucceſſively, as one went off, another came on: And then about noon, meeting all together in the temple, they delivered up their reſpective truſts one to another, ſome diſcharging themſelves of the keys, others of the veſſels, and without bringing any thing at all into that holy place that belongs to meat or drink, for it is not lawful to offer any thing upon our altars, but what is provided for the ſacrifice.

Apion purſues the humour ſtill with one fable upon the back of another, to make us yet more and more odious; and ſo furniſhes another foppiſh ſtory out of the mouth of the Grecian, in theſe words. "While "the Jews and the Idumæans," ſays he, "were engaged in a long and an obſtinate "war, there came a man over to the Jews "out of ſome city or other of Idumæa, "where they worſhipped Apollo, and this "man's name was Zabidus, who promiſed "them to put Apollo the god of the Dorians into their hands, if they could but "get the Jews to gather all together into "the temple in a body. Zabidus, upon "this, contrived a certain machine of "boards, and conveying himſelf into it, "ſet up three rows of lights upon it, which "appeared at a diſtance like a comet upon "the ground. This apparition was ſo great "a ſurpriſe to the Jews that they ſtood gazing at it afar off, without ſo much as "one word ſpeaking. Zabidus, in the mean "while, ſlipped into the temple, and without any difficulty ſeized the aſs's golden "head (as he pleaſantly renders it) and "carried it away to Dora."

The ſillineſs of this invention ſpeaks Apion the greater aſs of the two, together with an incomparable impudence, over and above the folly of it; for there are no ſuch places to be found as ſeveral that he mentions. He does not ſo much as know where Idumæa lies, or that there is no ſuch city in it as Dora. There is a place indeed of that name in Phœnicia, not far from Mount Carmel, but this is four days journey from Judæa, and none of Apion's Dora.

He is much in the right ſure to condemn us for not worſhipping other people's gods; if, as he ſays, our forefathers were ſo credulous as to believe that Apollo would come over to them, and that he looked like a walking comet. It was a wonder again that the Jews ſhould not know a lamp or a torch when they ſaw it, from a ſtar, that had ſo many of their own: And the miracle was little leſs, that Zabidus ſhould go off clear with his aſs's head, through ſo many thouſands of people, without ſo much as being queſtioned about it, and no guards to ſtop him, either in town or country; and this in the heat of the war too.

But the next is an admirable crotchet. He brings it as an argument againſt the juſtice of our laws, or manner of worſhip, and the truth of our religion, that we are under the burden of ſervitude and oppreſſion, not only in our perſons, but in our capital city itſelf, a city, that, how free and powerful ſoever it hath been formerly, is at preſent no better than a tributary to the Romans; and where are the people now that are able to contend with them? Or who but Apion would reaſon the caſe after this foppiſh rate, as if dominion were an entail? Whereas goverment and ſubjection take their fortunes in the world by turns. Only the Egyptians pretend an immunity from all ſervices to the rulers of Aſia and Europe, which they ground upon the gratitude of the ſtrange gods, that fled from abroad into their country for ſanctuary, and there ſecured themſelves in the ſhape of beaſts. Was ever ſo ſenſeleſs a vanity as this heard of, from the mouth of a ſort of people who never enjoyed one day of liberty in an age, either at home or abroad? How often have the Perſians had the Egyptians at their feet, raſing their cities, ravaging their temples, deſtroying their idol deities, and vilifying their worſhip! But I am not for writing after Apion's copy, and turning a misfortune into a reproach. Where was there ever a braver people than the Lacedæmonians, or a nation of more exemplary piety than the Athenians? And yet neither the virtue of the one, nor the courage of the other, was ſufficient to ſecure them againſt the chances of war, and the common fate of kingdoms and ſtates: To ſay nothing of the miſerable diſaſters that have attended the beſt of kings, as Crœſus for one; the laying of the tower of Athens, the temples of Epheſus and Delphi, and ſeveral other illuſtrious places and palaces, all in aſhes.

Apion has another blow at us, for an obſcure ignorant ſort of people. "The Jews," ſays he, "have no famous men among them "for arts and ſciences, or for the political "wiſdom of managing governments and "ſtates; ſuch, I mean, as Socrates, Zeno, "Cleanthes, and the like." Nay, he does not forget himſelf neither in the liſt of his famous men; but bleſſes Alexandria in the honour of having Apion for a citizen. As to this character of Apion, all people have ſo mean an opinion of him for the extravagant corruption of his life and manners, that it would never have been believed but from his own mouth: So that Alexandria is rather to be pitied than envied for valuing itſelf upon ſuch a ſupporter. As to the point in competition betwixt the two nations, which of them ſhould have the preference for men of art and learning, the reader has no more to do, but to conſult our Antiquities for his ſatisfaction.

If the queſtion were now put to Apion, what ſort of Egyptians he takes to be the holieſt and the wiſeſt men, his anſwer undoubtedly would be, the prieſts: For they have theſe precepts tranſmitted down to them in a tradition from their firſt kings, i. e. to worſhip the gods, and to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of wiſdom. And this they all make profeſſion to do: They are all of them circumciſed, forbear ſwine's fleſh, and join with no other ſort of Egyptians in their ſacrifices. So that Apion did wonderfully miſtake his meaſures, when, inſtead of gratifying the Egyptians with invectives againſt us, he advanced a direct accuſation againſt thoſe he pretended to favour; in charging the ſame ceremonies upon them, that he blames us for; and likewiſe adviſing and encouraging circumciſion in others, as we have it upon the credit of Herodotus. It ſeems to me now that Apion's puniſhment (as it follows here) was very juſt upon him, for ſpeaking ſuch bitter things againſt the laws of his country. He was forced, by advice, upon a circumciſion: The wound putrified, and the part cancerating upon it, the diſtemper carried him off in miſerable torments. This may ſerve for a warning to all thoſe that, like Apion, abandon all the rules and duties of life and good manners, and then employ their wits in defaming of their neighbours.

But ſince ſo it is, that Apollonius Molon, Lyſimachus, and ſeveral others, have caſt out ſome words, like fools or madmen, to the diſhonour of Moſes, our excellent lawgiver, aſperſing him for an impoſtor and a magician, and repreſenting his laws as peſtilent and dangerous; it will not be amiſs to give the world ſome ſhort account, as well particular as general, of our converſation and government: And I doubt not but to make it appear, that there was never ſuch a body of laws framed for the common good of mankind, as theſe of Moſes; either for the advancing of piety, juſtice, charity, induſtry, the regulation of human ſociety, reſignation and patience, even to the contempt of death itſelf.

Now Apollonius does not carry on his malice like Apion, in a continued ſet diſcourſe, but now and then by ſnaps as the humour takes him. One while he makes atheiſts of us, and a hateful ſort of people both to God and man. In one fit he will have us to be cowards; and then our fault is, at the next word, that we are too forward and fool hardy, and greater ſots than the moſt ſtupid barbarians; for the Jews never invented any thing (he ſays) that mankind was the better for. Now there needs no more to the confuting of theſe ſpiteful ſuggeſtions, than to examine the conſtitution of the laws by which we are governed, and the ſtrict conformity of our lives and practices to thoſe precepts. But if we ſhall be forced in our own juſtification to rip up the imperfections of other polities, they may thank themſelves for provoking us to it by an opprobrious compariſon, and making the reproach we caſt upon them neceſſary to our own defence.

As to the antiquity of our lawgiver, he he has undoubtedly a right to a precedence before all others: For Lycurgus, Solon, and Zaleucus of Locris, with the reſt of the eminent Greeks they ſo much boaſt of, were all but novices and upſtarts compared with Moſes. The very name of law was not yet ſo much as heard of, and Homer himſelf wanted a word for it. The people in thoſe days were not governed by written precepts, but by the abſolute will and pleaſure of kings; and ſo it held a long time by authoritative orders and proviſions to anſwer the occaſion. But our lawgiver having his claim of priority granted him by his very enemies, acquitted himſelf likewiſe to admiration, in all the offices of adminiſtration and counſel: Firſt in compoſing ſuch a body of laws as might anſwer all the neceſſities of human life: and after that, in getting them received among the people, with a declaration that they would maintain and obey them.

When our forefathers marched out of the land of Egypt into the country that God had appointed for them, through a barren ſandy deſart, without water, and ſeveral encounters with the enemy by the way, in defence of themſelves, their wives and children; who was their guide all this while to carry them off through theſe almoſt inſuperable difficulties, but our careful lawgiver ſtill, in the quality both of a valiant general, a wiſe counſellor, and their common protector? A perſon of ſo exemplary a modeſty, that though the people were every man of them at his command to do what he would with them, he never took upon himſelf to act any thing by his own power; but in caſes where other men pretended to tyranniſe and domineer, and to indulge a general licence and debauch, Moſes, on the contrary, walked in the fear of God, and by his example encouraged the people in the exerciſe of piety and juſtice, as their beſt ſecurity, together with the improvement of all accidents.

Moſes was much in the right to look upon God as his oracle and adviſer; and then being ſatisfied in himſelf that he could not do amiſs, ſo long as he committed himſelf to the conduct of divine providence, he did his uttermoſt to poſſeſs the common people alſo with the ſame thing; for nothing puts ſuch a check upon us in all our iniquities, as to conſider that God ſees us: So that, in fine, our lawgiver was not a ſeducer or a magician, as he is falſely repreſented, but ſuch as Minos and others after him were reputed among the Greeks, ſome aſcribing the original of their laws to Jupiter, others to Apollo, or the oracle at Delphi: But whether theſe men believed this themſelves, or only gave it out to have the people believe it, may be a queſtion. But we ſhall beſt judge of the excellency and ſacredneſs of theſe laws by comparing them. Several nations have their form of government, and their diverſity of laws. Some governments are committed to a ſingle perſon, others to the people: But our lawgiver was neither for the one nor for the other, but betwixt both, for that which he calls a holy common-wealth, aſſigning God himſelf for the head of it, with a reſpect both to worſhip and power, as the fountain and the author of all good. To him it is that we fly for ſuccour in our diſtreſſes, who hears our prayers, and ſearches the very ſecrets of our hearts. He inculcates to us the doctrine of one God, one uncreated, unchangeable and eternal being, infinitely glorious and incomprehenſible, any further than what we know of him by his works. Now this is no more than what we have in a great meaſure from the wiſer ſort of the Greek philoſophers themſelves, even by the light of nature; for they do all unanimouſly agree upon the congruity of theſe principles to the majeſty and excellence of God: As there's Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato; and after them the Stoicks, who are almoſt wholly of the ſame mind as to this ſubject. But the multitude being engaged in a violent and a ſuperſtitious prepoſſeſſion againſt theſe opinions, the philoſophers durſt not venture too far in the promoting of them.

As to what concerns religion and good manners, it was his way to join the theory with the practice, whereas other lawgivers commonly took one part of the diviſion, and left the other. As for example: The people of Lacedæmon and Crete were nevertheleſs inſtructed in morals, though not by rule and precept: But the Athenians, and well nigh all the other Greeks, had their laws for every thing, though they fell ſhort in the practice. Whereas our lawgiver provided for both in one; attending, at the ſame time, the cultivating and the perfecting of our morals, with the adapting of proper proviſions in writing to anſwer all occaſions.

To ſpeak now to that reflection upon us, as men of no induſtry or invention, either in arts or letters, for keeping ſtill (as they ſay) to the dull plodding train of the ſame over and over again: Whereas men of wit and ſpirit value themſelves rather upon making old things look new, and refining upon the wiſdom and cuſtoms of their forefathers. Now for our parts, we make it a point of conſcience not to depart, either in word, thought or deed, from the eſtabliſhments of former times; the very antiquity itſelf being an infallible mark of a good and a well-grounded law, which neither time nor argument will be ever able to deſtroy. But for us now that firmly believe theſe laws of ours to be of divine inſtitution, we have nothing more to do than to preſerve them ſacred and inviolate.

As there is but one God, and one world, in common to all mankind, it holds in the analogy that there ſhould be but one temple too, for God takes delight in the congruities of order and proportion. In this temple the prieſts offer up their daily devotions. The firſt in quality, is the firſt that ſacrifices. He takes care that the laws be duly obſerved, hears cauſes, and puniſhes thoſe that the law condemns: And it is in effect as penal to diſpute the authority of the prieſt, as to appeal from the judgment of God himſelf.

In eating the fleſh of our ſacrifices, we muſt have a care not to extend that liberty to the degree of gluttony and exceſs; for God, who is a lover of ſobriety and all manner of temperance, can never be pleaſed with the extravagancies of violence and profuſion.

The prieſt begins his office with prayers for the general good of mankind, and after that, every man for himſelf, as a part of the whole; being well aſſured that nothing is ſo acceptable in the ſight of God, as mutual charity and tenderneſs among men one for another.

When we offer up our prayers and vows to Almighty God, we are not to petition for wealth, honour, and the good things of this world, for theſe are bleſſings which he is pleaſed to beſtow in common upon mankind: But our prayer muſt be for the grace to make a right uſe of what we have.

The law alſo hath preſcribed us certain formal purifications, in the caſe of women, and under other ſorts of limitation and reſtriction. This is what the law ſays of God, and of the ways of pleaſing him, and he himſelf all this while is effectually that very law. We have likewiſe various other laws, too many and too tedious for this place.

I ſhould have made a conſcience of ſaying thus much, if the matter of fact were not as clear as the ſun in the hiſtory of our forefathers, what torments they have undergone, and with what reſolution they have born them, rather than let fall one word to the diſhonour of their profeſſion.

As for the Grecian modern writers that treat of ſtate and government, how are they ridiculed for their impracticable ſtories? To ſay nothing of ſeveral other philoſophers that have handled the ſame ſubject, there is Plato himſelf, the very oracle of the Greeks, and a man in ſingular eſteem for his wiſdom, piety and manners, and a philoſopher of the firſt rate: How is this great man bantered and buffooned upon a public theatre, by ſome ſelf-conceited pretenders, for his wild notions of government, as they call them! When yet upon a ſtrict examination of his writings, they will be found agreeable both to reaſon and nature. But to take him upon his own confeſſion: “It “is not ſafe,” he ſays, “for a wiſe man to “tell what he thinks of God, for fear of “the common people.” But Plato (they ſay) writes like a man of vanity and licence: Lycurgus indeed was a man celebrated for a lawgiver in perfection, out of a reverence they had to the duration of his laws under the ſame adminiſtration. Now if ſo it be that the laws, the older they are, the better they are, with what face ſhall the Lacedæmonians ſet up for competitors with us in the point of antiquity, who have been now upward of two thouſaud years in poſſeſſion of our claim! To which I muſt add, that the Lacedæmonians kept up their laws to the height no longer than while they were free and eaſy themſelves; but ſo ſoon as fortune abandoned them, they fell off, and abandoned their laws.

But for our parts, after all the broils and changes in Aſia, and ourſelves brought to the laſt extremity, it cannot be ſaid that we ever departed from the cuſtoms and ceremonies of our forefathers: Neither can it be objected againſt us, that we ever conſulted either our eaſe or our pleaſure, in preſerving them as we did.

Now this conſtancy of the Jews above all other nations is no great wonder neither; for the very ordinary way of our living would be a kind of ſeverity to any other ſort of people; that is to ſay, in the fatigues of labour, hard fare, days of indiſpenſible abſtinence and reſt, coarſe lodging, cloathing, and the like.

It is not our buſineſs to traduce other people's laws: Nay, ſuch was the tenderneſs of our gentle lawgiver, that he would not ſuffer ſo much as the leaſt indignity or contempt to be put upon the reputed gods of other nations, out of a reverence to the very name of a deity. But where is that wiſe man among the Greeks, that does not heartily exclaim even againſt the moſt celebrated of their poets, and eſpecially their lawgivers, for poiſoning the common people with the impious doctrine of a plurality of gods; advancing the account to what number they think fit, and deriving their original from what age and country they pleaſe, nay, and allotting them their proper ſtations and places like other creatures! As they have their ſubterranean gods, their ſea-gods; and the eldeſt of the race, or family they keep up in chains in hell. As for their celeſtial gods, they give Jupiter ('tis true) the name of father, but with the heart and practice of a tyrant: Inſomuch that his wiſe, his brother, and the daughter of his own brain, entered into a conſpiracy, according to the fiction, to deſtroy him, as he himſelf had ſerved his father.

But how comes mankind all this while to labour under ſo many deſperate and dangerous miſtakes concerning God? Unleſs either from the lawgivers ignorance of the divine nature from the beginning, or elſe for want of communicating to the world the notions they had of things, as matters of little moment perhaps in their opinions; and ſo left the poets and the orators betwixt them to make their own gods; and by this means confounding their politicks with idle tales and amuſements of uncouth deities and ſtrange worſhip.

We may reckon Apollonius Molon in the number of the over-weening fools. But for thoſe among the Greeks that deſerve the name of philoſophers, they are no ſtrangers to the truth of what I have delivered, but entertain the ſame reverend thoughts of God that we do, and with as ſenſible a contempt for the fables and fooleries on the other hand, as they ought to have. It was not for nothing that Plato would ſuffer no poets in his common-wealth: Nay, he diſcharged Homer himſelf too, though with all the honours of a poet laureat, for fear the fabulous religion ſhould deſtroy the true. This great man of all others comes neareſt to the example of Moſes in the model of his common-wealth; where he charges all his ſubjects to ſtudy their laws, and to get them by heart, and not to intermingle cuſtoms with ſtrangers, but to preſerve their government in its original purity, and to pay a ſtrict obedience to their ordinances and decrees.

Apollonius Molon never thought of this, when he fell ſo heavily upon the Jews for not joining and communicating with men of a differing way and perſuaſion, as if this were our caſe alone; whereas all people (generally ſpeaking) do the ſame thing, the Greeks themſelves, and the ſobereſt men of the party too.

The Lacedæmonians, we ſee, would not admit any mixture of ſtrangers among them; no, not ſo much as ſuffer their citizens to travel abroad, for fear of contracting ill habits either way, and degenerating into a liking of ill cuſtoms and manners. Now this was a ſeverity liable enough to a cenſure, to debar them the common privileges of ſociety and commerce: But ſo far are we from this unmerciful rigour, that though we do not thruſt ourſelves into other people's matters, we are yet ready and open to entertain all proſelytes, and to receive thoſe that have a mind to join with us, which muſt not be denied to be a generous and a charitable diſpoſition.

But to paſs now from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians, who, on the other hand, make it their glory to give admittance to all ſtrangers: But this was more, I ſuppoſe, than Appollonius was aware of. The Athenians were ſo inexorably zealous for the honour of their gods, that it was made capital to let fall ſo much as one irreverent word upon that ſubject. What was it that Socrates died for? Not for betraying the common-wealth, or burning the temples; not for treaſon or ſacrilege, but for framing new oaths by the direction, as he ſuggeſted, of a divine ſpirit. Whether this was jeſt or earneſt, it remains a ſecret to this day: But for this it was, however, that Socrates was tried, condemned, and put to death by poiſon. He was likewiſe charged for injecting falſe doctrines into the heads of the people, and endeavouring to ſupplant the religion and the laws of his country. This was the end, in fine, of Socrates, a citizen of Athens.

I ſhall now produce another inſtance of Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, who was put to death for affirming the Athenians god, the ſun, to be only a red-hot ſtone. And then there was a talent offered by proclamation to any man that ſhould bring in the head of Diagoras the Melian, for ridiculing the myſteries of their religion. And they would have gone the ſame way to work with Protagoras too, if he had not gotten away in time. His pretended crime was the writing of a tract, wherein he delivers himſelf doubtfully of the Athenian gods. But what wonder is it to ſee men treated at this barbarous rate, where even the women themſelves found no better quarter! As for example, did they not put a prieſteſs to death, upon an accuſation of worſhipping ſtrange gods?

Nay, the Scythians themſelves, though the moſt brutal and blood-thirſty people upon the face of the earth, made ſo great a ſcruple of preſerving the myſteries of their profeſſion, that they butchered the famous Anacharſis, only for ſpeaking too reverently of the Grecian gods. We read likewiſe of ſeveral of the Perſians that ſuffered death upon the ſame account. Now for Molon, he was a known friend to the Perſian laws, and one that had them in admiration as well as the Greeks, for their firmneſs and agreement in the matter of worſhip (I ſpeak of their conſtancy upon the burning of their temples). Yet Molon had not only a good opinion of their ways, but was alſo in ſome ſort an imitator of them, in the extravagant liberties he took of abuſing other men's wives, and putting out the eyes of their children; inhumanities that are declared death without mercy by our laws, though committed but upon unreaſonable creatures.

Such is the veneration we have, in ſhort, for the obſervance of theſe laws, that neither power, profit, fear, or any other conſideration under the ſun, can ever divert or deter us from the conſcientious diſcharge of our duty.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

HIS

DISCOURSE of the *MACCABEES*:

OR,

Concerning the governing Power of REASON.

MY deſign in this diſcourſe being to ſhew, that reaſon is the perfection of wiſdom, as will appear, if it can be proved that this, duly improved by ſtudy, and religion, is maſter of the paſſions; it is very fit I exhort my readers to apply themſelves to the attaining of wiſdom with all poſſible attention. For reaſon is a neceſſary preliminary to knowledge; and in giving the commendation of excelling in this, we evidently imply the character of excelling in the nobleſt and moſt comprehenſive of all virtues, which is that of prudence. The caſe will be the ſame with regard to the reſt, if reaſon may be ſhewn effectually to reſtrain and maſter thoſe vile affections of gluttony and exceſs, laſciviouſneſs and ſenſual appetite, which obſtruct and are oppoſite to temperance; and ſo again, to corect that malignity of nature, and all thoſe corrupt inclinations which hinder the practice and love of juſtice: and after the ſame manner, laſtly, to ſubdue the paſſions of anger, and fear, and grief, and whatever elſe emaſculates the mind, or is contrary to that generous and ſteady temper of ſoul, which makes the fourth cardinal virtue, and is known by the name of fortitude.

To all this it may perhaps be objected, that they who aſcribe to reaſon the dominion I am contending for, are eaſily confuted from common experience. For, were it thus ſuperior to the paſſions, it would have the ſame controuling ſovereignty over ignorance and forgetfulneſs, which yet it manifeſtly hath not. But this, I muſt needs ſay, is a ridiculous objection, and miſtakes the ſtate of the queſtion. For when we affirm reaſon to be maſter of the paſſions, we mean ſuch defects of nature only as are oppoſite to juſtice, and temperance, and fortitude; all which are of a diſtinct kind, and belong to the ſenſitive ſoul; but not ſuch as are defects peculiar to itſelf, and ſtick to the rational ſoul. Again, the nature of this ſovereignty is quite miſtaken by the objector; for by it we do not mean, that reaſon takes thoſe affections it governs clean away (as it muſt do, if ignorance and forgetfulneſs were the objects of its power) but only that it does not tamely yield to, nor ſuffer itſelf to be vanquiſhed by them.

Now that it is in the power of reaſon to command and ſubdue the paſſions, I could by great variety of arguments demonſtrate; but ſhall at preſent chuſe to confine myſelf to that moſt popular and undeniable one, matter of fact; the examples, I would ſay, of perſons who have ſignalized themſelves by courageouſly aſſerting and dying in defence of truth and virtue; among which none I think are more conſpicuous, none more deſervedly admired than thoſe of our own country, Eleazar and the ſeven brethren martyred with their mother.

After the death of Seleucus the king, his ſon Antiochus, a man of a proud ſpirit and ſavage diſpoſition, ſucceeded to the throne. This man, having deprived Onias of the prieſthood, put in that office his brother Jaſon, upon conſideration of a yearly tribute of three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty talents, which he had covenanted to pay him; therefore the king conſtituted him ſuperintendant, not in eccleſiaſticals only as high-prieſt, but in civil affairs alſo. He then began to put our nation under ſevere trials, and, by introducing of new cuſtoms contrary to the law, ſeduced them to foreign uſages and all manner of wickedneſs. He did not only inſtitute Grecian games in the metropolis of our nation, but drew off the prieſts from the ſervice of the temple. With which impiety the juſtice of God being provoked, ſtirred up Antiochus to make war upon them: For, while he was engaged in an expedition againſt Ptolemy king of Egypt, being informed that ſome of the inhabitants of Jeruſalem had expreſſed great joy at a report of his being dead, he preſently turned his forces that way, and made miſerable havock of them, publiſhing withal a decree, that all they ſhould be put to death who perſevered in the cuſtoms of their own country, and lived according to the law of Moſes; and finding that this decree had not its intended effect, but that all his ſevereſt threatenings and puniſhments were ſo far deſpiſed, as that even the women, who continued to circumciſe their children, were caſt down headlong from the walls of the city, and ſtill perſiſted in ſo doing, notwithſtanding they knew what would follow: Perceiving, I ſay, how little regard the people paid to his impious decrees, he came in perſon, and by torments compelled thoſe that were brought before him to eat of meats forbidden and unclean by the law, and ſolemnly to abjure the Jewiſh religion in his preſence.

It happened about this time, that Antiochus the tyrant, ſeating himſelf upon an eminent place, and ſurrounded with his counſellors and rulers, and a ſtrong body of armed men, commanded many of the Hebrews to be brought by force before him, and there to be compelled to eat of ſwine's fleſh, and meats offered to idols, which if any refuſed to pollute themſelves with, they were immdeiately put to the torture and ſlain before him. When many had been thus barbarouſly treated, at length one Eleazar, a principal man of the city, of the prieſts family, a lawyer by profeſſion, far advanced in years, known and well eſteemed by many that retained to Antiochus by reaſon of his age and character, was brought before him. Antiochus, beholding the man, ſpoke to him in the moſt friendly manner, uſing the moſt perſuaſive arguments to induce him to comply with his order, and to eat ſwine's fleſh, and threatening him at the ſame time with the ſevereſt torments in caſe of his refuſal. But Eleazar boldly replied, that he was fully determined to obey the law of God which laid him under this reſtraint; neither ſhould any tortures he could put him to force him to break his reſolution.

When he had made this noble reply to the tyrant's treacherous exhortations, the ſoldiers that ſtood by handled him very roughly, and dragged him in rage to the place of execution. There firſt of all they ſtripped off his cloaths, then having pinioned him, they laid upon him on either ſide with whips, till they had perfectly flead him; an officer on each ſide crying at every ſtroke, "Obey the king's commandment." But the brave Eleazar was no more moved by theſe ſcourgings, than if all he endured had been but a dream. The good old man ſtood with his eyes liſt up to heaven, his fleſh torn off from his ſides to the very bone, the blood ſtreaming down from his body to the ground; till at laſt, being no longer able to bear up againſt ſuch wounds and pains, and loſs of blood, he fell down upon the pavement: But this was an infirmity confined to his body, for ſtill his mind was as erect, as far from being bent as ever. Hereupon one of the mercileſs ſoldiers ſtamped upon his belly and ſpurned his ſides and ſtomach to raiſe him up again. Still he ſuſtained their barbarous inſolence, deſpiſed the force they would have put upon him, and bore his pains with ſo much magnanimity, that even he who lay under the torment vanquiſhed the hard-hearted wretches that inflicted it, and moved their admiration by ſo reſolute and noble a ſoul, in a body ſo aged and infirm.

Some of theſe therefore, partly in mere pity to his years, and partly upon the account of former acquaintance with him, though they were ſervants to the king, drew near and endeavoured to perſuade him to permit them to ſet before him ſome lawful and clean meats for him to eat, and then to deceive the king by ſaying he had eat ſwine's fleſh: But Eleazar, who had led a life of ſincerity, diſdained ſuch foul diſſimulation, and declared he would rather die than purchaſe a ſhort remainder of life by ſo baſe a compliance.

When they perceived him thus reſolute and inflexible, and that their pity could have no manner of influence upon him, they changed their diſpoſition, and brought him to the fire. There they applied new inſtruments of torture, threw him upon the fuel, and as he burned poured ſcalding and ſtinking liquors up his noſtrils. He in the mean while, burned to the very bone, and ready to expire, lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and ſaid, "Thou ſeeſt, my God, the "miſeries I endure, and that I chuſe to die "by fire and torment, for the ſake of thy "law, when it was in my power to preſerve "my life by tranſgreſſing it: Be thou "therefore gracious, O Lord, to thy own "people, and let the vengeance executed "on me ſuffice for what they have deſerv'd; "make thou my blood a purification for "them, and accept my life inſtead of their "lives." And with theſe words the holy man gave up the ghoſt.

I ſhall proceed next to ſhew that even young men, whoſe reaſon has been well fixed upon true principles, have undergone, and overcome, tortures yet ſharper and more amazing than theſe. For, after the tyrant had found himſelf and all his barbarous ſtratagems out-done by one poor old man, enraged at this defeat, he gave orders to bring ſome others of the Hebrew captives before him, promiſing to releaſe them immediately, upon condition they conſented to eat of unclean meats; but in caſe of refuſal threatening them with greater cruelties, than any he had yet inflicted.

In purſuance of this order, there were brought before him ſeven brethren, with their ancient mother. The men were beautiful and well-faſhioned, ſo charming in their perſons and behaviour, that the tyrant, fierce as he was, could not help being taken with them. And therefore after viewing them with a ſenſible delight, he ſmiled upon them, and, commanding that they ſhould draw near to his throne, adviſed them to obey his commands, aſſuring them of his particular friendſhip, and that he would promote them to places of honour and profit; but in caſe they rejected his offers, they muſt expect nothing but racks, fires, and death.

But theſe brave youths with one voice, as if all had been animated with one and the ſame generous ſoul, declared they would rather ſuffer death at any rate, than tranſgreſs the laws of their fathers, and therefore deſired he would not attempt to perſuade them to apoſtaſy, for the moſt exquiſite tortures he could put them to ſhould never ſhake their reſolution, or get the better of their patience and conſtancy.

This ſo enraged the tyrant, that he reſolved to proceed againſt them, not only as diſobedient, but unthankful men: And therefore gave the word, that the executioners ſhould bring the eldeſt to the torture, which they immediately did, binding his hands, ſtripping off his cloaths, and faſtening his arms in a poſture for receiving the ſcourge. But finding that they wearied themſelves in vain, and that all their ſtripes were to no manner of purpoſe, they clapped him upon the wheel. The noble youth lying extended here with his bones broken, and every limb of his body out of Joint, reproached his tormentor thus: "O monſter of wickedneſs, enemy of God and "juſtice, abandoned to cruelty and rage, "thou doſt not treat me thus inhumanly "for murder or villany, or for any breach "of divine or human laws, but purely for "my zeal to God and his holy ordi-"nances." The ſoldiers hereupon exhorted him to conſent, and eat of the king's meat, that he might deliver himſelf from any farther ſufferings. But he returned, "No: You miſtake in ſuppoſing your "wheel to have gotten the better of me; "no, with the cruelleſt inſtruments of bar-"barity you cannot ſtrangle my mind, nor "diſlocate my reaſon; cut this body piece-"meal, burn my fleſh in the fire, and "ſtretch my yielding limbs till they crack "and fly aſunder; the exquiſite malice of "your tortures ſhall convince you, by this "trial made upon my perſon, that it is the "peculiar glory of the Hebrew nation, to "be invincibly firm in their ſufferings for "virtue and a good conſcience." Then they put fire under him, and, drawing the pullies ſtraiter, turned his body thus miſerably extended to the flames: Inſomuch that all the wheel was beſmeared with blood, the coals underneath were put out by his bowels dripping into them, and all the ſpokes and pins of the engine were covered with clotted blood, and pieces of fleſh torn off from the body; till nothing was left of human form, but a ſkeleton of broken bones.

Still this brave youth never uttered one complaint or groan, but ſuſtained the rack with wonderful magnanimity. At laſt he cried out, "Be ſure, my brethren, that you "follow this pattern; do no deſert me in "this noble conflict, nor diſclaim that "relation of generous conſtancy, by which "we are allied in ſoul, more nearly than in "blood. When you engage in defence "of religion, it is a holy and glorious war-"fare, and never doubt but that the tender "providence of that father above, juſt and "gracious, whom we worſhip, will not only "reward us, but be propitious to our whole "nation, and certainly humble this haughty, "bloody tyrant, with puniſhments as un-"common and amazing as his own pride "and cruelty." And thus the holy youth ended his painful life.

While the ſpectators ſtood aſtoniſhed at this undaunted courage, the guards advanced with the ſecond brother. Him they bound faſt to the pulley, and drew on the iron gantlets with ſharp nails: Then enquiring whether he would accept the conditions of eſcape before they began the torture, and finding by his anſwer, that he was in the ſame noble reſolution with his brother, the furious wild beaſts fixed their iron gantlets into his neck, and drew off all the fleſh from his muſcles, quite up to the chin, and flead off all the hair and ſkin of his beard, face, and head. But he, bearing this terrible pain with great temper, ſaid, "How "welcome is death in any ſhape, when a "man ſuffers for truth and religion? Art "thou not ſenſible, thou brutiſh tyrant, that "thou art now thy own tormentor more "than mine? The indignation thou conceiveſt for having thy wicked deſigns "defeated, and all thy barbarity vanquiſhed "by my conſtancy in a good cauſe, frets "and gnaws thy ſoul more than all theſe "pains do me. For the pleaſures of virtue, "and the comforts of a clear conſcience, "ſoften my ſufferings and ſupport my "ſpirits: But thou art racked indeed, with "all the cutting apprehenſions of a guilty "mind. What I now ſay, thy own breaſt "tells thee, that ſo wicked a wretch cannot "poſſibly eſcape the terrible vengeance of "a juſt and angry God."

When this man too had undergone a death ſo much to his honour, the third was brought, and preſſed hard with arguments and entreaties from ſeveral hands, that he would eat and live. To which he anſwered with great vehemence, "You ſeem not to "know how nearly I am related to thoſe "that have died here before me: Alas, the "ſame father and mother brought us into "the world, and the ſame maſters formed "our minds, and we always acted upon the "ſame principles: And ſhall I then in this "laſt ſcene of life renounce the honour of "that ſtrict alliance to them, whom I have "never yet given occaſion to be aſhamed of "calling me brother?" This anſwer, delivered with ſuch an air of reſolution and firmneſs, enraged the executioners, who, to expreſs their malice and reſentment, clapped his hands and feet preſently into the ſcrews, and with a violent wrench put out all the joints of his fingers and his toes at once; this done, they ſtill continued to draw the engine yet higher, till they had twiſted his arms and legs and ſhoulder-bones out of their ſockets; and finding him ſurvive all theſe diſtortions, dragged off his ſkin at the ends of his fingers, and flead him from the very crown of the head. Not content to have mangled his body after this mercileſs manner, they dragged him to the wheel, where being yet more diſtended upon the pins and ſcrews, he ſaw his ſeveral parts burſt aſunder, his fleſh drop off by piecemeal, and his bowels and blood guſh out. When he was at the point of death he cried, "O thou moſt wicked and inhuman "of all tyrants, we ſuffer thus for the re"ligion and law of a God who is able to "reward us; but thou ſhalt ſuffer pains "much more inſupportable, much more "inexpreſſible, for thy impiety and barba"rous cruelty."

After this perſon had endured as became a brother of that renowned family, the fourth was haled to execution; but perſuaded firſt, that he would bethink himſelf, and be wiſer than thoſe that had gone before him. His anſwer was, "You cannot heat "your fires ſo much hotter for me, as to "make me a coward after ſo noble patterns "of martyrdom already before my eyes; "nor will I ſtain the honour of my blood. "Try me thou tyrant, and let all thy tor"tures prove, whether I be not a branch "of the ſame ſtock, and animated with "the very ſame ſoul, with thoſe whoſe "blood thy impious hands have ſpilt, and "torn them limb from limb." The ſavage and moſt profligate Antiochus, incenſed at this, commanded immediately to cut out his tongue. Whereupon he proceeded, "Ah, how impertinent a cruelty is "this! 'Tis to great purpoſe that you take "away the organ of ſpeech, from one who "truſts in God that ſeeth the heart, and "hears the inward motions of them that "are ſilent. Here, it is ready for your in"ſtruments, looſe to your hand; but "know, when you have cut it out, you "cannot do the ſame execution upon my "reaſon, nor make my mind dumb. O "that I could be ſo happy to loſe my life "by inches, and glorify God with every "member and joint of my body, by having “them maimed and lopped off one by one for his cauſe and glory! But as for thee, guilt and vengeance will quickly overtake thee, who cutteſt out theſe inoffenſive tongues, that are employed in making melody and ſinging praiſes to the God who formed their ſpeech.”

No ſooner had this brother finiſhed his courſe, but the fifth ſprung forward of his own accord, crying out, “To ſhew thee, tyrant, what impreſſions theſe tortures make upon me, ſee here I come, not content to wait thy tedious orders, offering myſelf to the trial, and deſirous to loſe no time in ſo noble an exerciſe of virtue. The ſooner thou diſpatcheſt me, the ſooner ſhall my bliſs and thy iniquities be full; and I ſhall help to make thee ripe for vengeance, by adding one more to the number of them whoſe innocent blood thou haſt ſhed. Tell me, thou devourer of mankind and enemy of all goodneſs, what could provoke, what poſſeſs thee to deſtroy us after this mercileſs, inſulting manner? Is it become a capital crime for men to devote themſelves to the ſervice of the great Creator of the world, and make a conſcience of governing their actions by an excellent law of his preſcribing? No, ſure, this conduct ought not to expoſe men to tortures, but entitle them to rewards and honours.” While theſe words were yet in his mouth, the ſoldiers dragged him down, and bound him to the pullies, to which, when they had ſcrewed in his knees, they clapped on iron fetlocks, and drawing the ſcrews, diſlocated his loins, ſo that he lapped round the wheel like a ſnake, and being disjointed all over, had his bones broken in an inſtant.

When he was dead, the ſixth youth was preſently brought forward, and, being aſked by the tyrant, whether he would accept deliverance? he replied “Tho' I in years come behind them that ſuffered before me, yet is my ſoul of equal maturity with theirs: For in regard our deſcent and education was the ſame, 'tis fit that ſince, the cauſe we are called to aſſert is the ſame, our death ſhould likewiſe be the ſame. If then thou art diſpoſed to put me upon the ſame trials, know, that I will take care to die innocent, and keep the ſupport of a good conſcience under my torture.” Hereupon they faſtened him to the wheel, and after having broken and diſtorted all his bones, put fire under him; then did the ſoldiers heat ſpits and ſpears red hot, and thruſt them into his back and ſides, till his very bowels and entrails were burnt up: While he cried out, “O glorious conflict, in which ſo many brethren have engaged for their religion, and all come off with conqueſt! For a mind rightly informed in the truth, and armed with ſteady principles of virtue, muſt ever be impregnable. I will bear my brethren company in ſo noble a death and add to the number of the plagues due to thee, O wicked inventor of artful cruelty, and implacable foe of all that adhere to the true religion. Six of us now have baffled thy malice and rage; for I muſt needs account thee baffled, when ſo much hath been done without any ſucceſs, to force us to forego our duty and comply with thy wicked propoſals. Thy fires, methinks, are cold, thy racks eaſy, and thy guards are now no longer tormentors and executioners, but defenders and promoters of our law and its honour; ſince they aſſiſt us in giving teſtimony to it, and contribute to the triumphs of the religion they are not able to ſuppreſs.”

This man being diſpatched at laſt, by caſting him into a cauldron of boiling liquor, the ſeventh and youngeſt appeared, whom when the tyrant ſaw fettered and pinioned, his heart began a little to relent. Calling him therefore up near to the tribunal where he ſat, he began to try him by ſoft words and fair means. “You ſee (ſaid he) young man, the miſerable end, which the reſt of your family have by their own obſtinate folly brought themſelves to: For all "theſe tortures are indeed the conſequences of their own wilfulneſs and diſobedience; and the ſame will be thy fate, if their examples have not made thee wiſer. But I hope better things, and for encouragement do make thee here a generous proffer of my love and particular friendſhip, and promiſe to promote thee in my kingdom to places of very great eminence and profit." He addreſſed himſelf to the mother alſo, with a ſeeming compaſſion for her loſs, and entreated her to prevail upon her child, in pity to her at leaſt, to ſave this ſmall remnant of the family, and not to give her the affliction of having all her offspring ſo ſadly torn away at once. But he, receiving from his mother in the Hebrew language the advice which I ſhall mention hereafter, cried out all on a ſudden, "Well then, unbind me, and let me have liberty to apply to the king and his friends that attend about the throne." The company was overjoyed at this propoſal, and immediately let him looſe; which he taking the advantage of, ran haſtily to the ſide of the cauldrons and frying-pans, and ſaid, "Thou moſt ungodly tyrant, and unparallelled monſter of baſeneſs and villainy, thou haſt received from the hand of God a kingdom, and ſo many bleſſings of this world; and yet without the leaſt degree of ſhame or remorſe, murdereſt the ſervants and friends of him who thus advanced thee. Is this the requital thou makeſt to a bountiful God, to rack and torture thoſe that worſhip him; and for no other reaſon, but becauſe they worſhip him as he himſelf hath directed? Be well aſſured, this ſhall not be forgotten; but juſtice will purſue and find thee out, and in the mean while lays up in ſtore for thee torments and fires, not like thine here, that quickly conſume the body, and the more fierce they are, the ſooner they end our pain; but thoſe ſhall be a treaſure of fire inexhauſtible, of pains which whole ages will not end, but freſh and fiercer continually, till time ſhall be no more. So dreadful and ſo infamous is thy caſe, ſo bleſſed ſo glorious my martyred brethren; whoſe honours and rewards think not that either flattery or fear ſhall excuſe me from; for know, I aſpire to an equality with the beſt of them, and think it long and loſt time, till we meet in the ſame bliſs above." With that he caſt himſelf into the pans, and expired in the hotteſt of the fire.

So true a daughter of Abraham was the mother of theſe gallant youths, that even compaſſion for her own children could not break in upon her duty. Such was her noble zeal, that when two things were offered to her choice, religion, and the preſent ſafety and great preferment of ſeven ſons, ſhe wiſely gave the preference to religion, took God's word before the king's, and choſe to have them live for ever with him in heaven, rather than enjoy a ſhort proſperity with Antiochus upon earth. What words ſhall I find to deſcribe thoſe tender paſſions of parents, that ſtrange union between them and their children in nature, which after a wonderful manner draws upon their offspring the ſame lines and features of body, and impreſſes the ſame diſpoſitions of ſoul?

Some of the ſoldiers reported, that when ſhe was about to be ſeized, in order to execution, ſhe prevented all attempts upon her perſon, and without force caſt herſelf into the fire. O glorious mother, thus defeating the tyrant's rage and violence, diſappointing all his wicked contrivances, and exerting a moſt vigorous and noble faith, firm as a ſtrong-built houſe!

But ſtill to do all right to this wonderful woman, I ſhall add here ſome other of her pious exhortations to her no leſs wonderful ſons. "Conſider," ſaid ſhe, "the converſation of your mother who lived a long time a chaſte, unſpotted virgin: I never wandered from my father's houſe, nor did any luſtful corrupter of youth aſſault me in the field, nor that ſerpent which ſeduced Eve tempt me into any impure

" embraces. The flower of my age I paſſed in the ſtricteſt conjugal fidelity to my huſband. When you, my children, were grown up, your father died, happy in the eſteem of all that knew him. He had the ſatisfaction of many proſperous children, and eſcaped the misfortune of ſeeing himſelf deprived of theſe bleſſings. While he continued with you, no pains were ſpared to inſtil pious principles, and furniſh you with inſtructions proper to prepare you for the trying difficulties of this important day. He taught you with great diligence the law and the prophets; he ſet before you the renowned examples of patience and ſuffering virtue; Abel murdered by his own brother Cain, and Iſaac deſigned for a burnt offering, and Joſeph impriſoned for his obſtinate chaſtity, and Phineas zealous for the law of his God. He preached to you the virtues and the glorious rewards of Ananias, Azarias, and Miſael, and Daniel caſt into the den of lions. He frequently put you in mind of that preſerving providence to thoſe that are God's, which Eſaias magnifies in theſe words: 'When thou paſſeſt through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they ſhall not overflow thee; when thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt, neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee.' He taught your infant tongues that ſong of David, 'Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of all;' and called upon you to obſerve that maxim of Solomon in his proverbs, that 'Wiſdom is a tree of life to all that obey and lay hold on her.' He quickened up your faith by that paſſage in Ezekiel, 'Shall theſe dry bones live?' Nor did he forget to teach you that heavenly ſong of Moſes, who ſays in the perſon of God, 'I kill and make alive;' and again pronounces of the law and the diligent obſervance of it, 'This is your life and the prolonging of your days.'"

O doleful day, and yet not doleful but glorious rather, when the mercileſs Grecian tyrant kindled his impious fires, heated his murdering cauldrons, and with ungodly rage, more hot and fierce than both, dragged and bound to the engines of torture, and exerciſed with all manner of agonies and pains, the ſevenfold offspring of this daughter of Abraham! When he bored out their eyes, cut out their tongues, and put them to death, with all the ſtudied cruelties that wickedneſs and malice could invent. Theſe impious barbarities the juſtice of God did then, and always will avenge upon the proud inflictors; but theſe ſons of Abraham, with their victorious mother, are by a very different fate tranſlated from miſery to bliſs unſpeakable, admitted into the joyful and triumphant ſociety of all their pious anceſtors, and have received again thoſe unblemiſhed ſouls which they willingly ſacrificed in his ſervice, pure and immortal, at the hands of that God with whom they were ſo chearfully depoſited, and to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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